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LIBRI I–IV

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CYRILLO MANGO

HONORE PROVOCAT MAGISTERIO DOCET
INVITAT EXEMPLO

FOREWORD

In the late winter of 1975 Ihor Ševčenko came to the weekly meeting of his Byzantine Seminar at Harvard University carrying a parcel wrapped in brown paper. On the table before all members of the seminar he opened the parcel revealing an unbound book composed of yellowed sheets folded in half, with cut-out printed pages pasted in the upper half and notes in purple ink written in the side and lower margins. After recognition of the pasted pages as Immanuel Bekker's edition of *Theophanes Continuatus* – excised from two original copies of Bonn! – everyone guessed that Carl de Boor's unpublished edition, sought after for many months by Ševčenko without success, had been found. 'But how did you get hold of it?', exclaimed Peggy Thorne with her infectious enthusiasm; to which the answer was: 'Proof of the generous friendship of Hans-Georg Beck'. Then professor and director of the Byzantine Institute in Munich, Beck came that year to Harvard with his wife Erni, and he recounted how de Boor's papers had been recovered from the place where they had been kept for safety during the War.

It was at once clear to all that this discovery would insure the realisation of Ševčenko's project for a new edition of *Theophanes Continuatus*. After the seminar, Peggy Thorne, who had worked in decoding secret documents during the War, insisted on photocopying the entire manuscript straightway in the basement of Widener Library – her fingers are to be seen in the copies. It was with these copies of de Boor and others from a microfilm of the *Vaticanus graecus* 167 that Ševčenko followed the text as members of the seminar read aloud from Bekker's edition of the *Vita Basilii*; and it was on the copies of de Boor's manuscript that he made his original notes for the new edition of the text which would appear thirty-six years later in the same series as the present volume.

Nearly a decade before the publication of the *Vita Basilii*, in the spring of 2003, Ševčenko and Michael Featherstone met in Paris after some twenty years. Reminiscing on the old seminar at Harvard, Ševčenko suggested that Featherstone should take over the re-edition of the remaining parts of *Theophanes Continuatus*, Books I–IV and 'VI'. Athanasios Kambylis, general editor of the Berlin Series of the CFHB, agreed, and Featherstone set to work. Three years later, in the summer of 2006, at Ševčenko's request for help in finishing the edition of the *Vita Basilii*, Featherstone returned to Harvard. The work consisted mainly of bibliographical researches; text, translation and indices had long been typeset by the publisher. Unfortunately, the introduction would remain unwritten until Ševčenko's death three years later.

To Featherstone's request for copies of de Boor's papers, Ševčenko recounted that, at the demand of Armin Hohlweg, the original manuscript had been sent back to Munich, though he had been informed by Albrecht Berger that it had somehow gone missing. Fortunately, Ševčenko still had Peggy Thorne's photocopies, assuring de Boor's appearance in the present edition.

Later that same summer, in Bedford Square Gardens during the Byzantine Congress in London, through the good offices of a mutual friend, Otto Kresten, Featherstone made the acquaintace of Juan Signes Codoñer. Signes had also worked intensively on *Theophanes Continuatus*, in Paul Speck's seminar in Berlin in the late1980's, and in the early 1990's with Antonio Bravo García in Madrid. That afternoon in Bedford Square was the beginning of the friendship and fruitful collaboration – supported throughout by the benevolent Kambylis and the excellent staff of de Gruyter – which has led to the present volume.

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Michael Featherstone and Juan Signes Codoñer
Michaelmas 2014

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INDICES

PROLEGOMENA

1. The Texts in *Vat. Gr.* 167

The nature of the three separate texts comprised in the historical compilation known commonly as Theophanes Continuatus (hereafter ThCont) has been discussed recently by Cyril Mango in his introduction to Ihor Ševčenko's edition of the second text, the *Vita Basilii* (hereafter VBas), in this same Berlin series of the CFHB.[1] We limit ourselves here to a recapitulation of the main points, with a few complementary remarks.

The compilation is preserved in only one Byzantine manuscript, *Vat. gr.* 167 (XI c.), of which more details will be given below in section 2. The first of the three texts – let us call it Text I – a new edition of which we present here, consists of four Books numbered I–IV in the manuscript and in the previous editions by François Combéfis in the Paris corpus (1685) and Immanuel Bekker in the Bonn corpus (1838). The four Books, divided by reigns of the emperors Leo V (815–820), Michael II (820–829), Theophilus (829–842) and Michael III (842–867) respectively, are preceded by separate titles in majuscule, but the preface intended for all four is inserted after the title of the first book, not before it, as in the previous editions.[2]

Following the four Books of the first text, Combéfis and Bekker numbered the second text – let us call it Text II – which continues the historical narrative with the reign of Basil I (867–886), as 'Book V'. There is no such number in the manuscript, but the text is separated from the previous four books on f. 72v by an undulating line and a title in majuscule followed by another preface, ostensibly written by the emperor Constantine VII himself.

Finally, on f. 124 begins Text III – Combéfis's and Bekker's Book VI – which, again, is unnumbered in the manuscript but separated by an undulating line from the previous narrative. This text has no preface to inform the reader of the author or purpose, but simply brief titles announcing the reigns of Leo VI (886–912), Alexander (912–913), Constantin VII (913–920), Romanus I Lekapenos (920–944), Constantine VII as sole ruler (944–959) and Romanus II (959–963), in whose reign the text breaks off in AD 961 with the loss of a final folio (or bifolium) at the end of the manuscript.[3] Despite the apparent unity of this work divided into reigns, scholars have noted that Text III is a composite of two texts. The first part (Text IIIa), treating the

[1] Mango 2013; cf. Signes 1995, vii–xiii; Featherstone 2011, 115–122; Featherstone 2012, 123–125; Featherstone 2014, 359–361.

[2] Infra I. Prooem, 1–36.

[3] See section 2 below.

period from the reign of Leo VI to the exile and death of Romanus I (886–948), is critical of the Macedonian dynasty, whereas the second part (Text IIIb), the account of the sole rule of Constantine and his son Romanus II (944–963), is quite favourable to the Macedonians.[4]

The presentation in the *Vaticanus* indicates that Texts II and III were perceived as separate works when they were put together in the final compilation. Mango stresses also that Texts I and II were '*originally* … conceived as independent works' (his italics).[5] This is of course correct, but it was surely not the compiler of ThCont as we have it in the *Vaticanus* who first combined Texts I and II as part of his wish to provide a continuous historical narrative from 813 until the 960's. Both these texts were clearly composed under the supervision of Constantine VII, in distinction to Text III (most particularly Text IIIa). The preface to Text II, allegedly by Constantine himself, as well as the reference to him by the author – ostensibly only an amanuensis – of the preface to Text I, states that Constantine had commissioned both works. The identification of the real authors of these texts remains a desideratum,[6] but these latter were certainly parts of the same project. The references in Text I to events in the narrative of Text II[7] are evidence that Text II was either composed *before* Text I, or that the author of Text I already knew what would be recounted in Text II. Moreover, for certain episodes the authors of Texts I and II used the same sources. In contrast, as we have said, Text III was composed in a completely different style after the death of Constantine and was only added to Texts I and II in the final compilation.

[4] Text IIIa: ThCont 353.6–435.21; Text IIIb: ibid., 436.1–481.12. The best treatment of Text III remains Kazhdan 1961, 89–96; cf. Wahlgren 2006, 45*, 84*; Mango 2013, 4*.

[5] Mango 2013, 4*.

[6] See section 3 below.

[7] Below II.28.4 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐκείνου δηλώσει ἱστορία and IV.43.10–11 ἡ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱστορία δηλώσει. Cf. Signes 1989; Mango 2013, 9*; Featherstone 2012, 125.

2. The Manuscripts

As explained in the introduction to Ševčenko's edition of the VBas, all later MSS of ThCont are descended from *Vat. gr.* 167 (V) (XI s.), whereas the published editions of Combéfis (Comb) and Bekker (Bekk) are based on later MSS; in the case of Text I, on *Barberinianus* 232 (B), a copy of V made ca 1628.[8]

Written in *Perlschrift* of the early eleventh century, V consists of 168 folia (+ 5 guard leaves of paper added at the beginning), comprising 21 complete quires, and contains exclusively Texts I, II and III of ThCont. Detailed descriptions of V have been published in an article by Stefano Serventi and, of both V and B, in the new edition of the VBas;[9] we thus dispense with repeating the exercise here. We emphasise only the parenthetical remark in both descriptions that the pages have been cropped[10]: the evident loss of many of the later marginal remarks, as we shall see presently, indicates that the trimming was of considerable dimension.

As noted by Mango in the introduction to the VBas, Text III breaks off at the end of f. 168v, in the year 961, during the reign of Romanus II. Mango suggests that the text may not have extended to the end of Romanus's reign (963), citing the prophesy by Constantine VII in Text III that Romanus would have a long reign.[11] Mango concedes that this may have been meant ironically, and indeed, it would seem to us that this is the case. For earlier in Text III, in the account of the reign of Alexander, son of Basil I, Nicephorus Phokas is referred to as the 'victorious emperor'.[12] However, even if Text III did extend to Romanus's death, other evidence in V suggests that the part missing at the end was not very long.

In his description of the various marginalia in V Stefano Serventi discusses the numerous scholia by what appears to be a twelfth-century owner of the manuscript.[13] Written in what Herbert Hunger called *Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel*, the orthography of this annotator ('adnotator B') is eccentric, with a predilection for replacing *iota* with *heta*, and *o-mega* with *o-mikron*. The names of the Bulgars and Rus', Βούλγαροι and Ρώς in the text, are consist-

8 Ševčenko 2013, 17*–31*.
9 Serventi 2001; Ševčenko 2013, 14*–29*.
10 Ševčenko 2013, 14*
11 ThCont, 458, 6–7; Mango 2013, 3*.
12 ThCont 378, 16–17.
13 Serventi 2001, 286–299.

ently written ΒΟΥΡΓΑΡΟΙ and ΡΟΥΝ. There is, however, no strict geographical evidence for these variants.

Throughout the manuscript this annotator has noted various persons and things, e.g. ΝΑΟΣ, ΠΟΛΕΜΟ(Σ), ΧΡΟΝΟΣ, and has marked series of passages on various subjects – we have counted fifty – apparently for his own reference and according to personal fancy. This activity of marking passages apparently extended over a long time, as the annotator often changed his mind or forgot what he had already marked. Some of the series are associated with dates, some not.

The series are marked in the upper or lower margin of the folio on which they begin by their title followed by a list of numerals indicating how many folia [Φ(ΥΛΛΑ)] each passage comprises. Numerals under a horizontal stroke are used when a passage extends further than the recto and verso of one folio. Passages which are confined to two sides of one folio are indicated by a vertical hasta under a horizontal stroke; those which extend to no more than one side of a folio are indicated by a dot under a horizontal stroke. These indications, however, are not always strictly correct.

Each subsequent passage of the series is similarly indicated in the upper or lower margin of the folio on which it begins, with the word ΑΡΧ(Η), the number in the series, the title of the series, and the indication of the length of the passage. These titles in the upper or lower margins are also marked with various signs (crosses etc) which are repeated in the side margins, with or without ΑΡΧ(Η) and numeral such-and-such, on the line where the corresponding text begins.[14] At the end of each passage there is an indication in the margin of how many folia one should skip to the next passage in the series: ΥΠ(ΕΡΒΑΙΝΕ) Φ(ΥΛΛΑ) numeral such-and-such.[15] At the end of the last passage of the series there is a marginal remark ΤΕ(ΛΟϹ) accompanied sometimes by the title of the series.

In the text, the beginning of each passage is marked above the line of writing by either four dots placed on a horizontal and vertical axis (·:·) or two dots on a vertical axis (:); and the end is marked under the line of text with two dots placed on a vertical axis followed by a hyphen (:-). In some cases parts of these series titles have been cut off by later trimming of the manuscript's margins, and many of the titles have thus disappeared altogether.

Some of the titles and dates have a clear ecclesiastical connexion, as if perhaps for readings on days of saints' feasts in a religious institution, as suggested by Ševčenko;[16] for example the 13 March,[17] concerning the patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. This might also be the case of the three pas-

14 On f. 128 passages in five different series are so marked with various crosses.
15 The numeral of how many folia to skip has often been left out.
16 Ševčenko 1978, 96.
17 Containing passages on ff. 1v, 5, 8, 13v, 28.

sages marked 20 January, the day of Theophilus's death, perhaps with a view to his final absolution, though the text here relates the story of the widow who told Theophilus that the horse he was riding had belonged to her late husband.[18] Likewise, the annotator's extraordinary interest in Theophilus's buildings in the Palace, all of whose names he has copied out in the margins, would appear of a more secular nature.[19]

As an example of the confusion in these annotations we might cite the marking of a single passage, on f. 152, ThCont 434.2–24, under the title '5 or 6 August'. The text here, however, tells of the arrival in Constantinople of the Image of Edessa on the 15 of August and the procession from the Golden Gate to St Sophia and the Palace on the following day.

The confusion is worse in series of many passages. For instance, one series, concerning political conspiracies under Romanus Lekapenos and Constantine VII, is announced on f. 137v under the title '24 March', with a list of seven passages.[20] But then on f. 139 another series begins under the title '24 March ΠΕΡΙ ΕΠΗΒΟΥΛΟΝ', with a list of nine other passages.[21] The marking of the passage on 137v includes also the remark in the side margin: ΤΙΜΗ Μ(Ε)Γ(ΑΛΟΥ) ΡΟΜΑΝΟΥ (beside ThCont 390.22); but it is only on f. 138v, after the end of the first passage and before the beginning of the second, that we discover the reason for the choice of date: Romanus Lekapenos's coup d'état (ThCont 393.11sq.). In the margin here we find the word ΗΜΕΡΑ, which, occurs throughout the text where any precise date is given.

In other cases one can only guess why the reader has chosen a particular date. For instance, two passages are marked 24 April, on ff. 129v and 131v (ThCont 368.21–369.5 and 374.3–19). No date is mentioned in the text here, which tells the story of Eustathius Argyros. Perhaps the date was chosen because Eustathius is said to have been buried in the monastery of his family in honour of St Elizabeth, whose memory is celebrated on the 24 April.

Or, take the series of six passages marked with the date 12 May, with the title ΤΑ ΕΠΗ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΦΗΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑ, beginning with a passage on f. 126–126v (ThCont 359.17–360.8). We cannot find any reason for this date, unless it was meant to be the day of Leo's death; but then it is a mistake, for Leo VI died on 11 May.[22]

The reader's many interests give no easy clue to his identity. Aside from his interest in the Bulgars and the Rus', as already noted, he also notes passages

[18] Containing passages on ff. 31, 41, 47

[19] Ff. 47–50.

[20] Passages on ff. 137v, 140, 141, 141v, 142, 144, 146.

[21] Passages on ff.139, 140, 142, 144, 145v, 146v, 148, 153, 168. About the title Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν see below, 8*, n. 23.

[22] Subsequent passages marked on ff. 127, 128, 129v, 130v, 131v.

concerning the Jews, the Italians (Calabrians, Lombards, Sicilians) and the Saracens. He appears to have been equally interested in ecclesiastical and secular subjects. The mixture includes such disparate subjects as the celebration of the Sunday of Orthodoxy, the drowning of Heraclius's son in a cistern beside the sea walls, the location of the church of St Maria of τὰ Μητροπολίτου, or the buildings of the Palace.

A careful study of these marginalia would no doubt provide an insight into reading habits in Byzantium; the passages may well have been intended to be excerpted for some sort of collection.[23] However, for the purposes of our edition we shall examine only those series which occur at the very end of V, in the search for an indication of how many folia have gone missing after f. 168v, the last folio of the last (twenty-first) gathering.

The series ΠΕΡΙ ΕΠΗΒΟΥΛΟΝ is of no help because the final (ninth) passage (of only four lines: ThCont 479.12–15) begins and ends on f. 168. Another series, entitled ΑΠΡΗΛΗΩ, also ends before the manuscript breaks off: it contains three passages of less than one side of a folio concerning raids of the Turks. The first passage, on f. 148v-149, corresponds to ThCont 422.20–423.7, where we see the reason for this date: the first raid occurred in the month of April. The second passage is on f. 162v (ThCont 462.19–463.7), and the third begins and finishes on 168v (ThCont 480.13–17), the last preserved folio of the text.

[23] In personal correspondence, Luca Pieralli has suggested that the ecclesiastical content of much of the later marginalia as well as the remains of a red coloured book-mark pasted together over the edge of the lower right margin of ff. 130/130v (originally sticking out beyond the folio, later trimmed even with the folio) might indeed confirm Ševčenko's argument for reading aloud in a monastic context. However, Pieralli stresses that this would represent a unique example of a secular text being used in such a way. Indeed, the object of the book-mark would appear to be the fifth passage in the series mentioned in the previous note: '12 May on events of the reign of Leo [VI]' (ThCont 371.20–374.2), here with an expanded title: ΑΡΧ(Η) Ε ΤΑ ΕΠΗ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΕ Η ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΑ ΣΑΜΟΝΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΝ ΔΟΥΚΑ: ΚΕ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΗΔΗΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΚΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ: ΚΕ ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΗΝΟΥ. In the same vein, it is our opinion that the confused nature of the marking of passages – with or without the aid of book-marks – as well as the annotator's obvious great interest in purely secular topics, e.g. conspiracies, foreign nations, wars, the palace, would indicate personal secular, rather than congregational religious use. Further, it is remarkable that one of the most conspicuous topics of these series, Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν, is also the title of one of the extant books of the *Excerpta* of Constantine VII: the *De Insidiis.*

The final series is of more use. It begins on f. 146 under the title '18 June.'[24] Eight passages are indicated: Φ(ΥΛΛΑ) Α Α Ι Α Ι Ι Α Α:+, that is, two of more than one folio, one of more than one side of a folio, one of more than a folio, two of more than one side of a folio, and two of more than one folio. The first passage, which ends on f. 146v corresponds to ThCont 415.10–417.2, and the second, which begins on f. 150 and is labelled as being of one folio, ends on f. 151, corresponding to ThCont 426.3–429.6. However, the third is marked on f. 155 not, as in the list at the beginning of the series (f. 146) as comprising more than one side of a folio (Ι), but more than one complete folio (Α); and indeed the passage here extends to f. 156, corresponding to ThCont 441.15–443.12. It would appear, then, that our reader missed out the third passage announced at the beginning of the series (f. 146), and that this passage, labelled on f. 155 as the third in the series, is in actuality the fourth, labelled accordingly on f. 146 as comprising more than one folio (Α). Thus, the series in fact contained only seven, not eight passages. The two subsequent passages, on ff. 161v and 162, marked as the fourth and fifth, are of more than one side of a folio in length (Ι), as indicated for the fifth and sixth passages in the list on f. 146. These latter, then, became the fourth and fifth in the actual series, after the original third one had been missed out. The sixth passage, on f. 168–168v (ThCont 479.15–480.12), and the seventh, beginning on 168v (ThCont 480.18), are both marked as being of more than one folio (Α). This corresponds to the last two passages – the seventh and eighth – in the series in the original title on f. 146, and suggests again that the series contained only seven passages. Thus the seventh and last passage would have extended to no more than one folio after f. 168v.

Considering, then, the plethora of passages marked by the later annotator throughout V, particularly toward the end of Text III, it is highly unlikely that we should find no indication of further passages in the listings of folia in the final series, if the missing text extended beyond a single folio – or bifolium – added on after the last (twenty-first) quire of V.

[24] This date was also given to an earlier series on wars with the Arabs which begins on f. 124v under the title ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΣΤΟΛΟΥ, with six passages listed: the first two of less than one side of a folio, the third of more than a folio, and the last three of less than a folio. The first passage corresponds to ThCont 354.11–14; the third, on f. 128v-129v, to ThCont 366.11–368.20. The marking of the second and last three – all listed as being of less than one side of a folio – have been lost, apparently through the subsequent trimming of the margins.

3. The sources of Text I

A major task for an editor of any text is the identification of the text's sources, particularly when dealing with an historical work. If the editor is able to identify the sources he can compare the text with them and determine not only the author's working methods but also his stylistic patterns. This enables the editor to correct corrupt passages or, at least, to make a conjecture in the apparatus criticus.

Unfortunately only very few of the multifarious texts used by the author of Text I have been preserved. For instance, the lost Greek version of the *Epistula ad Ludovicum*, preserved only in Latin, seems to be the ultimate source of some passages in ThCont II.12–14, 18–20; the verses tattooed in the forehead of the brothers Graptoi as rendered in ThCont III.14 are taken from one of the various hagiographical sources which contain them; the report of the embassy of Petronas to the Khazars mentioned in ThCont III.28 is coincidental in its wording with *De administrando imperio* 42.22–55; versions A and Z of the *Acta Martyrum Amoriensium* edited by Vasilevsky and Nikitin were closely followed by ThCont III.35; and the *Acta Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii* were apparently consulted for the composition of ThCont IV.2–4, as well as the *Vita Ignatii* for ThCont IV.30–34, 38. In contrast, the use of the chronicle of Theophanes, the *Vita Nicephori* (for the beginning of ThCont I) or the chronicle of George the Monk and his continuators for various sections of all four Books is more conjectural. In consequence, only a few passages can be improved with recourse to these sources, and even then the *direct* use of them by the author is uncertain. We have, however, carefully noted all these hypothetical sources in the *apparatus fontium*, as explained below in section 7b.

Of a very different nature are the coincidences of Text I with the so-called *Basileiai* of Genesius, who composed his work by order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus at approximately the same time as our author. Though we know nothing of Genesius except the mention in his work of other Genesioi who may have been related to him, it is clear that he and our author were contemporaries and, most important for our purpose here, wrote very similar accounts of the period, that is, the Second Iconoclasm and the Amorian dynasty.[25] Not only are

[25] On Genesius, see Kaldellis 1998 and Markopoulos 2009a with previous bibliography. The only evidence for him being the author of the *Histories* is the mention of him in the Leipzig manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis*, see Kolovou 2010. On the Genesioi, see Markopoulos 1986, though the interpretation of *Genesius* as a family name is erroneous, as will be shown below in Section 4.

the historical episodes recorded essentially the same and depend on the same sources, but also the structure of the sentences, even if not the actual wording, is to a great extent identical. This cannot be a coincidence and raises the question of the exact nature of the relationship of the two works.[26] Rejecting the easily disproved argument that Text I was used as a source by Genesius,[27] scholars have taken one of two positions: either that Genesius was the source of Text I, or that both went back to a common source (henceforth *CS).

It was Ferdinand Hirsch who first studied the question systematically and argued that Text I was dependent on Genesius. To explain the many passages in Text I which have no correspondence in Genesius, Hirsch suggested that these were 'additions' made from oral sources. There is however little basis for this supposition, for the wording of certain of these same passages is very close to the sources of Text I listed above. Nevertheless, Hirsch was followed by the majority of scholars in the last century[28] and his position taken over in the handbooks, though defenders of Genesius's primacy were obliged to admit that the author of Text I also occasionally used Genesius's sources.[29]

This admission paved the way for the theory of a common source. Alexander Kazhdan and Patricia Karlin-Hayter, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the sources for the reigns of Basil I and Michael III respectively, laid the foundations of this approach.[30] Finally, Jakob Ljubarskij proved without any doubt that both Text I and Genesius depended on the *CS. Leaving aside the major additions in Text I, taken from other sources, Ljubarskij centred his analysis on the episodes shared by both authors, where he noticed small details recorded in Text I but omitted by Genesius and *vice versa*. As neither of them could have added these bits of information perfectly embedded in the narrative from complementary sources, this could only mean that both used the same source.

After Ljubarskij no one questioned the dependence of Genesius and Text I on the *CS, though some problems remained concerning the exact nature of this latter. In 1995 Juan Signes Codoñer published a study of the sources for the history of three iconoclast emperors in Text I, reinforcing with further arguments Ljubarskij's theory of the *CS. Signes further suggested that the *CS was not a chronicle, as argued by Ljubarskij and others before him, but

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26 Signes 1995, xiii-xxi.

27 Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1889a, 27–28 and 1889b, 24–26.

28 Amongst others mainly by Barišić 1959.

29 E.g. Bury 1912, 460–461, who wrote that 'it can be proved … from a number of comparisons, that the Continuators of Theophanes used, along with Genesius, the source of Genesius'; and Barišić 1961, 267, 'en partant de Génésios, le Continuateur complète ses textes sur Michel et sur Thomas … par des extraits provenant des mêmes sources dont s'est servi également Génésios.'

30 Kazhdan 1962; Karlin-Hayter 1971.

rather a dossier of manuscript quires with excerpts compiled from various sources for the composition of a chronicle.[31] This dossier of sources would have been used first by Genesius and then by the author of Text I, who expanded it with new material, mostly of hagiographical provenance. The fact that Genesius in his preface boasts of being first to treat the period in question makes sense only if we assume that the *CS was not a chronicle or any finished work but a preparatory dossier of sources which was lost after use on the intended work.[32]

Further, Signes argued that the author of Text I created a chronological sequence and coherent narrative out of the disparate excerpts in the *CS – often distributing the material related to each emperor according to leitmotifs[33] – whereas Genesius was in general more respectful of the 'autonomy' of the original excerpts and was not much bothered about chronology. This characterisation of the two works should suffice to show that the *CS could not have been a chronicle. Signes further observes that, whereas Genesius attempted to re-write his sources in 'Attic' style, substituting new words, the author of Text I was more conservative. He may have upgraded the Greek of his sources, but avoided Genesius's exagerated preciosity.

Varona Codeso accepted Signes's assessment of the *CS on several points; however, she argued that it never existed as a text on its own, but that both Genesius and the author of Text I worked directly from complete manuscripts of the sources, on the basis of marginal remarks.[34]

Most recently, Paul Magdalino has also argued for a dossier of source material (ὑποθέσεις): 'sequential but unconnected excerpts and abridgements resembling his [Constantine VII's] historical encyclopedia, except that the texts were much more diverse and probably included saints' lives in addition to shorter secular narratives'.[35]

[31] Signes 1995 passim; Signes 1994. Ljubarskij 1996 equated this dossier with that advanced by Paul Speck, e.g. Speck 1988. However, though Signes uses the word 'dossier' for the *CS, he rejects Speck's concept of corrupt papyrus cards ('Zetteln') collected in folders ('Mappen').

[32] The fact that no dossier of sources for the composition of any historical work has been preserved, or better, identified as such, does not rule out the existence of such a compilation. In his preface Theophanes clearly refers to a dossier of sources collected by Synkellos as the basis of his chronicle, and Signes 2015 has argued that the so-called Chronographia Brevis attributed to Nikephoros was Synkellos's draft for arranging his material. For another dossier of sources collected for the composition of an historical work, see Odorico 2014.

[33] For instance, the narrative of Theophilos' reign is structured in four main sections: justice, iconoclasm, wars and buildings.

[34] Varona Codeso 2010, esp. 314–317. This does not, however, sufficiently explain why Genesius and the author of Text I present the excerpta in the same order. Moreover, it is clear (e.g. in the case of most of the hagiographical sources) that the *CS contained summaries of the sources, not word-for-word excerpts.

[35] Magdalino 2013b, 200–206, esp. 201

Amongst other questions which still remain unanswered are those concerning the physical transmission of the *CS from Genesius to the author of Text I, and the nature of the oral sources mentioned in the preface to this latter.[36]

[36] For some reflections on oral epic tradition in our text see Signes 2014, 95–99.

4. The Authorship of Texts I–III and the subsequent compilation of Theophanes Continuatus

Texts I and II of ThCont were produced in the literary circle of Constantine VII during the latter's sole rule (944–959) with the purpose of exalting the Macedonian dynasty and its founder, Basil I, at the expense of the four emperors who preceded him. As we have seen, these two texts and Genesius were all based on the earlier *CS. In answer to why Genesius and the author of Text I wrote on the same subject, beside the usual explanation that Genesius did not sufficiently pursue the political programme of Constantine VII we might also consider literary aesthetics. All three texts, Genesius and Texts I and II, represent a revival, or better, a reinvention, of the genre of History which had given way to that of the chronicle in the 'Dark Age' of the seventh and eighth centuries. Genesius, who seems to have adhered closely to the *CS, was apparently deemed too pedantic in the profusion of Classical citations and unusual verbal forms, e.g. the ubiquitous pluperfects. The more elegant style of Texts I and II eschews these latter and alters details of the narrative not simply for political purposes but also to obtain a more entertaining, sometimes gossipy style which might have appealed to members of the imperial court.[37]

Seeing that the author of Text I used the same dossier of sources as Genesius, it would follow that he belonged to the same literary circle under Constantine VII. His identity remains unknown, but because the later historian Skylitzes made extensive use of both Text I and Genesius,[38] we should expect to find the author of Text I in the list of sources cited by Skylitzes in the preface to his work. If our Genesius and that mentioned by Skylitzes were indeed the same person, it is likely that the author of Text I also figures amongst the Constantinopolitan historians whom Skylitzes names as his predecessors:

Ἰωσήφ, Γενέσιος καὶ Μανουήλ, οἱ Βυζάντιοι
Joseph, Genesius and Manuel, the Byzantines

[37] Featherstone 2012, 125–133.

[38] For the alternating use of Genesius and Text I by Skylitzes see Kiapidou 2010, 65–76 and 153–218.

Most scholars, including the editor of Skylitzes in the CFHB[39] and recent translators,[40] have seen here a reference to just two historians, Joseph Genesius and Manuel. But since Skylitzes *never* omits the article before a family name, Genesius must in fact be a first name.[41] We have here, then, not two, but three historians working in the Capital; and one of them was probably the author of Text I. Unfortunately, we have no further clue to the identity of this Joseph or Manuel.[42] Stylistic parallels, for instance between Text I and Arethas of Patras (who may have lived well into the 950's) are perhaps striking, but may simply reflect a common cultural background.[43]

ThCont is interspersed with word-for-word citations from antique Greek historians which are not to be found in Genesius. Taken out of context, these citations are intended to convey general ideas or enhance the style of the narrative.[44] It is doubtful that the author had them from direct reading of the sources. Rather, one might suspect that they come from the historical *Excerpta Constantiniana*. Could our author, then, have been involved in the compilation of these latter?

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[39] Thurn (Genesius 3.28) punctuated the text without a comma before Genesius: Ἰωσὴφ Γενέσιος, καὶ Μανουὴλ οἱ Βυζάντιοι.

[40] Flusin–Cheynet 2003, 2: 'Joseph Génésios et Manuel, qui étaient Byzantins'.

[41] Signes 1995, xxviii–xxxii. Markopoulos 2009a and 2009b does not answer this argument. Cheynet 2015 traces the history of the *Genesioi* on the premiss that Genesios was a family name. This, however, is not attested until the eleventh century. The first three members of the family in Cheynet's list are Constantine Maniakes and the two brothers Thomas and Genesios. The fourth is the *Phantomgestalt* Joseph Genesios.

[42] The identification of this Joseph with Joseph Bringas in Signes 1995 was purely speculative and has been rejected by Markopoulos 2009a, 137 n. 3 and 2009b, 698 n. 5. As for Manuel, it has now been shown that this was the *protospatharios* and judge who wrote eight books on the deeds of John Kourkouas mentioned in ThCont VI.40, 427.20–428.2; see, e.g., Markopoulos 2009b, 703. However, this identification does not exclude Manuel from being the author of Texts I, II or even III. Though Skylitzes (230.33–37) takes information about him from ThCont, his mention of him in the preface may also have been derived from other sources.

[43] ThCont and Arethas share many proverbs and phrases, e.g. ThCont I.5.22 *κενὴν … ἔψηλαν* = Arethas Opus 76.124 *κενήν* σοί φασι *ψάλλειν* περιγέγονε τούτοις; ThCont I.11.24 *πνεύματι Πύθωνος* = Arethas Opus 21.202 τὴν κατὰ *Πύθωνος πνεῦμα* ψυχὴν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις φοιβάζουσαν; ThCont I.13.25–26 *πυρφόρον … διασωθῆναι* = Arethas Opus 47.316 ὡς μηδὲ *πυρφόρον*, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, τῇ παρεμβολῇ *διατηρηθῆναι*; ThCont I.21.12–13 ὡς ἂν διά *τινος πορθμείου διαβιβάζοιντο λόγοι* οἱ αὐτοῦ = Arethas, Schol. in Arist. schol. 214, ln. 3939 δεῖται οἷόν *τινος πορθμείου* τοῦ *λόγου*, ᾧ τὰ ἀγώγιμα τῆς διανοίας ἀλλήλοις *διαβιβάσομεν*; ThCont II.15.12–13 *εἰς πίθον τετρημένον, τὸ τοῦ λόγου*, τούτους ἐναπορράνας τοὺς λόγους = Arethas Opus 3 29 *εἰς τετρημένον πίθον, τὸ τοῦ λόγου*, ἀντλῶν. But such parallels are certainly not conclusive.

[44] E.g. Dionysius Halicarnassus in I.7.4–5, Plutarch in I.9.2–4 and Polybius in I.11.5–8.

Text II, though its preface is written in the first person, as if by Constantine himself, is surely the work of a ghost-writer, whom Ševčenko identified with the author of the anonymous *De imagine Edessena*.[45]

Text III is also anonymous, but for our purposes here we are not so concerned with its composition as with the circumstances of its addition to Texts I and II by the compiler of ThCont As has been suggested elsewhere, this compiler might be identified with Basil the Nothos (d. 985), bastard son Constantine VII's father-in-law and co-emperor, Romanus I Lekapenos (920–944).[46] Head of the civil service as parakoimonenos, or chamberlain under Constantine, Basil is known to have commissioned manuscripts and was in all likelihood an habitué of the literary circle in which Texts I and II had been produced. Indeed, the addition of Text III in the final compilation fits with the intention expressed in the preface to Text II, where Constantine – or rather, his ghost-writer – states that he originally wanted to relate the history of all the Roman emperors who had ruled at Constantinople, that is, since Constantine the Great, down to his own day. Since, however, there is not enough time to do all this, he has begun with the reign of his illustrious grandfather, Basil I; and if possible, he will write up the subsequent history later.[47] This, then, was done by the final compiler: Text III brings the narrative down to the reign of Constantine VII's son, Romanus II (959–963).

A composite of two texts, Text III is written, in stark contrast to Texts I and II, in the simpler style of the chronicle. There was apparently neither the perceived necessity nor enough time for the composition of a text in high, classicising style. The compiler added Text III with the purpose of filling the gap between the death of Basil I and the reigning emperor of the time, Nicephorus Phokas (963–969). In so doing, he has followed Constantine VII's original wish of bringing the narrative down to the present.[48] But, if we are right in the identification of Basil the Nothos as the compiler, the reason for adding Text III and 'publishing' ThCont was hardly compliance with the wish of Constantine. For, perhaps because of a lingering suspicion of the entire family of Romanus I Lekapenos, Constantine, on his death-bed in 959, had passed over Basil and appointed his rival Joseph Bringas as parakoimomenos and regent for his young son Romanus II. Basil bided his time for four years until Romanus's death in 963, but then colluded in the coup d'état of Nice-

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45 See Mango 2013, 13*; parallels with *De imagine Edessena*, Ševčenko 2013, Index locorum, 484–485.

46 On Basil the Nothos, see most recently Wander 2012, 93–132; for the identification of him with the compiler of ThCont, see Featherstone 2014.

47 VBas, 8.1–10.22.

48 Featherstone 2012, 133–135; Featherstone 2014, 359–360. The identification of Basil as the final compiler is of course dependent on the dating of Version B of the *Logothete Chronicle*, which is closely related to Text III and of which the earliest manuscript, *Vat. gr.* 163, is dated to 1013. See Wahlgren 2006, 3*–8*.

phorus Phokas against Bringas, whom Romanus II, following his father's example, had left as regent of his two sons, Basil II and Constantine VIII. In return for Basil the Nothos's help, Phokas restored him to the office of parakoimomenos and also created a new dignity for him, that of proedros, or president of the Senate.[49]

Just as Texts I and II had been intended to bring the historiography down to the reign of Basil I, Constantine VII's grandfather and founder of the dynasty, so did the addition of Text III bring the story down to the accession of Phokas, Basil the Nothos's protector. Because the new compilation could not contain a chapter on Phokas, since his reign had apparently only just begun, Basil contrived to include Phokas in a new compilation – prepared, we believe, in tandem with ThCont – of another work begun earlier in Constantine VII's circle, the *De Cerimoniis*.

Again, as in the case of ThCont, Basil must have been involved from the beginning in the composition of the *De Cerimoniis* and would have been acquainted with the dossier of texts that had been gathered for work on it under Constantine VII. It was surely Basil who, in his later compilation, appended the account of Phokas's coup and accession at the end of Book I of the *De Cerimoniis*, working it in for good effect with excerpts from Peter the Patrician on the accession of the emperors from Leo I down to Justinian. Then, placing also himself in the spotlight, Basil ended Book I with a description of the ceremonies for his promotion as proedros of the Senate.[50] After these additions to Book I, Basil relegated to the end of Book II various other texts which, like Peter the Patrician, would have been in the original dossier for work on the *De Cerimoniis*. Amongst these was a list of emperors who reigned in Constantinople (II 41), and another on the emperors' tombs (II 42). Tellingly, both of these texts have been brought down to Romanus II.[51] We are reminded here of the intention of writing up the reigns of all emperors who reigned in Constantinople in the preface to the *Vita Basili*.[52] Indeed, one might ask whether

[49] The contemporary Leo the Deacon describes Basil's special relation to Phocas: … Βασίλειος ὁ Νόθος, Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ πάλαι αὐτοκράτορος ἐκ Σκυθίδος υἱός, τῷ τοῦ προέδρου ἐκδιαπρέπων ἀξιώματι. Νικηφόρος δὲ μόνος τῶν λοιπῶν σεβαστῶν, ἐς γέρας τῷ ἀνδρὶ ταύτην ἐκαινοτόμησε τὴν τιμήν· (Leo Diaconus, 94.3–6).

[50] Phokas's coup: *De Cer.* Reiske I 96 [105], about which more below; promotion of proedros: *De Cer.* Reiske I '97' (not numbered in the *Lipsiensis*), 441.12–443.22.

[51] The folia containing II 41were cut out of the *Lipsiensis* I, 17 before any edition of the text. The end of the list is preserved in the Istanbul fragment of the second manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis*, the palimpsest *Chalcensis S. Trinitatis* (125) 133, f. 126, where Romanus II is the last emperor metioned: Mango–Ševčenko 1962, 62. Further on the palimpsest: Featherstone–Gruskova–Kresten 2005. In the list of tombs in II 42, the last emperor is Constantine VII, *De Cer.* Reiske, 643.7.

[52] We might also note that sarcophagus of Michael II in the list of tombs corresponds literally with that in Book II of ThCont: *De Cer.* Reiske 645.17–18 and below II.28.20–21, see above 16*. Further, the *Life* of Alexander the Great added by the compiler at the end of Book II of

the original working dossiers for the *De Cerimoniis* and ThCont could not have been related.

But however it may be with the dossiers, we observe similarities of method in the final compilation of the two works. Just as the compiler borrowed from the text of Peter the Patrician for his account of Phokas's accession in 963 and added this and other excerpts from Peter at the end of Book I of the *De Cerimoniis*, so did he use Version B of the *Logothete Chronicle* to bring ThCont down to the reign of Romanus II.[53] The dating of Version B is disputed, the only certain date – terminus ante quem – being that of the earliest dated manuscript, *Vat. gr.* 163: AD 1062.[54] We must await the decision of Staffan Walgren in his forthcoming edition. But the case can be made that the work dates from the reign of Phokas, just after his succession to Romanus II, with whose reign Version B in *Vat. gr.* 163 and in Text III of ThCont ends. Text IIIb, which begins with the sole reign of Constantine VII and is full of his praise, is thought by some to be the work of Theodore Daphnopates. Interestingly, Basil the Nothos is very much in evidence here; however the author's assessment of him is ambiguous, and there is outright praise for his hated rival Bringas.[55]

The choice of Text IIIa, with its anti-Macedonian bias, could be explained by Basil's displeasure with Constantine VII for having favoured Bringas over him as regent for Romanus II. The inclusion of Text IIIb, with its ambiguous treatment of Basil and praise for Bringas, is certainly surprising. But again, Basil's use of the *Logothete Chronicle* appears to have been an expediency: he was in a hurry and needed a ready text to bring ThCont down to the time of his new protector, Phokas, the 'victorious emperor'.[56] The descriptions of Basil's part in the ceremonies for Constantine's funeral, with literal correspondence to protocols in the *De Cerimoniis*, would have pleased Basil.[57] Still, one might well ask why the praise of Bringas and apparent criticism of Basil

the *De Cerimoniis* fits well with ThCont where, in the VBas, Basil I is compared with Alexander (VBas, 18.26–27). The *Vita* has been lost with the end of the Leipzig manuscript, but it mentioned in the *Pinax*, or list of contents of Book II, see Featherstone 2004, 115.

53 One might wonder whether Basil could not have commissioned Version B, which displays a penchant for decription of the Palace and ceremonial that is wholly absent in Version A, see Featherstone 2012, 133. Against this is the apparent criticism of Basil which was allowed to stand in the new version. But for another example of Basil's seeming indifference, see below and n. 59.

54 See Wahlgren 2006, 4*–8*.

55 Kazhdan 2006, 152–153; Featherstone 2014, 360, n. 20 and Appendix 1.2, 1.3, 1.4.

56 ThCont 378.16–17.

57 Description of funeral: ThCont 466.11–468.14; cf. Featherstone 2014, 360 and Appendix 1.1.

were allowed to stand.[58] But perhaps Basil was not particularly bothered about details of the text, for there is a similar case in the *De Cerimoniis*, Book II 55–56 [55], which is also a composite of two very different texts, the second containing praise of a *praipositos* Joseph, presumably Bringas.[59]

58 For instance, Angelidi 2012, 24, doubts Basil's active participation in the redaction of Text III. But even if he was not connected with Version B of the *Logothete Chronicle*, he could still have commissioned the final compilation of ThCont. Whoever was responsible, it is obviously a hasty, careless job of combining two contradictory texts.

59 *De Cer.* Reiske II, 798–808; cf. Featherstone 2004, 117–120. A much more polished job is Book I 96 of the *De Cerimoniis*, mentioned above, concerning the accession of Phokas. Here we posit that the scissors-and-pasting crosses over from one of Basil's compilations to the other. Since ThCont could not properly include a chapter on Phokas, in as much as he was still alive, Basil has created a sort of hybrid chapter in the *De Cerimoniis* by grafting on there a text which begins as a chapter on the reign of an emperor might have done in Text III of ThCont, with a detailed account of the circumstances of Phokas's advent to power. Then, with the description of the accession ceremonies, the chapter finishes in keeping with the preceding chapters in the *De Cerimoniis*, excerpted from Peter the Patrician, on imperial accessions, including the acclamations copied from those for Leo I: *De Cer.* Reiske, I 96 [105], 439.7–17 and I 91 [100], 410.11–411.3; cf. Featherstone 2014, 361 and Appendices 2.3 and 2.4.

5. Reception: John Skylitzes (and Ps-Symeon)

5.1. John Skylitzes made extensive use of the first four books of ThCont for his *Historical Synopsis,* as we have already noted. In the end Skylitzes's work replaced our history and became a text of reference in later times for the history of the ninth century, as attested by the large number of manuscripts; and Skylitzes was in turn used by later historians such as George Cedrenus and John Zonaras, whose chronicles were to have an even greater diffusion. In consequence, the text we call *Theophanes Continuatus* lost interest for generations of scholars and readers, which explains its preservation in only one manuscript, *Vat. gr.* 167.

The obvious errors and many lacunae in the *Vaticanus* make Skylitzes of utmost importance for the present edition, in so far as the text can be reconstructed from his usually close paraphrase. However, although contemporary with Skylitzes, *Vat. gr.* 167 does not belong to the same family as the manuscript used by him, but represents, as we shall see, another branch of the textual tradition.

The editor of ThCont is faced with a difficult problem when using the variants in Skylitzes for the *constitutio textus*, for Skylitzes follows no set pattern in his rewriting of ThCont. Sometimes he reproduces it literally, though most often he changes words and syntax, depending on his own stylistic perception of the original and also, apparently, on difficulties in certain passages of the manuscript he had. It is therefore often very likely that a better reading in Skylitzes is due to an improvement by him of the original text based on other sources or even his own wit. However there are reasons to suppose that Skylitzes had a better text of ThCont than that preserved in the *Vaticanus*, so that his reading may be accepted in the edition as the correct one.

5.2. In certain corrupt passages in *Vat. gr.* 167 Skylitzes appears to have preserved the correct original reading, for his text makes perfect sense and cannot have been taken from other sources. Thus, the manuscript which Skylitzes had must have been better than the *Vaticanus*, and in these cases we have used Skylitzes to emend the text.

I.21.42 ἀπεφοίασέται V: ἀπεφοίβασέ τε edd e Scyl 20.59

II.7.9 πράττει V edd: προστάττει Boor, cf. Scyl 26.55 ἐναποτάττει: – the text of Scyl provides the clue for correcting πράττει into τάττει, the scribe of V has missed out three letters (οστ).

II.8.39–40 τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔρρει πρὸς τὴν μῖξιν τῶν γραμμάτων V: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἤργει πρὸς τὴν μῖξιν τῶν γραμμάτων edd Boor e Scyl 28.13–14

II.18.10 ὡς ἔοικε ἐγκρατὴς V: ὡς ἔοικε <δαιμόνων> ἐγκρατὴς edd e Scyl 38.7–9 ὁ δ' ἀποστάτης ἐς τοῦτο ἀφῖκτο μανίας παρὰ τῶν συμμαχούντον, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτῷ δαιμόνων, καὶ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας εἰσέτι ὠνειροπόλει κατάσχεσιν, ὅτι: post ἔοικε scripsit θαρους (sic) παρὰ τῶν αὐτῷ συμμαχούν et postea cancelavit V: post ἔοικε lacunam postulavit Boor

II.20bis.1–4 οὐκ ἔμελλε δὲ ἄχρι τούτων ἡ φορά πως οἷόν τινος κεφαλῆς καὶ οὐρᾶς, εἰ καὶ μὴ συνίεσαν, παιδευθέντων φόνοις, ἐμπρησμοῖς, σεισμοῖς V: οὐκ ἔμελλε δὲ ἄχρι τούτων ἡ φορά πως <στήσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν δύο ἠπείρων, Ἀσίας φαμὲν καὶ Εὐρώπης>, οἷόν τινος κεφαλῆς καὶ οὐρᾶς etc. nos e Scyl. 41.2–3, om. V propter homoeoteleuton inter φορά πως et Εὐρώπης: <στήσεσθαι – Εὐρώπης, ἐν θυμῷ κυρίου> add. edd Boor itidem e Scyl. 41.2–3, sed verba ἐν θυμῷ κυρίου additionem Scylitzae putamus – the lacuna in V does not occur in Skylitzes

II.25.15 ἀντέστρεψέως V B: ἀντέστρεψεν τελέως Boor e Scyl 45.13 ἀνέτρεψε (ἀνέστρεψε ms. B) τελέως: ἀντέστρεψεν ὡς in marg. B Comb: ἀνέστρεψεν ὡς Bekk

III.32.20–21 τῷ δ' ἀμεραμνουνῇ ἀκηκόοτι νίκης οὐ μικρᾶς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀμορίου καταδρομή V: τῷ δ' ἀμεραμνουνῇ ἀκηκόοτι νίκης οὐ μικρᾶς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀμορίου καταδρομῆς nos, sed lacunam post μικρᾶς coni. Boor, cf. Scyl 77.92–94 τῷ δ' ἀμερμουμνῇ ἀκηκόοτι τὴν νίκην ἔδοξε μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι πρὸς τὸ Ἀμόριον

IV.16.21–22 πόλεις τε κτίζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν αὐτοῖς, τὴν οὕτω καλουμένην Ἀργαοῦν V: πόλεις τε κτίζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν αὐτοῖς, τὴν τὴν οὕτω καλουμένην Ἀργαοῦν <καὶ τὴν Ἄμαραν> nos e Scyl 93, 26 (Ἀμάραν edd e Cedreno) – ThCont refers to cities in the plural, but V has only one; Skylitzes can only have found the name of the second city in his manuscript of ThCont, for this episode does not appear in any other source.

IV.20.15–18 ὅπερ ἐκείνη καταφωράσασα καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἰδεῖν φόνους τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὁμοφύλων βλάβας ἐκφεύγουσα V: ὅπερ ἐκείνη καταφωράσασα – καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἰδεῖν <καὶ στοχάσασθαι δυνατή – ἀντιπράττειν οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν>, φόνους τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὁμοφύλων βλάβας ἐκφεύγουσα edd Boor e Scyl 95.13–96.1 – clearly an omission in V through homeoteleuton (ἰδεῖν – δεῖν).

IV.28.5–6 ὡς ἢ θάνατον κατεπείγεσθαι V: ὡς <τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἢ μετανάστας γενέσθαι ἐλπίζειν> ἢ θάνατον κατεπείγεσθαι coni. Kamb, cf. Scyl 104.76–77 καὶ πάντες ἢ μετανάσται γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, ἢ λιμῷ καὶ ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων διαφθαρήσεσθαι ἤλπιζον: lac. statuit Boor

5.3. When a variant reading in Skylitzes is found in both Genesius and Ps-Symeon, it can only be the original text; it would be too much of a coincidence that an error in the manuscript tradition of the text used by Skylitzes and Ps-Symeon occurs also in Genesius. In any case, these variants are few.

I.8.1 Ἐξαβούλλιον + II.19 Ἐξαβούλλοιον V: Ἐξαβούλιος Gen 4.46, 5.54, 15.61, 68, 22.54, 31.57 et Scyl 7.43, 47 (AVMN), 19.32, 40.64, cf. Ἑξαβούλης PsSym 613.16

I.15.9 Συμβάτιος V: Σαββάτιος nos e Gen 10.24, PsSym 604.23 et Scyl 14.61 – One might be puzzled how the corrupt reading also found its way into the marginal notes of V, which would appear to have been taken over from the prototype (and perhaps go back to the archetype). Presumably, the scribe of V – or of the prototype – reproduced the name in the notes as it was in the text.

III.27.16–17 μήτε τὸν Ἰαννὴν ὑπερορίας τυχεῖν μήτε V: μετὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον fort. ante μήτε inserendum, cf. μετὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον μήτε Scyl 74.64 et etiam μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν Gen 50.11 et μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ PsSym f. 242v

III.27.21 Τριφύλιον V edd: Τριφύλλιον Boor e Gen 49.88 Τριφύλλιος et Scyl 73.69 Τριφυλλίους, cf. PsSym f 242v Τριφιλλίω

5.4. If a variant reading in Skylitzes is confirmed only by Genesius, this is in itself no proof of genuineness, for Skylitzes may have simply used Genesius

to emend the text he found in his own manuscript of ThCont. However, we accept such a reading if it offers the solution to a textual problem. Again, such cases are few and occur only in the first two books of ThCont. Thereafter Skylitzes appears to have ceased collating the text with Genesius.

I.1.16 γενναῖον ἀνάστημα ἔχοντα V edd: γενναῖον κατάστημα ἔχοντα Boor in app. e Gen 6.10 et Scyl 9.7

I.3.20–21 τὴν κόμητος ἀρχὴν V: τὴν κόμητος <κόρτης> ἀρχὴν Boor e Gen 8.54 et Scyl 11.60 – the recurrence of the syllable κο – would appear to have led to the omission of κόρτης, though Skylitzes may have found the correct reading in Genesius.

I.10.2 τὸ τοῦ θεοτόκου τεμένισμα V: θεοτόκου Boor in app. e Gen 6.90 et Scyl 8.82: θῦ V: θεοῦ edd – Skylitzes may have known that the temple was dedicated to the *Theotokos*, not just to God, and therefore his reading here need not have come from Genesius.

I.20.37–38 σύνες ὅ τοι φησίν V: ὅ τι <λέγει>," φησίν Bekk Boor e Gen 13.5 et Scyl 17.65 σύνες τοῖς λεγομένοις: ὅ τι Comb – λέγει was missed out in V through proximity to φησιν, but it is to be inserted on account of the agreement of Skylitzes and Genesius.

II.10.11–12 ἔτος γάρ που διηνύετο τούτῳ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν V: ἔτος γάρ – εἰκοστὸν: add. verba ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνους διατριβῇ Scyl 29.33, quae Boor suspicitur excidisse, cf. Gen 25.59–60 συχνὸν χρόνον ἐν αὐτοῖς διατρίψας ὡσεὶ εʹ καὶ κʹ παρελκυσθῆναι ἐνιαυτοὺς

II.12.17 Ἰακώβ V edd: Ἰώβ Boor e Gen 24.17 et Scyl 31.9 – the correct name of the patriarch of Antioch is given by both Genesius and Skylitzes, but the scribe of V probably mistook the accent as a sign of abbreviation for a longer name. We cannot rule out the possibility that Skylitzes found the correct reading in Genesius.

II.19.27–28 τις Ἰωάννης ἀνὴρ V: τις Ἰωάννης ἀνὴρ <πατρίκιος> add. Boor e Gen 31.57 Ἰωάννης ἀνὴρ ἐπίκλησιν Ἐξαβούλιος, ἐν πατρικίοις τελῶν et Scyl 40.63–64 ὁ πατρίκιος Ἰωάννης: τις ἀνὴρ Ἰωάννης edd

5.5. There are also cases where Skylitzes and Ps-Symeon have a common reading at variance with V for which the explanation is unclear. It could be that both Skylitzes and the Ps-Symeon emended the original text in the same way, independently of each other, or – more important for us here – that their manuscripts of ThCont had the same reading. Moreover, Ps-Symeon's manuscript of ThCont may not have belonged to the same family as V, but to another which was closer to Genesius. Ps-Symeon would then have used this common source to supplement the text of the Logothete, on which he mainly depends.

I.24.3–4 Μιχαήλ τινα ἐξ ὀνόματος διακοῦσαι ἐπιπηδήσαντα προτρεπομένου V: διακοῦσαι <καλέσαντος καὶ> Boor e Scyl 21.85–86 καλεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος et PsSym 611.21 ἤκουσε … ἐξ ὀνόματος καλέσαι – despite the probability that the common reading of Skylitzes and Ps-Symeon is the original, the sentence in V makes sense as it stands.

III.5.25 ἐρρωμένας V: ἐρρωμένως edd e Scyl 52.88 et PsSym 628.17

III.6.11 διαβάντος V: διαβάντα Scyl 53.14 et PsSym 629.14 – the subject of the genitive absolute is not explicit, and the version of Skylitzes and Ps-Symeon substitutes an accusative for clarity.

IV.7.29 ὑπειπὼν V: ἐπειπὼν Boor e Scyl 85.24 et PsSym 650.11

IV.7.34 ὅλην τοῦ σκηνώματος ἐναπέτεμεν V: ὅλην τοῦ σώματος ἀπέτεμεν, post quae verba add τὴν κεφαλήν edd e Scyl 86.28–29 sed cf. PsSym 651.14 σκηνώματος ἐναπέτεμεν – here Ps-Symeon indicates an addition by Skylitzes.

IV.11.17 καὶ ταῦτα … ἡ ὑπόσχεσις V: αὕτη … ἡ ὑπόσχεσις Scyl 89.29: αὗται PsSym 653.21

IV.21.7 πεντήκοντα, δὲ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἑκάστῳ τριάκοντα V: ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ τοὐλάχιστον πεντήκοντα Scyl 96.34–35, cf. PsSym 659.7 ρ′ ἢ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ν′ – the difference between 50 in V and 100 in Skylitzes and Ps-Symeon might be explained by confusion of the minuscule numeral 50 (ν) for 100 (ρ) in the first sum. It is more difficult to explain the change from 40 (μ) to 80 (π), but again, the minuscule forms 30 (λ) and 50 (ν) are similar. Skylitzes apparently chose 80 as a number in the middle, whereas Ps-Symeon simply abridged the text.

5.6. Likewise, the testimony of Ps-Symeon alone is insufficient against V. To cite just one instance:

IV.3.18 κατὰ τὸ προάστειον αὐτοῦ τὸ οὕτω λεγόμενον περιορισθεὶς τὰ Ψιχά V: κατά τινα μονὴν ἐν τῷ Κλειδίῳ περιορίζεται. ἐν ᾗ ἁγίων εἰκόνας ξέσας, τοῦτον ἡ βασίλισσα μάστιξι διακοσίαις παιδεύει, καὶ *κατὰ τὸ προάστειον αὐτοῦ*, ὃ λέγεται Ψιχά, ἀποστέλλεται (ἀπὸ στέλλοηται f 245v) PsSym 649.2–5 – it could be that the scribe of V has missed out the sentence concerning the monastery in Kleidion by homoioteleuton; but as the text in V makes perfect sense, we cannot be sure that Ps-Symeon has not, as he often does, added to his source.

5.7. Skylitzes sometimes appears to use other sources to correct a faulty passage in the text of ThCont as it stands in V. Here, however, we cannot be sure that he did not have an annotated or interpolated manuscript of ThCont

II.8.7–8 ἕκαστος οὖν αὐτῷ ποιείτω καὶ ἐφετόν V: ἕκαστος οὖν <τὸ δοκοῦν> αὐτῷ ποιείτω καὶ ἐφετόν edd e Scyl 27.77 et Vita Nicephori 209 – Skylitzes may have improved the text on the basis of the *Vita Nicephori*, though this seems unlikely.

III.14.33 ἔστησαν εἰς σύστημα τῆς οἰκουμένης V B in marg. Acta Davidis 239.7 Scyl 62.79 (AEV) Comb in marg. Bekk: σύστασιν B Vita Michaelis Syncelli 86.8 Vita Theodori Grapti 673D PsSym 641.22 Scyl 62.79 (CBMN), Comb – preserved in a number of historical sources, these verses have come down in two versions in different branches of the tradition of Skylitzes.

IV.8.20 καὶ ἐκ βάθρων ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος ἀνιδρύθη μονή V: post μεγαλομάρτυρος fortasse <Φωκᾶ> addendum, cf. Scyl 86.47–48 εἰς μονὴν κατεσκευάσθη ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι Φωκᾶ τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος – we cannot know whether Skylitzes found the monastery's name in his manuscript of ThCont or in another source.

IV.16.6–7 ὁ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Δουκὸς καὶ ὁ Σουδάλης οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ἐλέγοντο V: cf. Scyl 92.11 ὁ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ δὲ ἦν Λέων καὶ ὁ τοῦ Δουκὸς Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ ὁ Σουδάλης – Skylitzes gives the first names of two of the three persons mentioned, whereas V gives none. If this is an addition by Skylitzes, one asks from which source. Perhaps there were marginal notes in Skylitzes's manuscript of ThCont

IV.22.22–27 ἀδελφαὶ δὲ τρεῖς, ἥ τε εὐφήμῳ οὕτω καλουμένη ὀνόματι Καλομαρία καὶ Σοφία καὶ ἡ <Εἰρήνη>. ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν Σοφία εἰς κοίτην ἐδίδοτο Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Βαβούτζικον, ἡ δὲ Καλομαρία Ἀρσαβὴρ τῷ τηνικαῦτα μὲν πατρικίῳ ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μαγίστρῳ, †τῷ Εἰρήνης† τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ἀντιλαβομένου Φωτίου ἀδελφῷ nos: Εἰρήνη suppl. taciter edd, cf. Scyl 98.72: spatium ca. duodecim litterarum praebet V: lacunam statuit Boor, suspiciens Scylitzae fictionem // τῷ Εἰρήνης V Boor: fortasse <ἡ δὲ> Εἰρήνη Σ<εργίῳ> τῷ vel simile scribendum cf. Scyl 98.73 Εἰρήνη δὲ Σεργίῳ: <ἡ δὲ Εἰρήνη> τῷ Εἰρήνης edd – for a discussion of this passage, see Mango 1977.

IV.34.10–11 Νίκην ἐγκαθιδρυμένην κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Ἄνναν στερρῶς ἱσταμένας ἐγκατασείσαντες V: post ἐγκαθιδρυμένην add. καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ Boor e Scyl 107.55–56

5.8. The reasons for some of the corrupt passages in V are obvious, either on account of syntactical or morphological error, or imprecision of reference.

Thus, even when Skylitzes provides a reading of the passage which can be accepted in the edition, we cannot be sure whether he emended the text *ope ingenii* or simply found the correct reading in his manuscript.

I.3.19 τὴν Φοιδεράτων V: τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Φοιδεράτων Boor in app. e Scyl 30.56 – Skylitzes easily supplies the obvious substantive.

I.22.4–6 βίβλῳ … καὶ μορφὰς καὶ σχήματα ἔχοντι V edd: ἐχούσῃ Boor e Scyl 20.63–64 βιβλίῳ … ἔχοντι: ἔχουσα V edd – Skylitzes substitutes ἔχοντι for ἔχουσα for the syntax. This procedure is very common and we note here further examples without comment.

I.26.1–2 κατὰ τὸν μῆνα V: Δεκέμβριον add. edd e Scyl 23.56 – it is evident in the previous narrative that Leo the Armenian died in December; thus Skylitzes could easily have made this addition.

II.2.20 τῶν ἡμετέρων ἕνεκεν λύτρων ἁμαρτιῶν V: λύτρον edd e Scyl 25.93

II.4.1–2 τὰ δὲ ἦν συῶν μὲν τῶν ἀρτιτόκων προλέγειν ὅσοι τε ἔσονται ἐντραφεῖς V: εὐτραφεῖς edd Boor e Scyl 25.19, Ptolemaeus, Apotelesmatica 2.2.4.8 σώματα μεγάλοι καὶ εὐτραφεῖς τοῖς μεγέθεσι

II.11.1 Ἅτερος δὲ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Θωμᾶν V: post εἶναι add. φησι Boor e Scyl 30.53 – Skylitzes supplies the main verb.

II.14bis.25 ἢ τοσαύτη δυνάμει V: ἡ τοσαύτη δύναμις edd e Scyl 35.96

II.20.2–3 τὰ τοῦ τυράννου φρονῆσαι V edd Boor: φρονοῦσαι nos e Scyl 40.78

II.21.17 ἔχον V: ἔχων edd Boor e Scyl 42.19

II.22.7–8 δύναμίν τινα … τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποσοβήσουσαν τοὺς ἀγροὺς V: Ἀγαρηνοὺς coni. Boor: ἐχθρούς edd e Scyl 43.57 – the correct reading would appear to be Ἀγαρηνούς, of which ἀγροὺς would be an abbreviation; ἐχθροὺς is probably a conjecture *ad sensum*.

III.3.8 ἕκαστον V Bekk in app. Boor: <περὶ> ἑκάστου nos e Scyl 51.39: ἑκάστου edd

III.4.29 ἔκ τε V: ἔκτοτε edd e Scyl 51.66

III.9.30 πρὸς τὸ ἀναπαύσεως καταγώγιον V: <τῆς> post τὸ suppl. Boor e Scyl 57.12

III.13.26 ἐκείνου δὲ τὸ μῖσος καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μανίαν V: ἐκείνου δὲ τὸ μῖσος <προτιμῆσαι> καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μανίαν Boor e Scyl 61.44: καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μανίαν καὶ προτιμῆσαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον edd, fortasse recte addentes ultimam sententiam e Scyl 61.45

III.18.4 τὴν πασῶν ἐσχάτην Μαρίαν ἠγαπημένην οὖσαν τῶν ἄλλων V: add. ὑπερβαλλόντως ante ἠγαπημένην edd e Scyl 64.21–22 – Skylitzes adds ὑπερβαλλόντως, apparently to heighten the comparison.

III.22.21 ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν πόλεμος V: αὐτὸν edd Boor e Scyl 68.29

III.24.16 τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀναθαρρύνας V: αὐτὸν edd Boor e Scyl 70.87

IV.18.10–11 κατὰ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κάτεισι κατὰ τὴν Ἄσπαρον ὄντα V: κάτεισι εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν κιστέρναν τοῦ (τὴν Scyl) Ἄσπαρος (Ἄσπαρον Scyl M) edd e Scyl 94.58–5 – κιστέρναν added *ad sensum*.

IV.21.31 ἀλμάντους V: ἀλυμάντους ἀνεκαλέσατο καὶ edd e Scyl 97.55

IV.21.32 μὲν τηνάρια V: μὲν <κεν>τήναρια Boor e Scyl 97.56: κεντηνάρια edd

IV.22.10 βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμος V: <Βασίλειος ὁ ἐν> βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμος nos: βασιλεὺς ὁ ἀοίδιμος Βασίλειος edd: βασιλεύσας Βασίλειος ὁ ἀοίδιμος coni. Boor, cf. Scyl 97.68 – Skylitzes either found the correct reading in his manuscript, or he supposed the reference to Βασίλειος to have gone missing, since the play on his name is frequent in the text.

IV.40.18 οὕτω κατονομάσας V: τὸν βασιλέα add. post οὕτω edd e Scyl 111.71

5.9. More problematic are passages in which the text of ThCont presents no apparent problem, but Skylitzes provides either supplementary information or a more appealing variant. The editor is tempted to reject Skylitzes's reading as revision or embellishment of the original; but considering the numerous

errors and, more importantly, omissions in V, it is always possible that Skylitzes preserves readings that have disappeared without trace from V. However, we have rarely accepted these variants or additions in the text, unlike Combéfis, who tacitly followed Skylitzes (or rather, Cedrenus) and Bekker who, in his 'reprint' of the edition of Combéfis, perpetuated these additions. In contrast, our edition relegates most of them to the apparatus.

I.11.28 λέγει τῶν γενομένων οὐδέν V edd Boor: ἐγνωσμένων coni. Boor in app. e Scyl 12.89–90 ἀπήγγειλε τῶν ἐγνωσμένων οὐδὲν – ἐγνωσμένων is perhaps more elegant, but not necessarily the original reading.

I.24.11–13 καὶ <αὐ>τοῦ τὸν κατάκριτον ἐν σκίμποδι τῷ τοῦ παπίου περιδεξίως, τὸν δὲ παπίαν ἐπ' ἐδάφους κοιμώμενον εὕρισκεν nos (καὶ <αὐ>τοῦ τὸν Boor: καὶ τοῦ τὸν V): θέαμα ὁρᾷ εἰς ἔκπληξιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἄγον αὐτόν· εἶδεν γὰρ τὸν μὲν κατάκριτον κλπ. edd e Scyl 21.94–95 – the sentence in Skylitzes is a dramatic amplification.

I.25.35–36 παίει κατὰ χειρὸς V: post παίει add. διανταίαν edd e Scyl 23.53 – the adverb in Skylitzes is superfluous, as in most of the following examples.

II.7.1 τὴν τοῦ Ἀθιγγάνου μάντεως πρόρρησιν V: post μάντεως add. φωνὴν ὡς θείαν τινὰ edd e Scyl 26.48

II.11.7 τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προρρήσεις V: τὴν (τὰς Comb) περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Φιλομηλίῳ μοναχοῦ πρόρρησιν edd e Scyl 30.59–60

II.13.3 ἐκπέμπει στρατὸν V: ἐκπέμπει στρατιὰν καὶ στρατηγὸν dubitanter e Scyl 32.18 (ACVN) restituit Boor in app., sed Scyl (M) στρατιὰν καὶ om.

II.14.19–20 τὸν κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ στόλον αὐτῷ γενόμενον εὐτρεπισάμενος V: post εὐτρεπισάμενος add. καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ ἐπιστήσας στρατηγὸν edd e Scyl 33.57–58

II.14bis.19–20 πετροβόλοις V: post πετροβόλοις add. πανταχόθεν χρώμενος edd e Scyl 34.92–93

II.15.10 καθυπισχνούμενος V: ὑπισχνούμενος δώσειν ἀγαθὰ πολλά edd e Scyl 35.21

II.18.4 σκεδαννύμενοί πως: σκεδαννύμενοι ἐσκόπουν πῶς edd e Scyl 38.3

II.19.24 ἐπὶ κοντοῦ τε θεατρίζει V, cf. Gen 31.53: ἐπὶ ὄνου edd, cf. Scyl 40.60 ὄνῳ

II.21.51–52 ἀποδοχῆς κρίναντες τὰ λεγόμενα V: post ἀποδοχῆς add. ἄξια edd e Scyl 43.49

II.27.3 τὸ μοναχικὸν ἐκ πάλαι ἀναλαβούσης σχῆμα V: ἐκ παιδὸς Scyl 46.37 – perhaps a change in interpretation, or simply an error by Skylitzes.

II.27.29 προσερχόμενον V: μεμονωμένον in app. coni. e Scyl 47.59 Boor, qui putavit ut librarii oculus ad sequens προσέρχονται aberravit

III.3.5–6 τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκτραγῳδεῖν ἀεὶ V: τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκτραγῳδεῖν ἀδικήματα edd e Scyl 50.37

III.4.13–14 ὁ τούτου ὅρμος V: ὁ τοῦ πλοίου ὅρμος edd e Scyl 51.53 – explanatory substitution.

III.4.18–19 σίτου ἤ τινος ἄλλου V Boor: σίτου <ἢ οἴνου> ἤ τινος ἄλλου edd e Scyl 51.56

III.9.67–10.1 ὀνόματα. Περὶ δὲ V: ὀνόματα. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐδόκει τε καὶ ἐνομίζετο μεγαλοπρεπὴς ὁ Θεόφιλος καὶ θαυμαστός· περὶ δὲ suppl. edd e Scyl 58.48–50 – once again, the sentence preceding περὶ δὲ could have been added by Skylitzes for ease of transition; conversely, the scribe of V may have missed out the first sentence.

III.10.15 τὴν ἀνδραποδώδη V: τὴν θηριώδη καὶ ἀνδραποδώδη edd e Scyl 59.64 – the use of synonyms is very common in ThCont, and thus we cannot be sure whether Skylitzes found this in his manuscript or has added it.

III.11.11 οὗτοι γοῦν V: οὗτοι γοῦν οἱ θειότατοι ἄνδρες edd e Scyl 59.92 – Skylitzes's explanation.

III.11.15–16 τῆς ἄνω <λή>ξεως ταῖς τῶν μαστίγων ἀφορήτοις φοραῖς ἠξιώθησαν nos: πεφευγότες, καὶ ταῖς τῶν μαστίγων ἀφορήτοις φοραῖς τελείως καταπονηθέντες, τῆς ἄνω λήξεως (τῆς ἄνωξεως V) ἠξιώθησαν edd e Scyl 60.2–3 – we accept the obviously correct reading ἄνω λήξεως, but reject the rest of the Skylitzes's text as amplification.

III.12.9–10 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον οὐ τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς V: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον ὁ γενναῖος ἀγωνιστὴς οὐ ταῖς σοφιστικαῖς καὶ διαλεκτικαῖς ἀποδείξεσι edd e Scyl 60.14–15

III.15.6–7 κατὰ πάντα δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς V: post ζωῆς add. ἐκάκου καὶ ἀνηκέστοις ὑπεβάλλετο συμφοραῖς edd e Scyl 63.3–4

III.22.33 περὶ τὸν Θεόφοβον V: περὶ τὸν Θεόφοβον ἐγέραιρεν edd e Scyl 68.40

III.30.3 ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τε καὶ τῆς κάτω Λιβύης V: ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τε καὶ τῆς κάτω Λιβύης V Boor, cf. Gen 47.5 ἐξ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ Παλαιστίνης: ἔκ τε Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κοίλης Συρίας Παλαιστίνης τε (τε, Comb) καὶ τῆς κάτω Λιβύης edd e Scyl 74.26–27 – clearly amplification by Skylitzes, to include all regions of the Caliphate as providers of soldiers for the Muslim army.

III.31.16 τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν V: τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πλῆθος edd e Scyl 76.69

III.32.19–20 γέγονεν αἰτία καὶ ἀφορμὴ V: post ἀφορμὴ add. εὔκαιρος εἰς διαβολήν edd e Scyl 77.92

IV.7.32–33 καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο τὰς δύο τοῦ ἀνδριάντος κεφαλὰς ἀπέκοψαν· ὁ δ᾽ ἕτερος μικρὸν μὲν κατέκλινεν V: post δύο add ἰσχυροτάταις χρησάμενοι καταφοραῖς edd e Scyl 86.26 // post ἕτερος add μαλακώτερον ποιήσας τὴν πληγὴν edd e Scyl 86.27

IV.15.5–6 μοναχόν τινα τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαίων ζωγράφον V: Ῥωμαῖον coni. Boor in app. e Scyl 91.74–75 Ῥωμαῖον τὸ γένος, ζωγράφον τὴν τέχνην

IV.19.34–35 κατὰ γαστέρα βληθεὶς V: κατὰ γαστέρα πληγεὶς edd e Scyl 95.93

IV.30.1–3 καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου δὲ συνεχῶς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Βάρδας ἐδίδου κριτηρίοις καὶ <τῇ φιλοπρωτείᾳ>, ἐραστὴς νομίζεσθαι ταύτης φιλοτιμούμενος nos: post κριτηρίοις lacunam statuit Boor, coniciens quaedam veluti e Scyl 105.10 τὴν τῶν νόμων ἀκρίβειαν ἀνηβᾶν ποιῶν // τῇ φιλοπρωτείᾳ add. Kamb, cf. Scyl 106.13 ὁ τῆς φιλοπρωτείας ἔρως et 107.43 τῆς φιλοπρωτείας τὰ νεανίσματα

IV.34.6 οἱ συνεχεῖς τῶν σεισμῶν ἐκυμαίνοντό V: post σεισμῶν add. <κλόνοι> Boor e Scyl 107.51

IV.37.8 μυστικὰ ἀνδράρια V: πορνικὰ ἀνδράρια Scyl 109.12 – again, a change (μυστικὰ/πορνικὰ) for greater effect.

5.10. Finally there are instances in which Skylitzes clearly has a reading at variance with V which is obviously incorrect, either because his manuscript of ThCont was corrupt or – more probably – because he misinterpreted the text.

I.21.12–13 ὡς ἂν διά τινος πορθμείου διαβιβάζοιντο λόγοι οἱ αὐτοῦ V: cf. Scyl 19.31 προθύμως, qui fortasse facilius reddidit

I.22.2–3 τῆς Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν κάτω ταύτης γεννήσεως V: κατὰ σάρκα edd e Scyl 20.61

I.23.7 πολυετῆ χρείαν nos: πολυετήχρειαν V: πολυετῆ χηρείαν edd Boor e Scyl 21.78: πολὺν ἐτίαν PsSym f. 236v (πολυετίαν 611.12)

III.1.1–2 ἑπτὰ ἔτεσι πρὸς μησὶν ὀκτὼ V Boor: ἐννέα Comb in marg. Bekk, cf. supra II.28.5–6 μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἔτη … ἐννέα, quod pro lapso calami Continuatoris habemus, cui Scyl 47.72 (VBMN) ἐπὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἔτη ἐννέα itidem secutus est, sed apud Gen 35.78–79 et Scyl 47.72 (ACE) tempus regni ut 8 annorum et 9 mensium recte constat

III.10.2 ὡς βάρβαρός τις καὶ αὐστηρὸς V: βαρύς Scyl 58.51

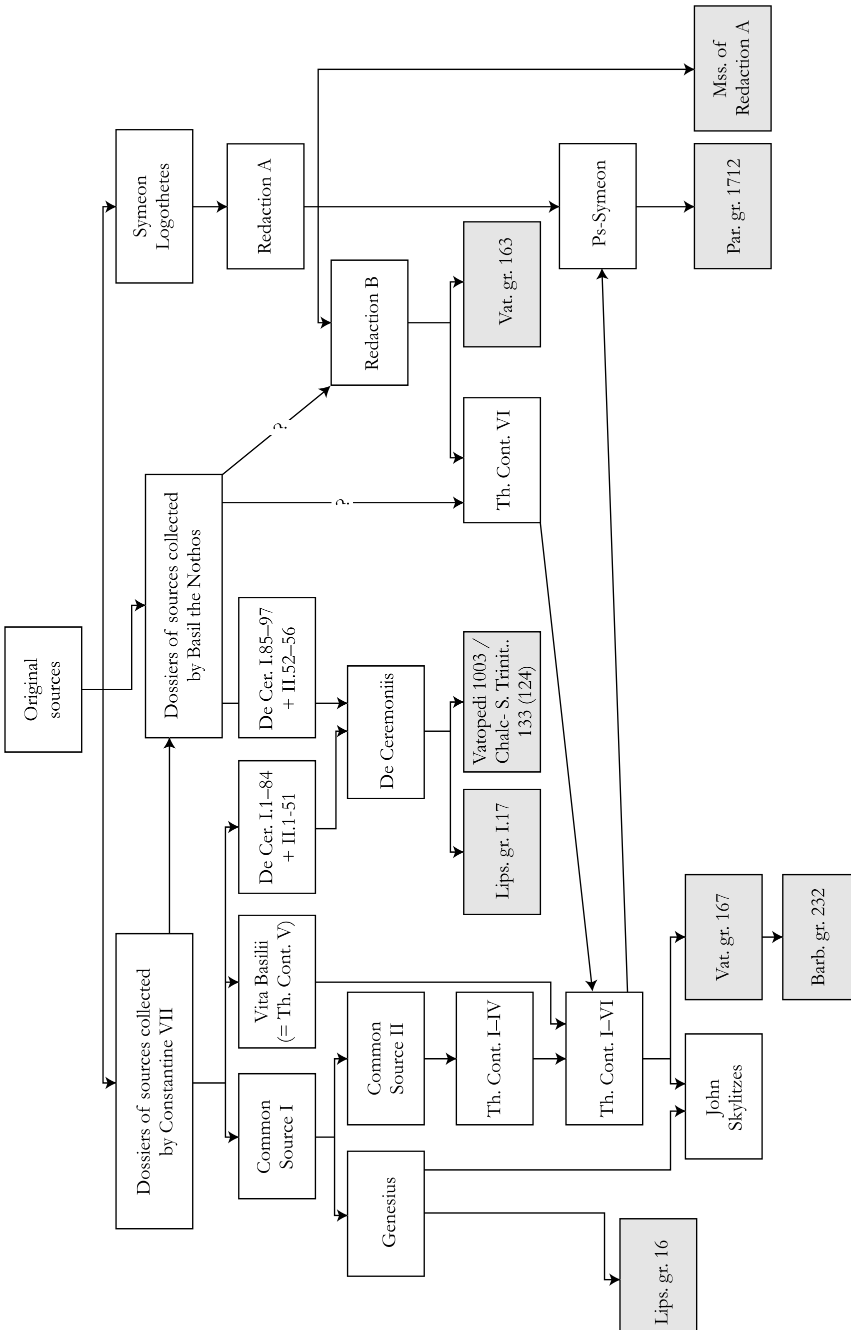
III.14.18 ἐκείνην ἔλεγε προστεθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν nos (προτεθῆναι Kamb): cf. Scyl 62.61–62 ἔλεγε προτιθεὶς ἰέναι: ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς ἔλεγε V: ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς τὴν βίβλον ἰέναι edd e Scyl: ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς κομισθῆναι Scyl 62.61–62 (B): ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς <ἰέναι> Boor

IV.35.8–9 τὴν Σάμον V: τὴν Σάμον V Boor, cf. Ps. Sym 682.11: fortasse τὸν Σάμον scribendum, cf. Const Por Tres, II.621 (R492.12–13) ὁ βουνὸς ὁ Σάμος: τὴν Ἰσάμον edd: τὸν Ἴσαμον Scyl 108.71 (Ἴσαβον M)

6. Proposed stemma, including sources and adaptations

By the principles of Textual Criticism a stemma of the manuscript tradition of ThCont would appear impossible, for we have only one manuscript, the *Vaticanus*, and a later direct copy, the *Barberinianus*, with relevance only to the editorial history of the text. However, as we have used many other sources, older, contemporary and also later, for the edition, it is easiest for us to summarise our conclusions by means of a stemma combining references to *manuscripts* (in grey boxes) with the textual tradition of the corresponding *works* (in white boxes). It is hoped that the resulting table, which combines *Quellenforschung* and *Textkritik*, will serve as a summary of the history of the text and the editorial principles outlined in the previous sections.

As is shown, the transmission of the Logothete texts and that of ThCont I–VI is connected in at least three points: 1) the original sources used by the Logothete were also used by the compiler of the original dossier of sources for Constantine Porphyrogenitus; 2) the author of Redaction 'B' and/or of ThCont VI used the dossier prepared by Basil the Nothos, who had been a close collaborator of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; 3) Ps-Symeon used the final dossier of ThCont I–VI to supplement the text of Redaction A of the *Logothete Chronicle*. Through these points of connexion it is clear that the tradition of Genesius + ThCont (left side of the stemma) and the Logothete texts (right side) are much closer to each other than generally assumed, despite their pro- or anti-Macedonian bias. Any definitive solution of the problem must wait until the text of Redaction B is properly edited. Only then will we be able to appreciate the network of relations linking court historians recording the events of the ninth and tenth centuries.


Original sources
Symeon Logothetes
Redaction A
Mss. of Redaction A
Ps-Symeon
Par. gr. 1712
Redaction B
Vat. gr. 163
Th. Cont. VI
Dossiers of sources collected by Basil the Nothos
?
?
De Cer. I.85–97 + II.52–56
De Ceremoniis
Vatopedi 1003 / Chalc- S. Trinit.. 133 (124)
Lips. gr. I.17
De Cer. I.1–84 + II.1-51
Dossiers of sources collected by Constantine VII
Vita Basilii (= Th. Cont. V)
Common Source I
Common Source II
Th. Cont. I–IV
Th. Cont. I–VI
Vat. gr. 167
Barb. gr. 232
John Skylitzes
Genesius
Lips. gr. 16

7. The present edition

a) Principles

As noted in Ševčenko's edition of the VBas, Carl de Boor in his unpublished edition of ThCont mainly followed V; and for his edition of the VBas, Ševčenko used V and de Boor. Whilst we, too, have noted de Boor's emendations and conjectures in the present edition of Books I–IV,[60] we have followed *Vat. gr.* 167 as closely as possible, correcting/emending on the basis of sources and later authors who clearly had better manuscripts of the text. We have had recourse to B only for a few folia at the beginning of V where the original text was apparently more legible at the time B was copied. Otherwise we use B solely to explain the text of the editions.

Following Ševčenko's edition of the VBas, we have indicated the folia of V and the page numbers in Bekker's edition in the margins. Likewise, we have maintained Bekker's chapter divisions, though they do not always correspond to the divisions in V; and references are given to the line number within each chapter, not pages.

We have followed the text and orthographic practice of the original text in so far as it can be determined from V and the MSS of the sources and related texts.

We have kept the ν *ephelkystikon* as it appears in V, where it is for the most part consistently used before vowels or syntactic pause.[61] However, because we do not always follow the punctuation of the manuscript, some of these pauses will not be evident.

Enclitics have been treated according to 'classical' rules, because there is no consistency in V of later Byzantine usage.[62] The one exception to this is in compounds of the particle περ (e.g. ὥσπέρ τινα), where we have retained the consistent accentuation of V.

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60 Our work is based on photocopies made in the 1970's of de Boor's manuscript (ca 1900) for a new edition. The manuscript was amongst de Boor's *Nachlass* brought by A. Heisenberg from Breslau to Munich and deposited in the library of the Byzantine Institute. It was lent in 1975 by H.-G. Beck to Ševčenko for work on a new edition of ThCont at Harvard. Later sent back to Munich by Ševčenko at the request of A. Hohlweg, it has gone missing. Concerning de Boor and other would-be editors subsequent to Bekker, see Ševčenko 1978, 104–105.

61 For the diverse usage of this ny in Classical times and its later standarisation, see Hämmig 2013, esp. 14–18 for the Byzantine period.

62 On Byzantine accentuation of enclitics, see most recently Noret 2014, 121–145.

Another exception to the standard orthography is that of separating the components of μὴ δέ (μὴ δ' before vowels); again, this is the consistant usage in V.

We have however standardised the orthography of the word οὐχ before rough vowels, instead of οὐχ'. The latter indeed occurs often in V, but not consistently.

We have retained what appears to have been standard orthography for titles at court, as the accute accentuation of αὐγούστα, καίσαρ, and the retention of omega in the oblique cases of Latinate words, e.g. πρωτοστράτωρ (-ωρος), also found in *Lipsiensis* II 17 (X s.) of the *De Cerimoniis.*

We have followed the consistent usage in V of writing σώζω without the iota-subscript.

We have not maintained the punctuation of the text in V, but have changed it according to the sense of the text as we understand it. We have used capitals only at the beginning of paragraphs, not individual sentences.

b) Explanation of the apparatus

The apparatus consists of three parts: (1) an apparatus historicus, (2) an apparatus fontium and (3) an apparatus criticus.

1. Apparatus historicus

Here we simply give dates whenever possible. When there is uncertainty, reference is made to the relevant bibliography.

2. Apparatus fontium

In the apparatus fontium we have distributed the texts in three different categories:

1) First come what we can properly call 'sources', that is, works that were used or consulted either directly or, more frequently, through excerpts from the original texts collected in the *CS of ThCont and Genesius. In this category we also include works which made use of the same sources as ThCont, such as Genesius or the *Logothete Chronicle* (A), because the loss of many of the original texts used by ThCont – above all the *CS – renders these later texts, written by contemporary authors, the only extant witnesses, indispensable for the constitutio textus.

2) Second, divided by a single vertical bar, come works which copied directly from ThCont and in many cases have preserved the original wording, in particular the so-called Ps-Symeon and Skylitzes. As in the case of Genesius and the *Logothete Chronicle* (A), who copied from the sources of ThCont, the importance of the authors in this second category to the *constitutio textus* is enormous, for the MSS they used were older and better than *Vat. gr.* 167.

3) Third, after a double vertical bar we have identified, in so far as possible, Biblical and Classical citations, as well as parallel passages. We have been extremely conservative in this section and have admitted only texts which the author of ThCont is sure to have had in his mind when writing. Obviously, the exact source of a proverb or a commonplace or phrase cannot be established with certainty, and thus the problem frequently arises of identifying a given expression with either a classical text or a later anthology, gnomologium or collection of proverbs. In such cases we have given preference to both coincidence of form and presentation of the passage in the corresponding work (e.g. a quotation or proverb), referring to the ultimate source with the customary 'cf.', to indicate that the author did not cite it directly but only through intermediaries. Finally, we have considered it pointless to be exhaustive in the recording of common phrases, such as Biblical citations or proverbs, found often in literary works.

3. Apparatus criticus

The apparatus is negative. We have reported variants in spelling even when not relevant to the *constitutio textus*. We have noted the marginal remarks in semi-uncials in Book I, which appear to have been taken over from the prototype, but not the ubiquitous later annotations described in section 2 above. References are made to recent editions of Genesius, Skylitzes and the *Logothete Chronicle* (A), insofar as they contribute to the *constitutio textus* in difficult or corrupt passages in *Vat. gr.* 167. For Skylitzes, we have noted the readings of individual manuscripts when relevant. Although Combéfis did not read Skylitzes directly but only through Cedrenus (ed. A. Fabrot, Paris 1647), we refer to Skylitzes for Combéfis's emendations; as Thurn states in the prolegomena to his edition: 'Aus Kedren ist kaum die Emendation einer Stelle im Skylitzes' text zu erwarten'.[63] For Ps-Symeon we have noted the readings of *Par. gr.* 1712 when at variance with Bekker's edition of 1838. References to other texts, such as George the Monk, are seldom.

c) Indices

There are four indices: (1) Index nominum propriorum, (2) Index verborum ad res Byzantinas spectantium, (3) Index grammaticus and (4) Index locorum.

1) Index nominum proriorum

Here are listed the names of people and places and of particular things: for instance, Σχολαί for the buildings so-named in the Palace, whereas σχολαί in

[63] Skylitzes, xxvii.

the sense of divisions of the guards on campaign is to be found in the Index verborum ad res byzantinas spectantium; and σχολή in the Classical sense of 'school' is not listed in either index.

2) Index rerum byzantinarum

Here are included only the occurences of words with reference to specific Byzantine reality, for instance, βίβλος for a physical book; εἰκών for an icon; θάλασσα for a tunic with a sea pattern; θρόνος for an episcopal see; λέων (and γρύψ) for automata; ὄργανον for a *musical* instrument; στρατηγός and cognates for the head of a theme, etc.

3) Index grammaticus

The relevant linguistic data have been classfied by the traditional *partes orationis* of Greek grammar, as the most impartial manner of presenting the evidence collected. Note is taken of morphologic and orthographic deviations from standard Attic forms, but special attention is given to the syntactic use of the *partes*, inasmuch as syntax, though often neglected, is of utmost importance in the analysis of the author's style and the evolution of the language.

4) Index locorum

Here are listed citations identified in the text, as well as cases of μίμησις where the author clearly draws his vocabulary from a particular classical text, sometimes directly, sometimes – as we suspect but are not able to prove – through such collections as the *Excerpta historica* of Constantine VII. The few (mostly historical) sources used by the author in writing his history are not included here on account of the complexity of their use, as explained above in sections 3–5 of these Prolegomena. The same applies to parallel texts. Reference to both, however, is made in the apparatus fontium.

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Tabula notarum in apparatibus adhibitarum

Codices

V	*Vaticanus graecus* 167 (XI s.)
	V[2] secunda manus (XI s.)
	adnotator B (XII s.)
B	*Barberinianus* 232 (ca a. 1628)

Editiones Theophanis Continuati

Bekk	Bekker, I., *Theophanes continuatus* (Libri I-IV)*, Joannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, Bonn 1838, pp. 3-211
Comb	Combéfis, F., *Historiae Byzantinae scriptores post Theophanem*, Paris 1685
edd	Editiones Combéfis-Bekker
Sev	Ševčenko 1998
ThCont	*Theophanes Continuatus* (Liber VI), ed. Bekker, pp. 353-481
VBas	*Vita Basilii* (=ThCont, Liber V) ed. Ševčenko 2013

Coniecturae nondum editae

Boor	de Boor
Kamb	Kambylis

Byzantini fontes et fontes paralleli

Acta Davidis	*Acta Graeca Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii*, ed. Van den Gheyn, *Analecta Bollandiana* 18 (1899)
Acta Mart Amor	*Acta Martyrum Amoriensum*, versiones A-Z, ed. Vasilevsky - Nikitin
Anonymus Professor	Anonymus Professor, *Epistulae*, ed. Markopoulos
Arethas Opera Minora	Arethas, *Opera Minora*, ed. Westerink
Cedrenus	Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, ed. Bekker

Chron Min	*Chronica Minora*, ed. Schreiner
Const Porph Tres	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *Three treatises on imperial military expeditions*, ed. Haldon
DAI	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Moravcsik-Jenkins
De Cer	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed Reiske
De Theophili absolutione	*De Theophili absolutione*, ed. Regel, *Analecta* 1891
De Teophili benefactis	*De Teophili benefactis*, ed. Regel, *Analecta* 1891
Encomium Theodori	Theophanes Caesariensis, *Praise* of Theodore Graptus, ed. Featherstone, *Analecta Bollandiana* 98 (1980)
Epist ad Ludovicum	*Epistula ad Ludovicum Pium*, ed. Werminghoff
Epist ad Theophilum	*Epistula ad Theophilum*, ed. Munitiz - Chrysostomides
Gen	Genesius, *Regum libri*, ed. Lesmüller-Wiener
GeorgMon	Georgius Monachus, *Chronica,* ed. Boor-Wirth
GeorgCont (Istrin)	*Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, ed. Istrin
Leo Sapiens Tactica	Leo VI Sapiens, *Tactica*, ed. Dennis
Log A	Symeon Magister et Logotheta, *Chronicon*, Versio A, ed. Wahlgren
Nicephorus Refutatio	Nicephorus I patriarcha, *Refutatio et eversio*, ed. Featherstone
PatriaConst	*Patria Constantinoupoleos*, ed. Preger
Petrus Historia	Petrus Monachus, *Historia utilis et refutatio Manichaeorum*, ed. Papachrysanthou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970)
Photius Contra Man.	Photius, *Contra Manichaeos*, ed. Wolska-Conus, *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970)
Photius Bibl	Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Henry
Photius Epist	Photius, *Epistulae*, ed. Laourdas-Westerink
Photius Homiliae	Photius, *Homiliae*, ed. Laourdas
Photius Lexicon	Photius, *Lexicon*, ed. Theodoridis
PsKod	Ps-Kodinus, *De officiis*, ed Verpaux
PsSym	Ps-Symeon, *Chronica,* ed. Bekker (lectiones in Par. gr. 1712 secundum fol. citamus)
Scrip Inc	*Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio*, ed Bekker, emmendationes in Browning, *Byz* 35 (1965)
Scyl	Ioannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn (mss. in app. critico citamus)
Suda	Suda, *Lexicon*, ed. Adler
Synaxarium Const	Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum, ed. Delehaye

Theod Stud Epist	Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae*, ed. Fatouros
Theoph	Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor
Vita Euthymii	Methodius, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. Gouillard, *Travaux et Mémoires* 10 (1987)
Vita Ignatii	Nicetas David Paphlagon, *Vita Ignatii*, ed. Smithies
Vita Ioannicii	Petrus Monachus, *Vita Ioannicii*, ed. Van den Gheyn, *AASSS* Nov. II.1
Vita Methodii	*Vita Methodii*, PGM 100, cols. 1243-1262
Vita Michaelis Sync	*Vita Michaelis Syncelli*, ed. Cunningham
Vita Nicephori	Ignatius Diaconus, *Vita Nicephori*, ed. de Boor
Vita Tarasii	Ignatius Diaconus, *Vita Tarasii*, ed. Efthymiadis
Vita Theodorae	*Vita Theodorae*, ed. Markopoulos, *Symmeikta* 5 (1983)
Vita Theodori Grapti	*Vita Theodori Grapti*, PGM 116, cols. 653-684
Zonaras	Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. Dindorf

Χρονογραφία συγγραφεῖσα ἐκ προστάξ<εως Κω>νσ<ταντίνου> τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ πορφυρογεννήτου δεσ<πότου ἡμῶν, υἱοῦ> Λέοντος τοῦ σοφωτάτου δεσπότου καὶ <ἀοιδίμου ἡμῶν βα>σιλέως, ἀρχομένη ἔνθεν κατέληξεν <ὁ κατὰ γένος προ>σήκ<ων> τῷ βασιλεῖ μακαρί<τη>ς Θεοφάνης <ὁ> τῆς <Σιγριανῆς>, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀρμεν<ίας>· ἧς <τάς τε> καθ' ἕκαστα ὑποθέσεις ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Κων<στ>αντ<ῖνος> φιλοπόνως συνέλεξε καὶ εὐσυνόπτως ἐξέθετο <πρὸς εὐκρι>νῆ τοῖς μετέπειτα δήλωσιν f.1r B 3

Tit. gen. 1 Χρονογραφία συγγραφεῖσα ἐκ προστάξ<εως Κω>νσ<ταντίνου> Boor Sev succurrentibus scripsimus : post προστάξ cernitur in V rasura 28 mm. in qua litterae νσ sub luce ultraviolacea parent et linea superna nomen proprium indicat : Χρονογραφία – προστάγματος <…> rescripsit V^2 : Χρονογραφία – προστάγματος Κωνστ$^{\text{νου}}$ B : Χρονογραφία – προστάγματος Κωνσταντίνου edd : Χρονογραφία – προστάγματος **** Hase 2 δεσ<πότου ἡμῶν, υἱοῦ> Sev qui sigma ante rasuram dubitavit : post litteras δεσ rasura 24 mm. V : Δεσπότου υἱοῦ <…> (spatium ad 4 litteras) B : Δεσπότου, υἱοῦ edd : δεσ*** Hase : Δεσ<πότου υἱοῦ> Boor, sed rasurae mensura in V amplius quid apparet 3 <ἀοι>δί<μου ἡμῶν βα>σιλ<έω>ς Sev (cf. ἀοιδίμου in VBas tit.3 in App. Font. ad loc.) : ante litteras σιλ(έως) [abbrev. σιλ$^{\text{ε}}$/] in V rasura 33 mm. in qua litteras δι non comperimus : καὶ αὐτοκράτορος <…> B (spatium ad 8 litteras, linea subter tracta) edd : καὶ αὐτ*** Hase : <… βα>σιλ<έως> Boor qui αἰωνίου vel ἀοιδίμου ad rasuram supplendam coniecit 3 ἀρχομένου Comb 3 ἔνθεν V : ὅπου B edd Hase 4 κατέληξεν Boor Sev : κατέλη<.>εν (rasura 2 mm.) V : κατέληξε B : ἔληξε edd Hase, sed cf. κατάληξιν et κατέληγε infra I. Prooem. 26 et 30 4 <ὁ κατὰ γένος προ>σήκ<ων> Boor Sev (qui sigma ante litteras ήκ dubitavit) secuti scripsimus, cf. infra I. Prooem. 26–27: ante literas σηκ rasura 32 mm. V : Θεοφάνης <…> B (spatium ad 4 litteras) edd : Θεοφἀνης***ηκ ** Hase 5 μακαρ<ίτ>ης Θεοφάνης <ὁ> τῆς <Σιγριανῆς>] Boor in app. (cf. infra I. Prooem. 25 et Vitam Theophanis Confessoris, ed. de Boor in Theoph. II.3.3) Sev : μακαρί<…>ς (rasura 3 mm.) Θεοφάνης (super hoc nomen linea tracta) τῆς <…> (rasura 18 mm.) V : Μιχαὴλ υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου τοῦ κουροπαλάτου (sic) B (cf. infra I. Prooem. 28–29) : Μιχαὴλ υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου τοῦ κουροπαλάτου edd Hase 6 τοῦ ἐξ Ἀρμεν<ίας> Boor Sev secuti scripsimus, cf. infra notam in marg. V ad I. titulum τοῦ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας : τοῦ ἐξ Ἀρμεν<…> (rasura 5 mm) V : τοῦ Ἀρμενίου B edd 6 ἧς <τάς τε> καθ' ἕκαστα coniecturae Kamb secuti scripsimus : ἧς <…> (rasura 5 mm.) καθ' ἕκαστα V : <…> (spatium ad 5 litteras) B : ἧς <τὰς> καθ' ἕκαστα Boor Sev : <…> (9 puncta) Τῶν δὲ Comb : *** τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα Hase qui postea asteriscos expunxit, nihil deesse adfirmans maleque Comb lacunam indicavisse : Τῶν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα τὰς Bekk qui ad Hase rettulit 7 Κων<στ>αντ<ῖνος> Sev (qui tamen litteras αντ dubitavit) : post litteras Κων in V rasura 20 mm. in qua litterae αντ sub luce ultraviolacea parent : Κωνσταντῖνος B edd Hase : Κων<σταντῖνος> Boor 8 ἐξέθετο <πρὸς εὐκρι>νῆ Sev qui vestigia litterarum υ et ρ sub luce ultraviolacea vidit in rasura post ἐξέθετο (19 mm.) in V atque εὐκρινής apud GeorgMon (1.8) adtulit : ἐξέθ$^{\text{ετο}}$ <…>νῆ (ante litteras νῆ spatium ad 6/7 litteras) B : ἐξέθετο <…> (8 puncta) ἵνα Comb : ἐξέθετο* νῆ Hase : ἐξέθετο, νῆ (sic) Bekk : ἐξέθετο ε<ἰς τρα>νῆ Boor, sed litteram ε ante rasuram in V videri non potest et illius mensura plures litteras indicat 8 τοῖς coni. Kamb, cf. I. Prooem. 34–35 τοῖς … ζῶσι διαβιβάζομεν et VBas 1.15 τοῖς μετέπειτα : τῶν V : τῆς Comb 8 δήλωσιν V Boor Sev : in V finis versus et tituli generalis : δῆλα γιν<…> B edd Hase

Chronicle Written by Order of Constantine,
Our Christ-Loving Lord Born in the Purple, Son of
Our Most Wise Lord and Glorious Emperor Leo, Beginning Where
the Blessed Theophanes of Sigriane, Related by Race to the Emperor, Left off,
that is from the Reign of Leo the Armenian; of Which
This Same Emperor Constantine Laboriously Compiled and Adeptly Set
Forth the Various Subjects in Detail for
Clear Demonstration to Later Generations

<Π>ερὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λ<έοντ>ος τοῦ ἐξ <’Αρμενίας>. Λόγος α ́

Prooem. Καὶ τοῦτο πάντως τῶν σῶν, ὦ φιλοσοφώτατε βασιλεῦ, καλῶν, μετά γε πολλῶν ἄλλων τε καὶ μεγάλων, τὸ τὰ τῷ χρόνῳ παραρρυέντα καὶ κεχωρηκότα πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὂν πρὸς παλινζωΐαν αὖθις καὶ | παλιγγενεσίαν B 4 ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι καλοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς πρὸ σοῦ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπειλημμένοις ἁμιλληθῆναι ἀρχήν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ζῆλον ἐζηλωκότες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀζήλωτον ὑπεξῃρήσθωσαν τοῦ λόγου, οἵτινες διενηνοχέναι ἐσπουδάκασι τῶν πολλῶν κατ’ οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ λόγου σύντροφοι ἀλλ’ ἀγροικίας γεγόνασι κατεντρύφημα. τί γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἐξασκεῖν αὐτοκράτορα δεῖ, ὃ μὴ <τῇ> πολιτείᾳ ἐπιφέρει τὴν ὄνησιν μετὰ λόγου γινόμενον, δέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς λογικῆς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπιστήμης, ἐξ ὧν τὸ κράτος βασιλείας, ὡς ἂν μὴ λάθοιεν καταπρανοῦς φερόμενοι ἀλογωθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ κινδυνεύσῃ τοῦτο, ᾧ πάντων διαφέρομεν, ἀφανίᾳ παραδοθέν;

Ἀλλ’ ὅσα μέν σοι πεπόνηται, πραότατε βασιλεῦ, περὶ τὴν λογικὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἵνα τἆλλα παρῶ, ἱστορήσουσι μὲν οἱ σοφοί, ὅτι γε δὴ καὶ σοί, μᾶλλον δὲ δὴ σοὶ σοφῶς, ὅτι γε καὶ σοφοί· ἱστορεῖς δὲ αὐτός, χεῖρα μόνον λαβὼν ἡμᾶς διακονουμένην σοι, ὅσα τοῖς πρὸ σοῦ βεβίωται, κἂν ἀποχρώντως ἔχωσι τὸ φαῦλον καὶ οὐ λαμπρόν, ἐπεὶ κἀκ

I. tit. <Π>ερὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λ<έοντ>ος τοῦ ἐξ <’Αρμενίας>. Λόγος αʹ secundum V ante Prooemium apposuimus: <.>ερὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λ<…>ος (rasura 7 mm.) τοῦ ἐξ <…> (rasura 19 mm) Λόγος αʹ V : Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος <…> (4 puncta) B : om. Comb : **** τῆς βασιλείας ***** Hase qui hic titulum generalem operis desinere putavit : <Π>ερὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λ<έοντ>ος <τοῦ ἐξ ’Αρμενίας. Λόγος> αʹ Boor Sev **I. Prooem.** 3 παλινγενεσίαν V 5 σοῦ : τοῦ B edd 5 ἀμελληθῆναι B : ἀμεληθῆναι edd, ideo τοὺς … ἐπειλημμένους (ln. 4–5) proposuit Bekk in app. 5 οἳ μὲν Sev 7 οἵτινες Bekk in app. Boor Sev : τινὲς V Comb : οι- add. V^2 8 κατ’ ἐντρύφημα V 8 τί γὰρ edd : τι γὰρ V B Sev qui ad e.g. VBas 23.3 τοιοῦτόν τι rettulit, necnon τί γὰρ recepit, aut τοιγάρ sive τοιγάρ<τοι> proposuit in app. 9 μὴ <τῇ> scripsimus : τῇ (pro μή) dubitanter Sev, qui πολιτεία quasi semper cum articulo usurpari notavit 9 πολιτείᾳ V Boor Sev : spatium ad 10 litteras vacat in B : om. edd, sed κοινήν ad lacunam supplendam proposuit Bekk in app. 9 ἐπειφέρει V : ἐπεισφέρει Boor in app. 10 μεταλόγου V 10 γινόμενων, ut vid. B^2 : -ον, ut vid. B : γινομένων edd, sed γινόμενον Bekk in app. : γινομένην Sev in app., an recte? 11 λάθοι ἐν V 11 καταπρανοῦς V 13 ἀφανίᾳ V B^2 in marg. Sev : ἀφωνίᾳ B edd : ἀφανείᾳ Boor 14 ὅσα V B^2 in marg. : B ὅσω : ὅσον edd 15 παρῶ, ἱστορήσουσι V: <…> (spatium ad 2 litteras) παραθεωρήσουσι B : θεωρήσουσι edd 16 γε om. edd 16 σοί V : σ<οφ>οί Sev 16 σοὶ Boor : σὺ V edd Sev 16 σοφῶς nos : σαφῶς V B edd Boor Sev Kamb 16 ὅτι γε καὶ σοφοι (sic) V : post ὅτι γε καὶ spatium ad 5 litteras vacat in B ante litteras φοί : ὅτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι σοφοί edd : haec utpote prompta e versu superiore, ubi ὅτι γε δὴ καὶ σ<οφ>οί proposuit, seclusit Sev 17 μόνος B : μόνως edd 17 ἡμᾶς : ἡμῶν edd 18 κἀκ : καὶ B edd

Concerning the Reign of Leo the Armenian. Book 1.

<PROEM> This, also, O most wise Emperor, is most certainly one of your good deeds, together with others many and great: the recalling to life and rebirth of things lost in the current of time which have passed into non-existence and the cultivating of the virtue of History, whilst coming into no contention with those who held the imperial office before you. For let these latter, who were fired with zeal unsuited to good men, be excluded from our speech: they who strove in no wise to distinguish themselves from the many, having become not companions of learning but the plaything of boorishness. For what ought a sovereign practise except that which brings benefit to the State through learning, given that care ought to be taken for men and especially for literary knowledge, whence the power of empire is derived, lest men should pass unnoticed behaving like senseless creatures on all fours, and this thing, whereby we are distinguished from all else, risk falling into oblivion?

Now, all that has been achieved by you, O most mild Emperor, in your solicitude for literature and for men – not to speak of other things – will be recounted by wise men, precisely because this was done by you, or rather, was done by you wisely, and because these others are also wise. But you yourself, using us simply as an assisting hand, recount all that occurred in the lives of those who preceded you, even though they were for the most part mean and in no wise brilliant, since even from these things is it possible for serious men

τούτων ἔνεστι θηρᾶσαι τοῖς σπουδαίοις τὰ χρήσιμα. ἀμέλει τοιγαροῦν
πάσης ἀσχολίας καὶ ἀργίας τὴν περὶ λόγους προτετιμηκὼς σπουδήν, ἅτε
δὴ τούτου μάλιστα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις | φιλομαθοῦσί τε καὶ φιλιστοροῦσιν f.1v
ζῆλον καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐγγεννῶντος, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων σποράδην
τισὶ τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀκοῇ | παραδεδομένων συνηθροικώς, ὥσπέρ τι κοινὸν B 5
διδασκαλεῖον προθεῖναι πᾶσιν ἐβουλεύσω καλῶς, ἐκείνην ταύτης ἀρχὴν
εἶναι νομίσας τῆς ἱστορίας ἀρίστην, τὴν τῷ μακαρίτῃ Θεοφάνει γενομένην
κατάληξιν· ὃν κατὰ συγγένειαν καὶ ἀγχιστείαν τὸ εἶναι υἱωνὸς λαχὼν
ἀποσεμνύνεις τε ἐκ τῶν σῶν ἱκανῶς καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεις αὖθις παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ
τινα εὔκλειαν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ κουροπαλάτου Μιχαὴλ βασιλείαν καὶ ἧτταν τὴν ἐκ τῶν Βουλγάρων συμβᾶσαν αὐτῷ καταπροδοθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κατέληγε, τῆς τοῦ Λέοντος μόνον μνησθεὶς
ἀναρρήσεως, μηδὲν μήθ᾽ ὅθεν ἦν μήθ᾽ ὅπως ἐτράφη δῆλον τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι πεποιηκώς. ἡμεῖς δέ, ὡσπερεὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη συνάπτοντες, αὐτήν τε τὴν ἱστορίαν ὁλόσωμον ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ἡμιτελῆ ἀποδείκνυμεν,
καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑξῆς καὶ κάτω χρόνον τοῖς μὴ ῥᾳθυμότερον ζῶσι διαβιβάζομεν, κέρδος ἀλλ᾽ οὐ ζημίαν αὐτοῖς οριζόμενοι, εἴγε δὴ καλὸν καὶ
πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εὔοδον τῶν ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ μὴ τὸν βίον διαγινώσκειν.

1. Πατρὶς μὲν οὖν τοῦ δηλωθέντος Λέοντος Ἀρμενία, γένος δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ B 6
Ἀσσυρίων τὸ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀρμενίων, οἳ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐξ ἀνοσίου γνώμης σφαγῇ μιαιφόνῳ παραδόντες γεννήτορας ὑπερορίας κατεδικάσθησαν, κἀκεῖσε δὴ τὸν πένητα βίον, ἅτε δὴ καὶ φυγάδες, διαθλοῦντες τὸν εἰρημένον θῆρα ἀπέτεκον. ἄρτι γοῦν εἰς ἐφήβους ὁ Λέων ἐτάττετο, καὶ κώμην Πίδραν κατονομαζομένην, ὑπὸ τὸ θέμα τελοῦσαν τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν,

Cap. 1: Vita Nicephori 162.23–30; GeorgMon 780.13–781.21; Gen 6.8–7.12; 21.39–43 | Scyl 9.6–8; PsSym 603.6–9

19 θηράσαι V 19 τοιγαροῦν secludendum fortasse putavit Sev 20 λόγους sic V Sev : λόγου B edd Boor, sed cf. supra I. Prooem. 15 περὶ τὴν … ἐπιμέλειαν 20 προτετιμηκὼς V B^2 in marg. Bekk Boor Sev : προτετίμηκας B Comb, sed proposuit προτετιμηκὼς in marg. 21 φιλομαθέσι edd 23 σποράδην τισὶ om. edd 24 προθῆναι V 24 ταύτην Comb, sed ταύτης eiusdem Comm 24 ἀρχῆν V 25 Θεοφάνη V 26 post κατάληξιν verba πάντων τῶν βασιλέων ἕως τοῦ νυνὶ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας σου τὰ πεπραγμένα διὰ λόγου, συλλαβεῖν· εἰ καὶ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου σου πάπου τοῦ ἐν βασιλεῦσι εὐκλεοῦς Βασιλείου τὰ παρὰ σοῦ ἱστορούμενα, καὶ μετὰ πάσης σαφηνείας καὶ λόγου εὐκοσμίας κατὰ τὸ τῶν γενομένων ἀληθὲς καὶ εἰληκρινὲς εἰς τὸ φανερὸν παρὰ τῆς σῆς πολυμαθεστάτης εἰδήσεως ἐξαγορευθέντα, περιττὸν ἂν εἴη οὐδοτιοῦν διηγήσασθαι add. Goar apud Comb 26 τὸ : τῷ Comb in marg. 27 τὲ V 28 τινὰ V 28 κοροπαλάτου V 30 κατὰ προδοθέντος V : καταπροδοθέντι Bekk in app. 30 κατέληξε Sev in app. 32 ὡσπερεὶ Sev : ὡς περὶ V B : ὥσπερ edd Boor 35 οριζομενοι V 36 διαγινώσκειν : add. Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος, Λόγος α´ edd, cf. supra **I. tit.** **1.**1 Περὶ Λέοντος βασιλέως τοῦ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας V maiusc. in marg. 6 κώμη Πίδρα θέμα Ἀνατολικῶν V maiusc. in marg.

to cull that which is profitable. For this reason you have preferred literary study to all other occupation or leisure, as this above all brings forth zeal and virtue in the hearts of your subjects fond of learning and History. You have gathered some things from scattered sources written by certain men, and others from reports transmitted orally, with the noble intention of setting forth a sort of common instruction for all; and you deemed as the best beginning of this history the closing point in the work of the blessed Theophanes, whose grandchild you are by consanguinity and kinship, honouring him fittingly through your works and in turn receiving from him a certain renown. Theophanes leaves off with the reign of Michael Curopalates and the defeat undergone by him at the hands of the Bulgars when he was betrayed by his own men. He merely mentions the proclamation of Leo, telling his readers nothing of where he was from or how he was brought up. We, however, as if attaching the other members to the head, set forth this history in full body, not half-finished; and we pass this on to subsequent and later generations for those who do not live in indifference, affording them no harm but only gain, if indeed it be good and a viaticum to security to distinguish the lives of men who are noble from those who are not.

1. The homeland of the Leo in question was Armenia, though his family were partly from Assyria and partly from Armenia itself. With impious intent they had delivered their own parents to a murderous death and were therefore condemned to banishment; and living a poor life there in drudgery as refugees they gave birth to the beast just mentioned. Now scarcely had Leo taken his place amongst youths when he left his homeland to go to the village called Pidra, which belonged to the theme of the Anatolics. There, reaching the age

τῆς πατρίδος ἀλλάσσεται· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν δεξάμενος, τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις καὶ φονικωτάτοις καταριθμούμενος δόξης εὐμοίρησεν ἐπὶ γενναιότητι καὶ χειρὸς κραταιότητι. Νικηφόρος τότε τὰς τῆς βασιλείας ἴθυνεν ἡνίας, ὁ τρόπαιον ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ γενόμενος, καὶ μονοστράτηγον τὸν Βαρδάνιον, ᾧ Τοῦρκος ἐπίκλην, τῶν πέντε θεμάτων τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τὴν ἐφορείαν καὶ πρόνοιαν διοικούμενον διά τε τὴν ἐν πολέμοις τόλμαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπανθούσας αὐτῷ ἀρετὰς ἐξαπέστελλεν· ὃς ἅτε δὴ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀγαπῶν κατακυριεύειν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἑκάστοτε ὀ|νειρο-πολῶν f. 2 τοῦτόν τε, περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος, τὸν Λέοντα καταπληκτικὸν βλέποντα καὶ γενναῖον κατάστημα ἔχοντα | καὶ ἄλλως ἀστεῖον ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις B 7 δοκοῦντα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δορυφόροις ἐγκαταλέγει καὶ διακόνοις, καὶ πρό γε τούτου ἢ μετὰ τοῦτον μικρὸν Μιχαήλ τε τὸν τραυλὸν καὶ Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀπὸ λίμνης Γαζουροῦ, ταπεινοὺς πάντας καὶ ἀζήλους ὄντας καὶ ἀρτίως εἰς γνῶσιν ἀγομένους τοῖς τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐγκεχειρισμένοις ἀρχάς.

2. Ἐκρέμαντο γοῦν οὗτοι τοῦ Βαρδανίου καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐλπίδας ἐσάλευον. καὶ οὗτος τῆς βασιλείας ὢν ἐραστὴς ἀνδρί τινι μονάζοντι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Φιλομηλίου χῶρον καὶ ἐνδιαιτωμένῳ τὴν ταύτης ἀνακοινοῦται γνώμην αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ πρὸς θεὸν εὐχὰς ἱκετηρίους παρεκάλει τοῦτον ἀναπέμψειν, τὰ αὐτοῦ διαβήματα κατευθυνούσας καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιβραβευούσας αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἤκουσεν αὐθωρὸν ὡς οὐ δέοι τοιούτων κατατολμᾶν πραγμάτων, "Βαρδάνιε, δι' ὧν ἀπώλειά τε περιουσίας καὶ ὀμμάτων ἐκκοπὴ καὶ δυστυχία ἄλλως οὐ καλῶς σοι γενήσεται, ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἔχοις ἐμοὶ πεισθῆναί σοι συμβουλεύοντι, ἀποπήδησον τούτων διὰ τραχέων ἀρχήν τινα μὴ δ' ὅλως τῶν τοιούτων σου πραγμάτων βάλλων εἰς νοῦν." ἐπληρώθη κατηφείας καὶ ἀχλύος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀκηκοώς, καὶ τέλος ἐξῄει τοῦ δωματίου πλήρης ἀθυμίας καὶ θλίψεως. ὡς δὲ τοὺς εἰρημένους ἄνδρας, Λέοντά τε καὶ Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θωμᾶν, τὸν ἵππον ἄγοντας ἀναβῆναι τούτῳ ὁ μοναχὸς ἐθεάσατο, τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑποστρέφειν παρεκελεύετο· καὶ ὃς καινῶν τινων καὶ ξένων ἀκούσεσθαι προσδοκῶν θᾶττον ἢ | λόγος ὑπέστρεφεν. ἀλλ' B 8 ἐκεῖνον μὲν αὖθις ἐξελιπάρει μὴ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα αὐτομολῆσαι δεινὰ καὶ τὴν ἀποῦσαν κακοπραγίαν τῆς παρούσης εὐδαιμονίας ἀλλάξασθαι·

1.10 : die 26 Iul. a. 811 Nicephorus in proelio a Bulgaris occisus est, cf. infra I.4

Cap. 2: Gen 6.2–7.36 | Scyl 9.89–10.44 || 5–6 cf. Ps 36.23

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9 καὶ χειρὸς κραταιότητι om. edd 9 ὅτι ἐπὶ Νικηφόρου ἦν ὅτε Λέων οὗτος καὶ ὁ Βαρδάνιος καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ τραυλὸς καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ ἐκ λίμνης Γαζουροῦ V maiusc. in marg. 13 ἐξαπέσταλκεν B edd 13 ἅτε δὴ : post ε primo scripsit litteram ρ deinde in δ corr. V, ut vid. 14 κυριεύειν edd 16 κατάστημα Boor in app. e Gen 6.10 et Scyl 9.7 : ἀνάστημα V edd 18 τοῦτο edd 18 τὲ V **2**.1 οὖν edd 3 καὶ secl. Boor 5 ἀναπέμπειν edd 8 περικοπὴ edd 9 ἔχεις edd 9 ἐμοὶ om. edd 10 βραχέων edd 15 ὃς : ὡς edd 15 τινῶν V

of manhood, he was counted as one of the most warlike and murderous men and enjoyed renown for bravery and might of hand. Nicephorus, who became a monument of defeat in Bulgaria, then held the reins of empire, and he dispatched Bardanios, known as the Turk, as sole general to oversee the administration and care of the five themes in the east on account of his daring in war and the other virtues whereby he excelled. And Bardanios, as he loved prevailing over enemies and each time cherished dreams of empire, enlisted this Leo about whom we now speak amongst his own guards and servants, for Leo was of striking appearance and noble demeanour and seemed also to have a certain wit in conversation; and before him, or shortly afterwards, he also enlisted Michael the Stammerer and Thomas from Lake Gazouros. All of them were of low and unenviable estate, having only just come to the attention of those charged with military office.

2. Thus, these men were the subordinates of Bardanios, anchoring their wordly hopes in him. And he, in his eagerness for empire, imparted his intent and desire for this same to a certain man living as a monk and dwelling in the region of Philomelion, bidding him send up supplicatory prayers to God to *order his steps* and grant him the empire. But he heard straightway that he ought not dare such things, 'whereby, O Bardanios, you will wretchedly suffer loss of your wealth and the putting out of your eyes and other misfortune. But if you would heed my counsel, turn away from this at once, and in no wise set your mind on making a start of such things.' When the man heard these words he was filled with dejection and clouded thoughts, and at last he went out of the room full of despondency and affliction. When the monk saw the aforementioned men, Leo and Michael and Thomas, bringing the horse for him to mount, he bade the general return; and the other, expecting to hear something new and unusual, returned more quickly than one can say. But again he implored him not to pass into action with the dangerous things he hoped for nor exchange his present good fortune for distant wretchedness. About the

αὐτοὺς δὲ τούτους προφήτιδι γλώττῃ διεμαρτύρετο, βεβαιῶν ὡς “ὁ πρῶτος τούτων καὶ δεύτερος τῆς σοὶ πεποθημένης βασιλείας γενήσονται ἐγκρατεῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐ σύ,” ὁ τρίτος δὲ εὐφημίας μόνης καὶ ἀναρρήσεως μετασχὼν οὐδ’ ὅλως εὐοδωθήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρήξει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. τούτοις βαλλόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν ποικίλως ἠφίει κατὰ πρόσωπον τὰς χροιὰς καὶ αὖθις ἀπῄει | τὴν οἴκαδε, ὁμοῦ μὲν f. 2v βλάσφημά τινα κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὕβρεις ἀπορριπτῶν, ὁμοῦ δὲ τούτοις τὰς ἐκείνου δι’ αὐτοὺς ἐξαγγέλλων προρρήσεις, καὶ γέλωτα πολὺν καταχέων τῶν εἰρημένων.

3. Χαίρειν οὖν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις, τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνὸς τῆς ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος κατὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Νικηφόρου χεῖρα συναθροίσας πολλὴν καὶ τὰ ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν θέματα τέσσαρα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις ὑπαγαγών, τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν χωρὶς – οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπεῖξαν αὐτῷ –, τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως ἄρχεται. ἐμίσει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλως τότε τὸν Νικηφόρον τὸ ὑπήκοον τῷ βάρει πιεζόμενον τῶν δημοσίων τελῶν, ὃ γέγονέ πως καὶ ἀφορμὴ καὶ σύνδρομον ἐκείνῳ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπαναστάσεως· γέγονε δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον αἴτιον. ὡς γὰρ κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ὁ Βαρδάνιος ἠνδραγάθησεν καὶ τῆς γενομένης πολλῆς λαφυραγωγίας δικαίᾳ προνοίᾳ πεποίηκε τὴν διανομήν, κατάλληλα τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις ἐν πολέμῳ ἀλλ’ οὐ | κατὰ πρόσωπον τὰ ἆθλα προθείς, ἔδοξε καὶ βασι- B 9 λείας τούτοις ἄξιος εἶναι μεταλαχεῖν. ὅθεν ἀναρρηθεὶς δημοσίᾳ φωνῇ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀπολαύσεών τε καὶ γερῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καταξιωθείς, ὡς καὶ ναὸν ἐπ’ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἀνεγεῖραί τε καὶ κατασκευάσαι, τὴν ἐπὶ Νικομήδειαν φέρουσαν ᾔει ὁδόν. ἀλλ’ ἀποχρῶσαν καὶ ἐφάμιλλον ὁ βασιλεύων Νικηφόρος δύναμιν ἐκστρατεύσας καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δύσελπιν ποιήσας αὐτὸν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀντιπαρατασσομένων, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν συγγνώμην φθάσαντα ἐξαιτήσασθαι. ἄρτι μὲν γὰρ Λέων ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Μιχαὴλ ἀπορρυέντες πρὸς βασιλέα, ἆθλον ὁ μὲν τὴν Φοιδεράτων καὶ βασιλικὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ζήνωνος καὶ τὸν Δαγισθέα, ὁ δὲ τὴν κόμητος <κόρτης> ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Καριανοῦ οἶκον ἀπενεγκάμενοι, οὐκ ἀγαθὰ

3.1–3: die 19 Iul. a. 803 usurpatio Bardanis accidit

Cap. 3: Theoph 479.15–480.9, 480.15–24, 488.22–26; GeorgMon 77.7–25; Gen 7.37–8.55; Log A 205.26–37 | Scyl 10.44–11.61

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25 ἀπορρίπτων edd **3**.1 περὶ τοῦ θέματος τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐκοινώνησε τῆς ἀνταρσίας V maiusc. in marg. 2 τῆς : τῆν V 3 θεάματα a. corr.V, ut vid. (α seu σ in ras.) 3 τέσσαρα θέματα edd 5 post ἄρχεται 4 seu 5 litterae in ras. V 5 καὶ ἄλλως om. edd 7 τοιαύτης om. edd 8 τῶν : τὸν V 10 ἀγονισαμένοις V : ἀγωνιζομένοις edd 12 εἶναι om. edd 12 φωνὴ V 13 ἀπολαύσεων τὲ V 14 κατεσκευάσαι V 17 ἀντιπαραττομένων V 19 Μηχαὴλ V 19 τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Φοιδεράτων Boor in app. e Scyl 30.56 20 καὶ : κατὰ Boor in app. 20 τὸν Δαγισθέα V maiusc. in marg. 20 κώμητος V 21 <κόρτης> Boor e Gen 8.54 et Scyl 11.60, cf. infra I.4. 33–34 κόμητα τῆς κόρτης 21 τὸν τοῦ Καριανοῦ V maiusc. in marg.

others, however, he bore witness with prophetic speech affirming that 'The first of these and the second will gain possession of the empire you long for, but not you; and the third will attain merely acclamation and proclamation though he *shall in no wise prosper* but he shall depart from his soul wretchedly.' Stricken in his soul by these words, Bardanios became red in the face and went off again on his way home, now uttering blasphemies and insults against the man, and now announcing to the the others his predictions about them whilst pouring forth great laughter over what had been said.

3. Thus dismissing the words of the monk, on the nineteenth of July in the eleventh indiction, having gathered a great force against the reigning emperor Nicephorus and won over to his side four of the themes under his command – without the Armeniacs, who did not submit to him – he began the rebellion. The subjects of the empire then hated Nicephorus anyway on account of the weight of public taxes which bore down upon them, and this was a sort of pretext for him concurrent with the rebellion. But there was another reason. For when Bardanios had won victory over the Hagarenes and distributed the great spoils with just foresight, granting reward according to the deeds of those who had struggled in battle, not in equal shares, he was deemed worthy by these men to attain imperial office. Whereupon, once he had been acclaimed emperor by public voice and had been granted many other privileges and honours by the people, a church even being built and fitted out in his name, he set out upon the road to Nicomedia. But the reigning emperor Nicephorus raised a sufficient and equal force and, filling Bardanios with doubt concerning the outcome on account of the multitude of the opposing army, persuaded him to come first and ask pardon. For already Leo and Michael had both run off to the emperor – the former obtaining as reward the charge of the Phoideratoi and the imperial house of Zeno and the Dagistheus, the latter the office of Comes <of the Court> and the house of Karianos – and they persuaded Bardanios that he had been mistaken with regard

φρονεῖν αὐτὸν πεπείκασιν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ λαῷ συγγνώμην αἰτούμενος ἐκ βασιλέως μέχρι τῶν Μαλαγίνων ὑπέστρεφεν· κἀκεῖ τοὺς τῆς ἀπαθείας λόγους δεξάμενος καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν σταυρίον, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Νικηφόρου φορούμενον αὐτῷ ἐξαπέσταλτο πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ πίστωσιν, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλείου μονὴν νύκτωρ, τὸν Θωμᾶν μόνον συγκινδυνεύοντα ἔχων, ἀπέφυγεν, τὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς κόσμον ἀφαιρῆσαι σπουδάζων. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς μονῆς προεστὼς τοῦτο | δρᾶσαι τοῦτον οὐ f. 3 συνεχώρει· αὐτὸς δὲ ᾗ περιεζώννυτο σπάθῃ τὸν πλόκαμον αὐτοῦ ἀφελὼν καὶ πενιχρὰν ἐσθῆτα ἀμφιασάμενος εἴχετο τῆς πρὸς τὴν Πρώτην νῆσον πορείας, ἔνθα δὴ τούτῳ κτῆμα καλῶς πεπονημένον ἐνῆν, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖσε μένειν | περιωρισμένον ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐκεῖσε γοῦν περαιωθείς, καὶ τὰς B 10 συνήθεις εὐχὰς καὶ τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν θεῖον σχῆμα δεξάμενος, μετωνομάσθη Σάβας, ἀγῶνας ἀσκητικοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος. οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λυκαονίας αὐτῷ ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ ποιήσαντες ἔρημον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, γνώμῃ καὶ εἰδήσει τοῦ βασιλεύοντος, τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ προσφεύγουσι θείῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ ναῷ· καὶ τέλος ἔσχεν ἡ πρόρρησις τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Φιλομήλιον ἐνδιαιτωμένου μονάζοντος. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὡς εὐεργέτας αὐτοὺς ἐπευξάμενος τῆς σκληροτέρας εἴχετο ἀγωγῆς, οἴνου τε καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ἐλαίου ὁλοσχερῶς ἀπεχόμενος, γυμνήν τε φέρων ἀεὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πόδας, κἂν εἴ τις σφοδρότερος ἐγεγόνει χειμών. ἔτι δὲ μονοχίτων διετέλει, τῷ θέρει μὲν δερμάτινον χιτῶνα ἀμφιεννύμενος, τῷ χειμῶνι δὲ τρίχινον περιβαλλόμενος. ἔζη δὲ οὐ σιτίνῳ, κριθῆς δὲ ἀλεύρῳ ἐγκρυφίαν ποιῶν. καὶ οὕτω παρέπεμπεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον, διαρκέσας ἕως ὁ Λέων τῆς βασιλείας ἐγένετο ἐγκρατής. ἀποκαρῆναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύμβιον Δομνίκαν ἅμα τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ ἐποίησεν, μετονομάσας αὐτὴν Ἀθανασίαν, ἅπαντα δηλαδὴ τὸν πλοῦτον διανείμας πτωχοῖς. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Βαρδάνιον οὕτω τε καὶ τοιαῦτα.

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22 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ πεποιήκασιν edd 24 σταυρίδιον edd 25 ἀπέσταλτο edd 29 post δὲ habent τῇ V edd : expunxit V^{2} : secl. Boor 31 ὅπως ὁ Βαρδάνιος μοναχὸς τὲ γέγονε καὶ Σάββας μετονομάσθη (sic) τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τὲ ἐξεκόπη καὶ βίον μετῆλθε βιαιότατόν τε καὶ σκληρότατον V maiusc. in marg. 31 ἐν ἦν V 32 ἐκεῖ edd 32 γ᾽ οὖν V 33 μετῶνομάσθη V 34 Σάββας edd 36 γνώσει edd 37 ἔσχεν : εἶχεν καὶ edd 37 κατὰ Boor, cf. supra I.2.3 : καὶ V : om. edd 39 εὐεργέταις αὐτοῖς edd 39 τὲ V 40 ἀεὶ φέρων edd 42 ἀμφιεννύμος V 43 τρύχινον V 43 κρίθης edd 44 οὕτως edd 46 τῇ om. edd 47 μετωνομάσας V

to himself. Whereupon, asking pardon from the emperor for himself and his army he withdrew to Malagina; and there receiving promises of impunity and the small gold cross which Nicephorus wore and which was sent to him as a security and confirmation, he sought refuge by night, with Thomas as his only companion in danger, in the monastery of Heraclius, eager to be rid of that which adorned his head. As the superior of the monastery would not allow him to do this, Bardanios cut off his own hair with the sword he wore and, putting on poor clothing, he set out on the way to the island of Prote, for there he owned a prosperous estate, and the emperor commanded that he should remain there in banishment. Thus, having crossed over thither, he received the usual prayers and the holy habit of the monks, changing his name to Sabas, and demonstrated many feats of asceticism. Not long thereafter some men from Lykaonia set upon him and, depriving him of his eyes, with the agreement and knowledge of the emperor, they fled for refuge to the holy Great Church of God; and the prediction of the monk dwelling near Philomelion was fulfilled. But Bardanios prayed on their behalf as for benefactors, and he pursued an even harsher way of life, abstaining completely from oil and fish and wine, and went about always with bare head and feet, even if there happened to be the severest winter. Moreover, he persevered with a single garment, wearing a leather garment in summer and donning one of hair in winter; and he lived making his bread not with corn but with barley. And thus he passed his life, enduring until Leo took control of the empire. He also had his wife Domnica, together with his daughter and sons, tonsured in the same house, changing her name to Athanasia and, to be sure, distributing all his wealth to the poor. So much, then, for Bardanios.

4. Ὁ δὲ Λέων εἴχετο τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐγαυρία ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀδόξου περίβλεπτος ὁραθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φοιδεράτων ἀρχήν. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἀπείχετο τοιοῦτος περὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην | φανείς. πλὴν εἴχετο, B 11 καὶ μάχαις μάχας ἐπισυνάπτων κατὰ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν ἠνδραγαθίζετο, ἅτε μεγάλην ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ μέρει καὶ φύσει καὶ τριβῇ προσφερόμενος δύναμιν. καί ποτε στρατιωτικῶν χρημάτων διανομὴν παρὰ τοῦ τὰ σκῆπτρα διέποντος Νικηφόρου ἐγχειρισθείς, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐντολῶν, οὐδ’ ἐξεπέραινέν τι, ἀλλ’ ἐν πολίχνῃ Εὐχαΐτων τὸν | f. 3v καιρὸν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ ἀμελείᾳ κατατρίβων ἀνεβάλλετο τὰ νενομισμένα τῷ στρατῷ παρασχεῖν, καὶ φυλακῆς οὐδεμιᾶς πρόνοιαν ἔχων οὔτε μὴν τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ σώματος, οὐδ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα, τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐκδραμόντων καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ληϊζομένων, τὴν λείαν αὐτοῖς οὗτος ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄλλος τις ἀπεπλήρου ἀταλαιπώρως, ἀλλὰ δι’ αὐτοῦ μὲν οὒ – ὀξείᾳ γὰρ φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπραγματεύσατο –, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ δὲ προδοὺς καὶ μονονουχὶ χερσὶ πολεμίοις ἐμβαλὼν χρήματα. οὗ δὴ ἕνεκα δίκας, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀξίας, τῷ καταπιστεύσαντι δοὺς Νικηφόρῳ πληγαῖς τε ταῖς κατὰ νώτου ὑπήχθη καὶ στέρνων καὶ φυγῇ ἀϊδίῳ τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέτισεν. ἀλλὰ τοῦ Νικηφόρου κατὰ Σκυθῶν ἐκστρατεύσαντος καὶ τραυματίου κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου πεσόντος μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ εἰκάδι ἕκτῃ τῆς τετάρτης ἰνδικτιῶνος, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Σταυρακίου κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καιρίαν τρωθέντος, ὡς δύο μὲν μόνους μῆνας καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπιζῆσαι ὀκτώ, συμβασιλεύσαντος δὲ πρότερον τῷ πατρὶ ἔτη ἑπτὰ μῆνας ἑπτά, καὶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ κουρο|παλάτου μετὰ τὴν τοῦ B 12

4.19–20: die 26 Iul. a. 811 Nicephorus in proelio a Bulgaris occisus est 21–22 a die 26 Iul. usque ad 2 Oct. a. 811 Stauracius solus imperator regnavit 22–23 : a Dec. a. 803 Stauracius cum patre Nicephoro septem annos et septem menses regnavit, cf. Theoph 480.11–12

Cap. 4: Theoph 489.17–22, 490.8–494.8, 495.15–18; Scrip Inc 336.5–14; GeorgMon 774.18–776.11; Gen 8.55–58; Log A 207.64–208.11 | Scyl 5.61–74, 11.61–67

4.2 περίβλεπτως a. corr. V 2 τῆς : τοῖς V 4 ἐπισυνάπτον V 7 ἔμελλεν V 8 ἐξεπαίρενέν V 8 ὅτι ἐν Εὐχαΐτοις διέτριβε Λέων ὁ Ἀρμένιος τοὺς πόλεμιους (sic) ἀγώνας (sic) ἀναβαλλόμενος καὶ τὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ χρήματα κατεσθίων V maiusc. in marg. 9 κατὰ τρίβων V 9 ἀνα βαλλετο ante corr. V, ut vid. (secundum α in ras., sine acc.) 10 οὐδεμίαν edd 11 χρημάτων, οὐδὲ edd 11 ὑποχεῖρα V 12 λεῖαν V 15 μόνον οὐχὶ edd 16 ἔνεκα V 17 τὲ V 18 ὅπως Νικηφόρος ἀναιρεῖται παρὰ Βουλγάρων, μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ Σταυράκιος ὁ υἱος αὐτοῦ τελευτᾶ V maiusc. in marg. 20 αὐτοῦ om. edd 22 μήνας V 22 ὀκτώ V 22 συνβασιλεύσαντος B^{2} in marg. edd Boor : συμβουλεύσαντος V 23 ἑπτὰ Boor in app. e Theoph, qui septem annos septemque menses, a Decembri a. 803 usque ad Iulium a. 811, imperium cum patre habuisse dicit (cf. App. Font., ad loc.), utpote ὀκτὼ errore promptum e versu superiore : ὀκτὼ V edd 23 Μιχαὴλ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου ἀναγόρευσις V maiusc. in marg.

4. Leo was eager for glory and, coming from humble and obscure origins, he prided himself on his illustrious appearance as chief of the Phoideratoi. Nor did he desist from ingratitude, shewing himself in such a wise toward his benefactor. But he persisted, and adding battles upon battles he fought bravely against the Ismaelites, as if deriving great strength in this regard from his nature and practice. Once he was charged by the reigning emperor Nicephorus with the distribution of the soldiers' pay. But because he took no care for imperial commands, he did nothing; and passing his time in ease and indifference in the town of Euchaita he put off giving the army the usual pay. He made no provision for defence, either of the common money or of his own person or of those under his command; and when the Hagarenes invaded and ravaged the Roman lands, it was he and no one else who delivered the spoils to them, without any concern, even if not by himself in person – for he had procured safety through swift flight! – nevertheless, having abandoned the soldiers' pay, he all but put it in the hands of the enemy. For this reason he received punishment, albeit insufficient, from Nicephorus who had trusted him, and he was sentenced to scourging on the back and breast and to perpetual banishment. But Nicephorus took the field against the Scyths and fell wounded in the ranks of battle on the twenty-sixth of July of the fourth indiction, and his son Staurakios, mortally injured in the battle, survived him by only two months and eight days, having previously reigned with his father for eight years and seven months. And when, after the death of

Σταυρακίου κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου μηνὸς ἀποβίωσιν, γαμβροῦ μὲν τοῦ Νικηφόρου τελοῦντος, ἐκ γενεᾶς δὲ καταγομένου τοῦ Ῥαγαβὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν Μαγγάνων σκηνοῦντος, τὴν τῆς βασιλείας δεξαμένου ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον μῆνα τῆς πέμπτης ἰνδικτιῶνος, ἀπολύεται ὁ Λέων τῆς ὑπερορίας κατὰ τὸ ἐπικρατῆσαν ἔθος χρηστότητος ἕνεκεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῦσι, καὶ τῆς φυγῆς κατάγεται. καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ῥαβδούχοις τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἀνάκτορα συντάττεται ἐφεδρεύουσι, καὶ πατρικίων τιμᾶται μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τιμῇ καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἀναδείκνυται· ἡνίκα καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν φιλίαν τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ δὴν τραφέντος Μιχαὴλ ἀνανεῶν, ὃν κόμητα τῆς κόρτης ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Βαρδανίου μετάταξις προετίμησεν, καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μύστην λαμβάνων τῶν ἔνδον τε εἶχε πιστότατον καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς πρακτικώτατον.

5. Ἀλλ’ ἔμελλεν αὖθις ἀχαριστίας ἁλῶναι γραφῇ, ὠμότητι συντραφεὶς καὶ ἀγριότητι ἐκτραφείς, καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις | τὰ πρῶτα καλύψαι ὁ f. 4
ἀλιτήριος. ὅθεν ἄρτι Κρούμνου τοῦ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἡγεμόνος συμβάσεις καὶ φιλίας ὑποκρινομένου καὶ σπονδὰς ζητοῦντος εἰρηνικάς, εἰ μόνον τὰ κατ’ ἔτος διδόμενα εἰς τάξιν οἶμαι δοθῶσιν φόρου αὐτῷ, ὡς τοῖς πρότερον ἔδοξε, καὶ προστιθέντος ὡς καὶ τοὺς πρόσφυγας Βουλγάρων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων εἰς τοὐπίσω ἐκδίδοσθαι τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἔθνει, ἄτοπον ἐφάνη τὸ τῶν
| προσφύγων τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, εἰ καὶ ὁ βασιλεύων Μιχαὴλ B 13
ὅλως ἐγένετο τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ γε δὴ τῆς εἰρήνης βούλεσθαι μὴ ἀποτυχεῖν. ἀλλ’ ἐκράτησεν ἡ βουλὴ Θεόκτιστον μάγιστρον ἐπικυροῦντα καὶ συντιθέμενον ἔχουσα τῇ δόξῃ, καὶ διελύθησαν πάλιν εἰς ἔργα πολέμου τοὺς λόγους καταλιπόντες γυμνούς. καὶ τοῦτ’ εἰκότως ἐφάνη καλὸν – πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις φιλάνθρωπος δόξῃ καὶ συμπαθὴς τόν γε διά τινα σφαλέντα δὴ

4.23–24 : die 11 Ian. a. 812 Stauracius obiit 26–27 : die 2 Oct. a. 811 Michael Rhangabe coronam imperialem accepit **5**.3 : ca. a. 802 usque ad Apr. a. 814 Bulgarorum chaganus Krum regnavit

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Cap. 5: Theoph 497.16–498.4, 498.14–499.4, 500.10–12; Gen 9.84–90; Log A 209.9–14 | Scyl 12.4–23

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25 τοῦ om. edd 26 Ῥαγγαβὲ Bekk 26 περὶ τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Μαγγάνων V maiusc. in marg. 26 ἐνσκηνοῦντος Boor in app. 27 πέμπτεις V 28 ὅπως ὁ Λέων ἐν τῆ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἀναγορεύσει ἀνακαλεῖται τῆς ὑπερορίας V maiusc. in marg. 28 ἔθος τῆς edd 29 ἕνεκεν V 29 βασιλεῦση V 32 τῶν om. edd 33 δὴν τραφέντος nos : δεῖν τραφέντος V : συντραφέντος B in marg. Boor : τραφέντος ἀνδρὸς edd 35 εἶχε B secuti scripsimus : εἶχετ (ligatum cum π quod sequitur) V : εἶχεν edd 36 πρακτικώτατον post corr. V (una littera post π in ras.) **5**,.1 γραφὴ V 2 ἐντραφείς Bekk in app., sed cf. VBas 92.10 ἐκτρέφουσαι 3 συμβιβάσεις V^2 (βι sscr.) 4 ὑποκριναμένου edd 4 εἰρηνηκὰς V 5 κατέτος V 9 ὅλος Bekk in app. 13 συμπαθεὶς V

Staurakios on the second day of the month of October, the curopalates Michael, the son-in-law of Nicephorus, who was descended from the race of Ragabe and dwellt in the district of Mangana, received the imperial power in the month of October of the fifth indiction, Leo was released from banishment in accordance with the prevailing custom of clemency by emperors of the Romans and returned from exile. He was enrolled amongst the staff-bearers of this same Michael who had their quarters in the Palace, and soon afterwards he was awarded the dignity of patrikios and made general of the Anatolics. It was then that he renewed his old friendship with Michael who had of old grown up with him and whom the rebellion of Bardanios had afforded the dignity of comes of the court. Accepting him as an initiate in his secrets Leo held him as most faithful in intimate matters and most practical in external ones.

5. But this scoundrel, bred in cruelty and nourished in savagery, was once again to prove himself guilty of the charge of ingratitude and to surpass his earlier deeds with new ones. For Krum, the ruler of the Bulgars, feigning accord and friendship, now sought a treaty of peace, under the condition, I think, that the yearly sum be given him in payment of tribute, as had seemed reasonable to earlier generations; and he added that Bulgar as well as Roman refugees should be given back to their own countries. This demand concerning the refugees seemed unreasonable to the Senate, though the reigning emperor Michael was completely of the same opinion as the Bulgar ruler out of his desire not to fail in obtaining peace. But the Senate prevailed, through the assistance and agreement of the magister Theoktistos, and abandoning unarmed words they proceeded again to acts of war. And this, rightly, was seen as noble – for how could anyone humane and compassionate think it good to

περιπέτειαν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀρνησάμενον ἐνεγκαμένην, ἧς οὐδὲν γλύκιον, ὥς φασι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ γαμετήν τε καὶ ἔκγονα, ὡς εἰς ἄσυλον δὲ καταφυγόντα βωμὸν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ, τοῦτον ἐκδίδοσθαι ὠμότητι Σκυθῶν θηρίων διενηνοχότων οὐδέν; – οἷς γὰρ τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ ἄγριον ὁρῶσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς μὴ ὑποφέροντας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπορρέοντας πρὸς τὸ ἥμερον καὶ πρᾶον ἡμῶν συχνῶς, ἅτε δή, μὴ κατὰ μικρὸν μάθωσιν ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκκενώσαντες, δεδιότες οἱ σφῶν ἀρχηγοὶ τὸν πολὺν περὶ τούτων λόγον πολλάκις καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν κεκινήκασιν. ἀλλὰ κενήν, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἔψηλαν, ἀνθρώποις ἐντυχόντες στερροῖς.

6. Τοιγαροῦν μικρὸν διαλιπόντες κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων ὁπλίζονται. καὶ Μι-
χαὴλ μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποστράτηγον Λέοντα ἐγγίζειν καὶ διαπεραιοῦσθαι
ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς θᾶττον ἠξίου μετὰ καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων· καὶ βοηθῷ μέλλων
χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ ἐχθρὸν κατέλαβεν ἄσπονδον. | ὡς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μεγα- B 14
λαύχων ῥημάτων καὶ ἀπειλῶν ὧν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Κροῦμνος ἀπέπεμπε,
φθόρους σωμάτων ἐπαπειλῶν καὶ γῆς δῄωσιν καὶ δένδρων ἐκτομὰς καὶ
οἰκημάτων πυρπόλησιν, καὶ ὅλως καθ᾽ ἡμῶν οἷά τις χειμάρρους ποταμὸς
φερόμενος πάντας ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσαι διεβεβαίου, ἄρτι δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως
ἐκστρατεύσαντος καὶ συστείλαντος τὰς ὑπερορίους ἐκείνας | ἀπειλάς, καὶ f. 4v
μονονοὺ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅροις ἐμμένειν καταναγκάζοντος ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκπηδᾶν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ληΐζεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις ἐκ παρατάξεως προσκαλουμένου μὲν τοῦ Μιχαήλ, ἐκείνου δὲ μὴ ἀπαυθαδιαζομένου ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιγινώσκοντος ἀσθένειαν καὶ μὴ πρὸς βασιλέα χεῖρα ἀνταραι κατατολμῶντος, ἐδόκει μὲν τῷ Μιχαὴλ ἀρκεῖσθαι τὸ προπετὲς ἐκείνου καὶ αὔθαδες ἐν τοῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατακλείσαντα, μὴ καὶ μάχην ἐπισυνάψαι, ὡς ἀδήλου ὄντος τοῦ μέλλοντος· “ἐπεὶ γάρ”, ἔλεγεν, “ἐκ παρατάξεως ἡμῶν οὐκ εἰς πόλεμον οἷοί τε ἐσμὲν ἐκκαλέσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγομαχεῖν καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ μένειν ἀναγκάζομεν, τί καὶ δράσαιμεν βιαζόμενοι;” διὰ τοῦτο οὖν παλινδρομεῖν ἠρέμα πως καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν βασιλείαν

||14–15 Arsenius Apostolius Paroemiae cent. XVIII, sect. 66c, Etym. Magnum 607, ln. 10, cf. Homerus Od. 9.34; 22 Diogenianus Gramm. Paroemiae cent. VII sect. 60, Arethas Opera Minora no. 76 p. 124.2 Cap. 6: Theoph 500.10–502.19; Scrip Inc 336.14–340.10; Vita Nicephori 162.31–163.12; GeorgMon 776.17–20; Gen 3.21–4.39, 9.90–95; Log A 209.14–17 | Scyl 5.75–7.36

15 ἔγκονα ante corr. B : ἔγγονα edd 15 δὲ om. edd 16 τὴν … πολιτείαν Boor in app. 18 διατοῦτο V 19 ἅτε V 20 λάθωσιν edd **6.**2 μὲν om. edd 2 ἐγγίζειν : ἐπαγγελίζειν ante corr. B, ut vid. : ἐπανάγειν edd 5 Ῥωρωμαίων V 10 μόνον οὐ V edd Boor 13 βασιλὲα Bekk Boor, cf. infra IV.23.13 : βασιλέως V Comb 14 κατοτολμῶντος ante corr. V (τα sscr. V[2]) 15 ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ edd, quod accipiens αὐτῷ coni. Bekk in app. 17 ἐκκαλεσάσθαι V 18 ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ Bekk Boor : ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὴν V Comb 19 πῶς V 19 καταμικρὸν V

deliver to the brutality of the Scyths, in no wise different from beasts, another who on account of some mishap has renounced the country that bore him (than which, as they say, nothing is sweeter!) as well as his wife and offspring, and has fled for refuge, as to an inviolate altar, to the the Roman state? – in the view of those, I mean, who consider the many men who, unable to bear the dreadfulness and savagery of the Scyths, therefore fled continuously to our civility and mildness; and it was through fear of this, lest they should shortly see themselves depopulated to our advantage, that their leaders have often, up to our own time, initiated long tractations concerning these matters. But as the proverb has it, they *sang in vain*, for they came up against men of firmness.

6. Therefore the two sides spent little time before taking up arms against one another. Michael ordered his second in command Leo to approach and cross over quickly from Asia with his forces; but, whilst intending to use him as an ally, he acquired an implacable enemy. For, because of the boastful words and threats Krum had lanced against the Romans, when he threatened the destruction of men, the devastation of land, the cutting of trees and the burning of houses, and declared that he would sweep down against us in every wise like a torrent and would bring all under his sway, the emperor had at once taken the field and put a stop to these threats from beyond the borders, well nigh forcing him to remain within his own borders and not to attack or lay waste to our land. Many times did Michael call to Krum from the ranks, but the latter, displaying no insolence, acknowledged his own weakness and dared not raise his hand against the emperor; and Michael was satisfied to have contained the precipitation and presumption of the other in his lands without engaging battle, since the outcome is always uncertain. 'Seeing that', he said, 'from our ranks we are unable to call the enemy out to battle, but have forced him to shun battle and remain on his own ground, what else should we do perforce?' Now, whereas on this account Michael wished to return in a

βουλομένου, ἀπρεπὲς ἐφάνη τῷ Λέοντι καὶ οὐ κατὰ βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων νῶτα διδόναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὕτω καλοῦντι τὴν καλλίστην ἐκείνην βουλὴν τῷ μὴ ὀρθὰ μὴ δ’ ὑγιᾶ φρονεῖν σεσαθρωμένα δὲ καὶ δόλια, καὶ ὅλην ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσαι τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων μελετῶντι ἡγεμονίαν. “ἀλλ’ ἰτητέον”, ἔφη, | “πρὸς αὐτούς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ὄψει με σήμερον τὸ κράτος καθαρῶς B 15 ἀναδούμενον κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ νικηφόρον δεικνύμενον, τῇ σῇ καταθαρροῦντα καὶ προπολεμοῦντα πεποιθήσει τε καὶ εὐχῇ”. τούτοις ὁ Μιχαὴλ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκτραπείς τε καὶ παρασαλευθεὶς συρρῆξαι παρεκελεύσατο τὸν πόλεμον. ὡς δὲ μόνον ἐγένετο συμβολή, νῶτα δοὺς ὁ Λέων τὴν φυγαδείαν ἠσπάσατο, τὴν βασιλείαν ἀεί πως ἐπιζητῶν. καὶ τοῦτο τέως ἄδηλον ἦν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Μιχαὴλ καὶ τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις· μήπω γάρ τινος γεγονότος, οἷα φιλεῖ κατὰ πόλεμον, μὴ δ’ ἑτέρῳ ἀνδραγαθήματος, ἀλλ’ ἔτι κατ’ ἀρχὰς οὔσης τῆς μάχης καὶ μικροῦ ὅτι καὶ συνερράγησαν ἀγνώστου, αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Βουλγάροις καὶ πᾶσιν ἐφάνη τρόπος εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς μέλλουσιν αὐτοὺς διασπᾶν καὶ αὖθις ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς καταπολεμεῖν. ὡς δ’ ἀμφότεροι οὐ κατὰ τρόπον ἀλλ’ ἀληθῆ ἔγνωσαν εἶναι δὴ τὴν φυγήν, τότε προσπεσόντες οἱ μὲν ἐναντίοι φόνον πολὺν ἐνειργάζοντο τῶν φευγόντων νεανικῶς, ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ἑαυτὸν σώζειν ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀντιπίπτειν μετ’ ὀλίγων ὧν διεπείραζε. καὶ οὕτως μὲν ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην τινὲς ἡμῖν ἐγγράφως παραδεδώκασιν· εἰσὶ δ’ οἳ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις μᾶλλον τῷ Λέοντι διδόασι | διασῶσαι καὶ καρτερῶς ἀγωνίσασθαι, f. 5 τῶν βασιλικῶν ταγμάτων ἐθελοκακησάντων καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν προδεδωκότων παράταξιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Λέοντα μέρους. πλὴν καθυπερτερεῖ μὲν τὰ Βουλγάρων δυσελπίστως, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἥττῃ συνεχόμενα βαρείᾳ καὶ | φοβερᾷ τὸν βασιλέα ἔπεμπον ἀγωνιῶντα περὶ B 16 ψυχῆς. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν πρὸς τὰς βασιλείους αὐλὰς παρεπέμπετο, τὸν Λέοντα οἷόν τινα πρόβολον καταλιπὼν ἔξωθεν ἐφεδρεύειν τοῦ μή τινα γενέσθαι λαφυραγωγίαν πλείονα παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ὁ δὲ καιροῦ λαβόμενος ἐπιτηδείου τὸν στρατιώτην ὄχλον ἠρέθιζέ τε καὶ δύσφημά τινα ῥιπτεῖν κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἠνάγκαζε, καὶ μὴ ἂν ἔλαφον, ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ τοῦ μύθου, ἡγεῖσθαι λεόντων καλὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι, τὴν φυγὴν ἀσπασάμενον νῦν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κόλπους φυγόντα τῆς γυναικός, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἡμᾶς καταλιπόντα λαὸν παρανάλωμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν. οὔπω πέρας πρὸς τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν λόγων ὁ λόγος ἐλάμβανε, καὶ εἰς ἔρ<γον> ἦν τοῦτον ἀπεκβάντα ἰδεῖν τῇ τῶν κολάκων κατασπαρέντα στωμυλίᾳ καὶ συν-

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6.43–44 : die 22 Iun. a. 813 strages Byzantinorum ad Versiniciam accidit

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|| 49–50 Plutarchus 187D ln. 8, Stephanus Byz. 961E ln. 11, Leo Sapiens, Tactica 2.32

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21 ἐκείνην ante τὴν καλλίστην edd 22 ὑγῖα V 25 κὰτὰ V 25 νικηφόρων V 26 τὲ V 32 καταρχὰς V 34 ἐξυποστροφῆς V 35 δὴ ἔγνωσαν εἶναι B edd 38 οὕτω edd 44 βαρεῖα V 48 προοίμια τῆς τοῦ Λέοντος τυραννίδος V maiusc. in marg. 48 δύσφημά : βλάσφημά edd 49 τὸ om. edd 52 καταλιπόντά V 53 ἔργον B^2 in marg. edd : ἔρ (sic) V

quiet way, little by little, to his own empire, Leo considered it unseemly and unbefitting a Roman emperor to turn his back on the enemy, and he thus criticised the other's excellent counsel with reasoning by no means correct or sound, but rotten and devious, all the while taking thought as to how to bring the entire realm of the Romans under his own control. 'But we must go out to them, O emperor', he said, 'and you will see me gain power in honest wise against the enemy and emerge victorious, emboldened and urged on to battle by your trust and prayer.' Astonished and won over by these words Michael commanded that battle should be engaged. But no sooner had the combat begun than Leo turned his back and took flight, though nonetheless still in pursuit of empire. At first this manoeuvre was unclear to Michael himself and to the enemy, for no acts of bravery, as is usual in war, had yet been accomplished on either side. As the uncertain battle was just beginning and it was scarcely known that the ranks had been broken, it seemed to the Bulgars and to everyone that this was a trick: that the others intended to divide them and then to return and attack. When they had both understood that the flight was no trick, the enemy attacked with vehemence and wrought great carnage upon those who were fleeing; Michael, however, together with several others tried to save himself, putting up no resistance. Thus have certain men recounted this battle for us in their written reports; but there are others who on the contrary relate that Leo preserved his lines and fought vigorously, whereas the imperial divisions let themselves be beaten and betrayed their own ranks, unlike those under Leo. But, however, the Bulgars unexpectedly got the upper hand, and on the side of the Romans grave and frightful defeat bore down, sending the emperor off in despair of his life. The latter, then, went off to the imperial court, leaving Leo to lie in wait in the field as a sort of guardian lest the enemy should take any more booty; but Leo, seising this suitable opportunity, provoked the assembled soldiery and constrained them to utter words of abuse against the emperor, saying that it was not right, as the fable has it, that lions should be ruled over by a hart 'who has now taken flight to the bosom of his wife, leaving us his army as prey for the enemy.' This speech to his comrades was not yet finished when already one could see that it had come into action, spread abroad through the chatter and tumult of his

δρομῇ. καὶ τέλος ἀνάρρησις αὐθωρόν, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶχε τὸ βραχύτατον μόριον τῆς ἡμέρας ἰδιώτην ἅμα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα.

7. Ἄρτι γοῦν ἀνηγορεύετο παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ φόβοι τοῦτον καὶ δέη ὑφεῖρπον, εἴτε σκηνὴν ὄντως ὑποκρινόμενον, ἵν᾽ ἀπολογίαν σχοίη εἰς ὕστερον, εἴτε καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τὰ ταῖς τηλικαύταις πράξεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντα ἀντίπαλα διαλογιζόμενον – ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἁρπάσαι τὰ ἀλλότρια προθυμουμένοις μαλακώτεραι πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τόλμαι φιλοῦσι γίνεσθαι – καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅπως τῶν βασιλείων μετάσχῃ αὐλῶν, θυραυλῶν τε καὶ πόρρω που αὐλιζόμενος. ἀλλ᾽ ἔμελλε πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνσκηνῆσαι τοῖς βασιλείοις, καὶ | διὰ τοῦτο πνεῦμα πονηρότατον διεγεῖραν Μιχαὴλ τὸν τραυ- B 17 λὸν καιρίαν οἱ καθικέσθαι διηπείλει, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν ἀσμένως προσδέξοιτο· ὡς αὐτῷ γε πάντων μελήσειν τῶν νομιζομένων δυσχερῶν καὶ αὐτῆς γε ταύτης τῆς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια ἀφίξεως. ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν.

8. Ὡς δέ τις ἀνὴρ – Ἰωάννης οὗτος ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἐξαβούλιον – τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος ᾔσθετο τὸν Λέοντα τοῦτον καταλελειμμένον πρὸς φυλακὴν ἅμα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσόδῳ – δεινὸς δὲ ἄρα ἀνδρὸς φύσιν στοχάσασθαι | πόρρωθεν –, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ τὴν ἐκείνου f. 5v ἔφησε γενέσθαι προστασίαν τῶν στρατευμάτων· ὅθεν σύμβουλος γίνεται τῷ βασιλεῖ διανοήσασθαί τι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μεταστῆσαι καλῶς. πλὴν ἔδει τὸν τέως τῷ κωδίῳ θῆρα κρυπτόμενον ἀνακαλυφθῆναί ποτε καὶ δοκιμασθῆναι ὡς ἐν χοάνῳ χρυσὸν τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκλεκτούς· συγχωρεῖται δὲ πολλάκις τοῦτο κατά τινα τοῦ χρόνου κυκλικὴν περίοδον γίνεσθαι, ἐξ αἰτήσεως οἶμαι δαιμονικῆς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ Ἰώβ, εἰς γνῶσιν μὲν καὶ διάκρισιν τῶν εὐσεβῶν, ἀλλοτρίωσιν δὲ καὶ ἀποποίησιν τῶν κακῶν.

9. Οὔπω γὰρ πέρας ἔσχον οἱ λόγοι, καὶ φήμη προθέουσα τὴν τοῦ τυράννου ἐμήνυεν ἀναγόρευσιν. προσπεσούσης δὲ ταύτης, ἡ μὲν πόλις

6.55–56 : die 11 Iul. a. 813 Leo Armenus imperator proclamatus est, cf. infra I.12.1–2

Cap. 7: Gen 4.39–44 | Scyl 7.36–41 || 4–5 Dionysius Halicarnassus, Antiquitates Romanae 14.9.3 τοῖς δ᾽ ἁρπάσαι τὰ ἀλλότρια προθυμουμένοις μαλακώτεραι πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τόλμαι φιλοῦσι γίνεσθαι. Cap. 8: Gen 4.45–5.55 | PsSym 604.2–4; Scyl 7.42–49 || 7 Ioannes Grammaticus Adversus Manichaeos I ln. 275 et Nicephorus Refutatio et eversio cap. 4 ln. 39, cf. Matt. 7.15; 7–8 Gregorius Nazianzenus, Carmina dogmatica col. 445 ln. 12, Carmina moralia col. 568 ln. 3, col. 914 ln. 11 et col. 967 ln. 5, Carmina de se ipso p. 1345 ln. 4, cf. 1 Pet 1.7; 10 Iob 2.4–6 Cap. 9: Theoph 502.19–26; Scrip Inc 340.10–12; Vita Nicephori 163.12–17; Gen 5.55–6.87 | PsSym 604.15–18; Scyl 7.49–8.74 || 2–4 cf. Plutarchus Cato Minor 59.1 τούτων προσπεσόντων ἡ μὲν πόλις … πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἄγγελμα μικροῦ δεῖν ἔκφρων γενομένη μόλις ἑαυτὴν ἐντὸς τειχῶν κατεῖχεν;

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55 τὸν: τῶν V **7.**1 γ᾽ οὖν V 3 εἴ τὲ V 7 ἐνσκηνῶσαι edd 8 διατοῦτο V 8 πνεῦ a. corr. V (μα add. V^2) 9 περὶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ τραυλοῦ V maiusc. in marg. 9 διειπείλη V **8.**1 Ἐξαβούλλιον V et infra I.21.16, II.19.28 sed cf. Gen 4.46, 5.54, 15.61, 68, 22.54, 31.57 Scyl 7.43, 47 (AVMN), 19.32, 40.64 : Ἑξαβούλης PsSym 613.16 7 κρυπτώμενον V 9 τοῦτο πολλάκις edd

flatterers. Forthwith came the acclamation, and the briefest part of a day saw the same Leo as private citizen and as emperor.

7. Now he had hardly been acclaimed by the army before fears and terrors crept over him, be it that he was in fact acting a part so as to have an excuse later, or that he was in truth reckoning the adverse consequences of his actions at that time – for courage even of those eager to despoil others is wont to slacken in the face of danger – and, above all, how he was going to get to the imperial palace, being as he was outside and encamped far away. But Leo was at all events to dwell in the palace, and for this reason a most evil spirit roused Michael the Stammerer to threaten him with a mortal blow unless he immediately accepted the proclamation, and Michael would see to all the expected difficulties including also getting to the palace. And so it came to pass.

8. When a certain man in charge of the care and protection of the walls – this was John Exaboulios – learnt, upon the entry of the emperor, that this Leo had been left behind for the defence, he said – for he was adept by nature at divining things long before – that Leo's superintendence of the army was not for the good; and for this reason he advised the emperor to reconsider the matter and replace the man in advantageous manner. But the beast concealed under the *sheepskin* was to be revealed and God's chosen ones *be tried as gold* in a furnace: this is often allowed to occur according to a cyclical period of time and by petition, I think, of the demons, as in the case of Job, for the recognition and distinction of the pious and the alienation and rejection of the wicked.

9. His speech was not finished when the rumour went round reporting the usurper's proclamation. And when this occurred, the city all but went mad at

πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἄγγελμα μικροῦ δεῖν ἔκφρων γενομένη μόλις ἑαυτὴν συνεῖχεν, τοὺς ἐμφυλίους κατορρωδοῦσα πολέμους, ἐξ ὧν πολλάκις αὔτανδροι πόλεις κατεβαπτίσθησαν· ὁ δ’ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐξεπλάγη μὲν τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἐταράχθη δὲ τὴν γνώμην, | ἀλλ’ ἀχαριστίαν αὐτοῦ μόνον κατεγνωκώς, B 18 ἠρέμα πως ὑποψιθυρίσας ὡς καλὸν τῷ θείῳ θελήματι ἕπεσθαι, ἀφῄρει τῆς πόλεως τὸ περιθαμβὲς καὶ ταραχῶδες, ἅπαντας προτρεψάμενος χωρῆσαι τούτου πρὸς ἀπαντήν, ἵνα μένουσαν σώζῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐμφυλίου αἵματος ἄχραντόν τε καὶ καθαράν. ἵστασθαι δέ τινων πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν διὰ μάχης ἀγῶνα παρακελευομένων χωρεῖν, καὶ μένειν αὐτῶν ὑπισχνουμένων βεβαίων ὑπὲρ βασιλέως πράου τε καὶ πιστοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς ἀποδεχομένης τοῦτο τῆς γαμετῆς Προκοπίας καὶ Μανουήλ τινος τῶν ἐξ Ἀμαληκιτῶν πρωτοστράτωρος τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνοντος, οὐκ ἔφη χρῄζειν τὴν βασιλείαν αἵμασι καταρρεομένην ἀδελφικοῖς. ὅθεν καί τινι τῶν πρὸς θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ γνησίων παράσημά τινα δοὺς τῆς βασιλείας φοιτᾶν ἐκεῖσε ἐξεβιάσατο. ἐφ’ οἷς καὶ δεινοπαθήσασα καὶ οἷον ἐκβακχευθεῖσα ἡ τούτου δὴ γαμετὴ δεινὸν λέγεται ἀνακραγεῖν, εἰ Βάρκα, οὕτω δὴ τὸ τοῦ Λέοντος καλέσασα γύναιον, τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπίθοιτο τὸν μοδίολον. ὁ δὲ στερροῖς λόγοις ταύτην ἐπιρραπίσας, καὶ ὅλον δὴ ἀναθεὶς ἑαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ, ἐκαραδόκει τὰ μέλλοντα. ἄρτι γοῦν κατηγγέλλετο τὸν τύραννον εἰσιέναι διὰ πύλης τῆς χρυσηλάτου, | καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος κατὰ τὸν f. 6 θεῖον τοῦ προδρόμου νεών, ὃν ὁ Στούδιος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνήγειρεν, ἀπήντα καὶ ὑπτίαις ἐδέχετο ταῖς χερσί, προπέμπουσά τε καὶ ἐκθειάζουσα. ὡς δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἤγγιζε καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον δὴ τῆς θείας εἰκόνος τοῦ | δι’ B 19 ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντος θεοῦ λόγου, κατὰ τὸν οὕτω κατονομαζόμενον τόπον Χαλκῆν, ἔμελλε στῆναι τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδώσων, ἐπεί τι φοινικοβαφὲς θοιμάτιον κατά τι στρατιωτικὸν ἔθος ἄζωστον ἐπημφίετο – ἀετὸν τοῦτο καλοῦσιν ἢ θάλασσαν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα κομψοί –, τοῦτο μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπαμφιέννυται, καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν φέρων παράσημον, ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τοῦ Λέοντος ἵππων τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνων, ἐπὶ χεῖρας λαβὼν αὐθωρὸν ἐπαμπίσχεται. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῦτο τοῖς πολλοῖς οἰωνὸς ἐξ ἐκείνου δεύτερον τῆς βασιλείας τυχεῖν. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὰ Σκύλα ἐγένοντο, οὕτω δή τινα τόπον κατὰ τὰς βασιλείους εἰσόδους λεγόμενον, ἀκρατῶς πως ἐπιρρέων καὶ κατ’ ἴχνος θέων αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς τῇ πέζῃ λῆγον τοῦ ἱματίου ἄκροις ἐπέβη ποσίν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Λέοντα καί τινα παράβολον κίνησιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ προσδοκᾶν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

7–8 cf. Plutarchus Cato Minor 59.2 ἀφῄρει τοῦ δέους τὸ περιθαμβὲς καὶ ταραχῶδες

9.4 ὧν : οὗ edd 5 ἐξεπλήγη edd 7 πῶς 7 θεοσέβεια καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη Μιχαὴλ βασιλέως τοῦ κουροπαλάτου V maiusc. in marg. 7 ἕπεσθαι V 12 βεβαιῶν edd 13 τινὸς V 14 ἐξαμαλητικῶν V 14 πρωτοστράτορος B edd 15 post βασιλείαν coni. ἰδεῖν Bekk in app. 19 τὸν Boor e Gen 5.67 Scyl 8.65 : τὸ V 27 Χαλκὴν V 33 τὰ Bekk, cf. infra IV.19.30 : τὴν V Comb 35 κατίχνος V 36 αἰσθέσθαι corr. Boor : αἴσθεσθαι V : αἴσθανται B : αἰσθάνεσθαι edd

the news and hardly held itself together from dread of civil war which often submerges whole cities, men and all. As for the sovereign, he was astonished in his soul but was not confused in his judgement. He merely condemned Leo's ingratitude, whispering quietly that it was good to obey divine will, and assuaged the city's alarm and turbulence, exhorting all to go out to meet Leo, in order to save his city intact and unstained by kindred blood. There were some who urged him to stand against the dangers and to go forward to the trial of battle, promising to remain loyal to their mild and faithful emperor; but although the emperor's wife Prokopia herself accepted this, together with a certain Manuel of the Amalekites who was protostrator at the time, the emperor said he did not want the empire to be soaked in fraternal blood. Whereupon he gave certain insignia of the empire to one of his trusted servants and forced him to go out thither. Whereupon the emperor's wife, infuriated and as if seized with Bacchic frenzy, is said to have cried out that it was a terrible thing if Barka – thus she called Leo's wife – put the modiolus on her head. But reproving her with harsh words and commending himself wholly to God, he awaited what would come. Already the news had come that the usurper had entered through the gold-wrought gate, and all the Senate had gone to meet him at the divine church of the Forerunner which Stoudios erected from its foundations and greeted him with hands held high, escorting and extolling him as divine. When he neared the palace and was about to stand, in the place called Chalke, to offer prayers in front of the divine image of the Word God who for our sake was made man, because, in accordance with military custom, he was wearing a certain purple-dyed garment without a belt – experts in these things call this an *eagle* or *sea* –, he took this off forthwith, and Michael – the one whose tongue was defective, who at the time looked after Leo's horses – taking it in his hands straightway put it on. This appeared to the many as a sign that he would attain the empire from him in second place. When they came to the Skyla, as the place by the entrance to the palace is called, carelessly rushing and hurrying in the steps of Leo he trod with his feet on the border of the latter's garment, so that Leo himself felt this and expected some sort of audacious move from him. This later came to pass.

10. Τότε δὲ τοῦ Λέοντος ἐπιφανέντος, Μιχαὴλ ἅμα παισί τε καὶ γυναικὶ τὴν κόμην ἀποθέμενοι πρὸς τὸ τοῦ θεοτόκου τεμένισμα, ὃ Φάρος κατονομάζεται ἀπὸ τοῦ φῶς ἀνάπτειν πᾶσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς νύκτας χειραγωγεῖν ἐπὶ καταγωγάς τινας ἀσφαλεῖς, ἀντίμιμον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὄντα τε καὶ γενόμενον, τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐμένειαν χωρεῖ ἐκκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ συλῆσαι μὲν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ ἔρημον θεῖναι ψυχῆς οὐκ ἐν καλῷ θέμενος, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐν τῇ Πλάτῃ νήσῳ ὑπερόριον θεὶς ἡσυχάζειν ἐπέτρεψεν, χρυσόν τινα κατ’ ἔτος ἐπιχορη|γῶν, ἔνθεν καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα B 20
λαβόντα καὶ Ἀθανάσιον μετονομασθέντα ἐπιβιῶναί φασιν ἔτη δύο καὶ τριάκοντα. συνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Εὐστράτιος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ καὶ ἀποκαρεὶς καὶ εὐνουχισθεὶς ὢν ἐτῶν εἴκοσι προστάξει τοῦ Λέοντος, καὶ Νικήτας, ὃς πρότερον μὲν παῖς ὢν τὴν τῶν ἱκανάτων διεῖπεν ἀρχὴν ἅτε δὴ φίλιος τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγουσιν εἶναί τε θέλων καὶ τῶν πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἔμπειρος, τότε δὲ τὴν κόμην καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθέμενος | f. 6v
Ἰγνάτιος ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνεῖναι ἐλαγχανεν τῷ μονήρει βίῳ προσκείμενος. τὴν αὐτοῦ δὲ σύνευνον ἀπεσχοίνισε καὶ ἀπέσπασε καὶ πρὸς τὴν μονὴν τὴν οὕτω λεγομένην Προκοπίας μετέθηκεν, καίτοι γε τοῦτο μὴ γενέσθαι πολλὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἱκετεύσαντος. καὶ ὁ μὲν Μιχαὴλ τοῦ βίου ἔξω γενόμενος μηνὶ Ἰαννουαρίῳ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἔτους ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ <πεντηκοστοῦ> δευτέρου τὸν χοῦν ἀποθέμενος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ

10.18–20 : 32 annos post abdicationem, die 11 Ian. a. 844, Michael Rhangabe obiit

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Cap. 10: Theoph 502.26–29; Scrip Inc 340.12–14; Vita Nicephori 163.17–25; Vita Ignatii 492AC; GeorgMon 776.20–24; Gen 6.88–1; Log A 209.17–19, 263.52–55 | Scyl 8.79–9.88

10.1 ὅπως Μιχαὴλ ὁ κουροπαλάτης ἅμα γ<υ>ναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις τ<ὰ> τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἤδη <ἅ>παντες βαλλόμενοι· ὑπερορίαν παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου Λέοντος ἐν τῇ ν<ή>σῳ ἣ Πλάτη λέγεται κατακρίνετ<αι> V maiusc. in marg. 2 κώμην V 2 θεοτόκου Boor in app. e Gen 6.90 et Scyl 8.82 : θῦ V : θεοῦ edd 2 τεμένισμα edd Boor : τένισμα V 4 καταγωγὰς τινὰς V 5 λεγόμενον edd 7 Πλάτῃ : fortasse corrigendum, cf. Scyl 8.85 κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Πρώτην 7 ὑπερόριαν V 10 ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Εὐστράτιον ὁ τύρα<ν>νος ἐντὸς ἤδη τοῦ κ´ χρόνου γενόμενον εὐνουχίζει V maiusc. in marg. 11 ὅτι καὶ Νικήτας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὃς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰκανάτου μετῆλθεν ἀρχὴν μοναχός τε γέγονε καὶ Ἰγνάτιος μετεκλήθη καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνῆν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πατριάρχης ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει χειροτονεῖται V maiusc. in marg. 11 Νικῆτας V 13 θέλλων V 14 κώμην V 15 Ἱγνάτιος V 15 ἐλάγχανεν : ἐτύγχανεν edd 15 μονήρη edd 16 τὴν δ’ αὐτοῦ edd 17 καὶ τοί γε V 20 ἔτους ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ <πεντηκοστοῦ> δευτέρου Boor, cf. supra I.10.9–10 ἐπιβιῶναι – ἔτη δύο καὶ τριάκοντα et Ph. Grierson, *Byz* 32 (1962) nota 168 : ἔτους ἑξακισχιλιωστοῦ τριακοσιωστοῦ δευτέρου V : ἔτους ϛτβ´ edd

10. Then, after Leo had made his appearance, Michael withdrew with his wife and children, ridding themselves of their hair, to the sanctuary of the Mother of God – which is called Pharos on account of its kindling of light for all and guidance by night unto safe landings, having been and being still a close imitation of the Pharos in Alexandria –, and there he made entreaty for the other's goodwill. Leo, thinking it not good to drag one away from God and bereave him of his soul, sent Michael into banishment on the island of Plate and commanded that he should dwell in solitude, providing him with a certain sum per year; and they say that he, after taking the monastic habit and changing his name to Athanasius, lived another thirty-two years. Together with Michael was his son Eustratios, who was tonsured and made a eunuch at the age of twenty by Leo's order, as well as Nicetas who formerly, though still a boy, had had charge of the Ikanatoi, in as much as he liked being with his soldier friends even when they stayed in the open country and was very experienced in many matters; now he too was shorn of his hair and was called Ignatius, obtaining as his lot to be with his father, in devotion to the monastic life. Leo also separated and took away Michael's consort, sending her to the monastery called Procopia's, even though Michael greatly pleaded that this should not be done. Michael left this life on the eleventh of the month of January in the year six-thousand-three-hundred-<fifty>-two, putting off this

νήσῳ, ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐτέθαπτο· ὁ Εὐστράτιος δὲ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἔτη ἐπιβιοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκοιμήθη κατὰ τὴν πεντεκαιδε<κά>την τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς ἔτους ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ <ἑξηκοστοῦ> ἑβδόμου ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μέρει τῆς ἐκκλησίας πεσών. ὁ δ’ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ πρότερον Νικήτας καλούμενος, τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πρόεδρος εἶναι λαχών, πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ καλουμένῃ Σατύρου, ἣν ἄρτι ἐκ βάθρων δειμάμενος ἔτυχεν, τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα κατέθηκεν. αὕτη δὲ ἡ μονὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἀνατέλλοντος κέκληται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἀλλὰ Σάτυρος μέν, ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ διαστήματος τῆς τοι|αύτης μονῆς ὁ παλαιὸς ὀνομάζεται Σάτυρος, ἐν ᾧ ἦν ἱερὸν παρ’ B 21 Ἑλλήνων οἰκοδομηθὲν τῷ αὐτῷ Σατύρῳ, οὗ καθ’ ὁμωνυμίαν, διὰ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι τὴν εἰρημένην μονήν, τῷ τοιούτῳ καλεῖται ὀνόματι· ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ ὁ τὰ παλάτια τοῦ Βρύου κτίσας Θεόφιλος βασιλεὺς τὴν ὕλην ἀφελόμενος ταῦτα ἐδείματο. ἀνατέλλων δὲ δι’ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. κυνηγετοῦντί ποτε Νικηφόρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν οἷς ἀρτίως ἐστὶν ἡ μονὴ μέρεσι, διὰ τὸ ἀλσώδη καὶ δύσβατον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς θήραν ζῴων ἐπιτηδείαν, ἐλάφου μεγίστης φανείσης καὶ καταδιωκομένης καὶ χειρωθείσης ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ νῦν τὸ τῆς μονῆς θυσιαστήριον ἵδρυται, εὑρέθη τράπεζα παλαιὰ ὑπὸ κίονος βασταζομένη γράφουσα οὕτως· “τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ἀνατέλλοντος, ὅπερ ἐνεθρόνισεν ὁ ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας”. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ τότε, χρόνου δὲ παρεληλυθότος πολλοῦ ὕστερον.

11. Ἐπανακτέον δὲ τὸν λόγον, καὶ τὴν αἰ|τίαν ζητητέον τὴν οὕτως ὡς f. 7 ἐξ ὁμολόγου πείσασαν ἀμφοτέρους, τὸν μὲν Μιχαὴλ μὴ δ’ ὅλως ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας ἀντισχεῖν – ἔνεστι γάρ, ἡ παροιμία, κἂν μύρμηκι χολή –, τὸν

10.21–24 : a. 859 Eustratius filius Michaelii obiit 25–26 : Ignatius patriarchatu Constantinopolitano a 4 Iul. a. 847 usque ad 23 Oct. a. 858 et iterum a 23 Nov. a. 867 usque ad eius mortem die 23 Oct. a. 877 functus est

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Cap. 11: Epist ad Theophilum 110.13–113.11, 177.20–179.5; Gen 8.59–9.83 | PsSym 605.5–10; Scyl 11.68–12.98 || 3 Diogenianus Paroemiae cent. I sect. 12, Zenobius Paroemiae cent. III sect. 70 et alii, Photius Lexicon E no. 901, Suda E no. 1266, Σ no. 256;

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22 καὶ δέκα (sic edd) dubitavit Comb in marg. : del. Bekk : restituit Boor ; cf. Signes 1995, 87 23 πεντεκαίδε|την V : ιε΄ edd 24 ἔτους ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ <ἑξηκοστοῦ> ἑβδόμου Boor, cf. Signes 1995, 87 : ἔτους ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ ἑβδόμου V : ἔτους ςτζ΄ edd 25 δὲ edd 25 ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Σατύρου μονὴν ὁ πατριάρχης Ἰγνάτιος οἰκοδομεῖ V maiusc. in marg. 25 Νικῆτας V 27 τῇ post μονῇ om. edd, sed coni. Bekk in app. 31 παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων edd 31 ὁμονυμίαν V 33 τὰ παλάτηα τοῦ Βρύου V : τοῦ Βρύου παλάτια edd 34 ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Σατύρου αὕτη μονὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἀνατέλλοντος ἐλέγετο καὶ ἡ αἰτία δἰ ἣν οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο V maiusc. in marg. 35 κυνηγετοῦντι ποτὲ V 36 θῆραν V 36 δύσβατα – ἐπιτήδεια Bekk in app. Boor 39 ἅγιον om. edd 40 θυσιστήριον V **11.**2 ἐξομολόγου V 3 γάρ, ὡς edd, quod accipiens φησὶν dubitanter complevit Boor in app. 3 κάν V

dust on this same island, and was buried on the right side of the church. Eustratios survived fifteen years after his father's decease, and he fell asleep on the fifteenth of the month of January of the year six-thousand-three-hundred-<sixty>-seven, being laid on the left side of the church. Ignatius, formerly called Nicetas, whose lot it was to become bishop of Constantinople, deposited many years later Eustratios's holy body in the monastery known under the name of Satyros which he had just then constructed from the foundations. This same was also called after the Rising One (*Anatellon*) in such a wise. First it was indeed called 'Satyros,' because at a short distance from the monastery was the ancient so-called Satyros, in which there was a temple built by pagans to this Satyros; and, by homonymy, because the monastery was near by, it was called by the same name. From this Satyros did the emperor Theophilus, the constructor of the palace of Bryas, take material when he built the latter. And it was called 'The Rising One' (*Anatellon*), for such a reason. Once when the emperor Nicephorus was hunting in the parts where the monastery is now, on account of their wooded and impassable nature well-suited to the pursuit of animals, a very large deer appeared and was chased and caught in the very place where the monastery's altar has now been constructed; and there an ancient table supported by a pillar was discovered with such writing on it: 'This is the holy altar of the Archistratege Michael, the Rising One (*Anatellon*), which the apostle Andrew consecrated.' These things, however, did not occur then, but later, after much time had passed.

11. But let us return to our account and let us enquire as to the reason which thus, as if by consensus, prevailed upon both of these men: on Michael not at all to stand his ground for the empire – for, quoth the proverb, there is

Λέοντα δὲ θαρρούντως ἐπιβῆναι καὶ κατατολμῆσαι αὐτῆς. καὶ γὰρ ταύτην μόνην εἴποιμι ἂν ἐγὼ εἶναι ἀληθινωτάτην παιδείαν τε καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις, τὴν ἐναργεστάτην αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τήνδε ἀλλὰ τήνδε τὴν ἐπικεκαλυμμένην καταφωρᾶν, ἧς πᾶσα δὴ βίβλος ἱστορικὴ στερου|μένη καὶ ἀπογυμνουμένη οὐκ οἶδ’ εἴ τινα καὶ ὄνησιν B 22 παράσχῃ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. ὑπῆρχε δὴ τῷ Μιχαὴλ θεραπαινίδιόν τι πρόσοικον, ὃ κατά τινας ἐκβακχευόμενόν τε καὶ ἐνεργούμενον περιόδους ἀπεφοίβαζέ τε καὶ ἐμαντεύετο, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Βουκολέοντος αἰγιαλῷ προσφοιτῶν “κατάβηθι ἐκεῖθεν, κατάβηθι”, γεγωνότερον, “ὦ Μιχαήλ”, ἐπεβόα, “καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφίστασο”, πρὸς αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον ἀπορριπτοῦσα φωνάς. οὐκ ἔλαθε γοῦν τοῦτο πολλάκις γενόμενον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐθελοκωφεῖν ἐθέλοντας καὶ τὸν βίον παραπέμπειν εὐφρόσυνον, ἀλλ’ ἔφθασεν ὀψὲ γοῦν εἰς τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀκοάς, θροῦν καὶ λαλιάν τινα οὐκ εὔελπιν ἐμποιοῦν. καὶ ὃς – φιλεῖ γὰρ ἕκαστος τὸ φιλοῦν ἐκπομπεύειν τοῖς φιλουμένοις – Θεοδότῳ τινὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Μελισσηνὸν γνησίῳ δοκοῦντι, ᾧ ἐπώνυμον ὁ Κασσιτερᾶς, τὰ τῶν λόγων ἀνεκοινοῦτο, καί τινα βουλὴν ἐξανύεσθαι συνεβούλευεν αἰσίαν ὄντως καὶ ἀσφαλῆ. ἡ δὲ ἦν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὅτε δὴ φοιβόληπτον γένηται τὸ κοράσιον ἀκριβολογῆσαι τρόπῳ παντὶ τίς τε εἴη οἰκία τοῦ βασιλεύοντος καὶ κλῆσιν ἥντινα φέρει καὶ ὁποῖος τούτου ὁ χαρακτήρ. ἐδόκει ταῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ ἡ ἐνεργουμένη πνεύματι Πύθωνος οὐδὲν ὑποστειλαμένη “κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν”, φησί, “γενομένῳ σοι κατὰ τὸν δεῖνα καιρὸν δύο τινὲς ἄνθρωποι εἰσελεύσονται· Λέων ὄνομα τῷ ἑνὶ ἐποχουμένῳ ἡμίονον, θατέρῳ δὲ ἕτερον· οὗτος δὴ τῆς βασιλείας κατευμοιρήσειεν.” ταῦτα γοῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ θεομισὴς ἀνὴρ ἐξόμνυταί τε πρὸς | τὸν βασιλέα καὶ λέγει τῶν γενομένων οὐδέν, λήρους B 23 δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀποκαλεῖ καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας ὑγιές. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκείνῳ λῆροι ἢ ἔμετος ἄλλως· ἄπεισι γὰρ εὐθύς, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς ἀκηκόει, καταλαβὼν ἐν τῷ τοῦ θείου Παύλου σηκῷ τῷ ὀρφανοὺς τρέφειν λαχόντι, συνεδριάσας | f. 7v καὶ ὁμολογίαις κατεμπεδώσας καὶ ὀχυρώσας καὶ θαρρεῖν καὶ χαίρειν πα-

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5–9 Polybius I 2 φάσκοντες ἀληθινωτάτην μὲν εἶναι παιδείαν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας μάθησιν, ἐναργεστάτην δὲ καὶ μόνην διδάσκαλον τοῦ δύνασθαι τὰς τῆς τύχης μεταβολὰς γενναίως ὑποφέρειν; 24 Acta 16.16, cf. Photius Lexicon E no. 20, Suda E no. 45;

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6 ἐναργεστάτην edd Boor : ἐνεργεστάτην V 7 τῆνδε sic bis V 7 τὴν om. edd 7 καταφωρᾶν Boor : καταφορὰν V edd 8 καὶ om. edd 9 παράσχοι edd 9 δὴ : δὲ edd 9 τῷ V : om. edd, sed coni. Bekk in app. 9 αἰτία δι’ ἣν οὗτος ὁ Μιχαὴλ εὐχερῶς ἐξέστη τῆς βασιλείας καὶ περὶ τῆς θεραπαινίδος τῆς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Πύθωνος ἐχούσης V maiusc. in marg. 14 γ’ οὖν V 16 ὀψέ γ’ οὖν V 17 φιλουν V : λυποῦν edd Boor 20 ἐσυμβούλευεν edd 22 βασιλεύσοντος edd Boor 26 ἡμιόνῳ edd 26 δὴ : δὲ B edd 27 γ’ οὖν edd 28 ἐγνωσμένων coni. Boor in app. e Scyl 12.89–90 ἀπήγγειλε τῶν ἐγνωσμένων οὐδὲν 28 λῆρον edd 32 ὁμογίαις V 32 κατεμπαιδώσας V 32 θαρεῖν V

wrath even in the ant – and on Leo to proceed boldly and make a bid for it. For I should say that the sole really true teaching and training in political affairs is this, to discover both the most evident reason and that which is not evident but rather hidden. I know not what, if any, profit a book deprived and stripped of this might afford its readers. Now Michael had a serving maid dwelling nearby who, being periodically roused and affected with Bacchic frenzy, pronounced prophecies and predictions. Frequenting the shore of the Bucoleon she would cry out quite loudly, 'Come down from there, come down, O Michael, and withdraw from the places that belong to others,' thus uttering her speech to him himself. This occurred many times and did not escape the notice even of those who desired to turn a deaf ear and lead a merry life; finally it came also to the ears of the emperor, provoking murmur and no cheerful talk. And Michael – for everyone loves to parade his love before those whom he loves – communicated the matter of these words to a certain Theodotos Melissenos, called Kassiteras, who seemed a genuine friend, and solicited him, in order to obtain some opportune and sound counsel. Now, the other's counsel was that he should ascertain by every means, at the time when the maiden was inspired by prophecy, which was the house of the emperor, and what name he bore and how he was of figure. It was resolved to do this, and she who was affected by the spirit of Pytho in no wise refraining said, 'If you go to the acropolis at such and such a time, two men will enter: Leo is the name of one, riding on a mule, and the other's another; this one would be well off for the empire.' But that God-hating man abjured these things before the emperor and told him nothing of what he had found out, calling her words nonsense, containing nothing sound. But for this Theodotos they were not nonsense or mere vomit; for he went off straightaway and came upon the man, as he had heard, in the sanctuary of the divine Paul which had become a home for orphans, and after deliberating with him and fortifying and emboldening him with admissions and bidding him take heart

ρακελευσάμενος, “ἐκ θείας φωνῆς”, ἔλεγεν, “διδαχθῆναί με ἀπορρήτως τὰ μέλλοντα τῆς σὲ βασιλέα διαπρυσίως κηρηττούσης”. ταῦτα γοῦν ὑπολαληθέντα καὶ οἷον δεύτερά τινα χρώματα ὡς ἐν ζῳγραφίᾳ ταῖς προτέραις ἐμμορφωθέντα σκιαῖς – ἐκείνας λέγω πρώτας τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Φιλομήλιον μοναχοῦ ἐκφανθείσας – οὐκέτι ἐν εἰδώλῳ καὶ ἐμφάσει τινὶ ἐποίει τὴν βασιλείαν ὁρᾶν, γυμνὴν δὲ καὶ οἷον ἐν ἐκβάσει σαφῶς. τοῦτο οὖν τήν τε ἤδη κατηθαλωμένην τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ οἷον ἀπομαρανθεῖσαν φλόγα τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑποτύφεσθαί τε καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖσθαι ἐποίησεν καὶ τὸν Μιχαὴλ ἐν ἀβύσσῳ ἀθυμίας καταδῦναι πολλῇ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς πύργον ἀνέστησε, τοῦ δὲ ἐγκατέσεισεν· οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ γύναιον, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ πιστευθεὶς καὶ ἐξαπατήσας τῷ ὄντι Κασσιτερᾶς. ἀλλ’ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἰτέον.

12. Ὡς δ’ οὖν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἐπανείληφεν ὁ Λέων ἀρχὴν ἀναρρηθεὶς δημοσίᾳ κατὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα τῆς ἕκτης ἰνδικτιῶνος, Μιχαὴλ μὲν τὸν τὴν γλῶτταν ὑποσυρίζοντα τῇ τῶν πατρικίων ἐγκαταλέγει τιμῇ, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ θείου λουτροῦ | υἱοποιησάμενος, B 24
Θωμᾶν δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διαφερόντως ὁμήλικα καὶ συμπαίστωρα τῶν Φοιδεράτων τουρμάρχην ἐγκαθιστᾷ. καὶ Μανουὴλ δὲ τὸν <τοῦ> Μιχαὴλ πρωτοστράτωρα πατρικίοις ἐγκαταλέξας καὶ στρατηγὸν τιμήσας τῶν Ἀρμενίων, “οὐκ ἔδει σε”, ἔφη, “πρὸς τὸν κατ’ ἐμοῦ ὁπλίζεσθαι πόλεμον, σύμβουλον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς Προκοπίας γενόμενον”. καὶ ὃς εὖ μάλα παρρησιασάμενος “ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ σὲ ἔδει”, ἀντέφησεν, “κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργέτου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ συντέκνου σου, χεῖρα ἀνταῖραι”. τότε μὲν οὖν τούτοις κατεσιγάσθη τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αἰδεσθεὶς ἀρετήν.

12.1–2 : die 11 Iul. a. 813 Leo Armenus imperator proclamatus est, cf. supra I.6.55–56

35–36 Gregorius Nazianzenus Epist. 30 sect. 1; 41-42 Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Septembris dies 9, canon 13, oda 4, ln. 10 οὐκ ἔσεισαν τῆς ψυχῆς σου τὸν πύργον sive Canones Martiii dies 14, canon 17, oda 5, ln. 10 οὐκ ἔσεισε τὸν πύργον ὁ ἄθεος τῆς ψυχῆς σου Cap. 12: Gen 9.94–10.2 | Scyl 13.25–32

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33 παρακκελευσάμενος V 34 τῆς σε – κηρυττούσης Kamb : τὴν σὲ – κηρύττουσαν V : τήν σε – κηρύττουσαν edd 34 γ’ οὖν V 36 πρώτας τὰς Bekk Boor : πρώτὰς (sic) V : πρώτας Comb 37 οὐκ ἔτι V 38 ἐμποιεῖ edd 39 ἀπομαρανθεῖσα V 40 τε καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖσθαι om. edd 41 τὸν Μιχαὴλ edd : τοῦ Μιχαὴλ V 41 καταδῦναι edd Boor : καταδοῦναι V 41 τὸν om. edd 42 ἀνέστησεν edd 43 καὶ om. edd 43 Κασιτερᾶς V **12.**1 εἴληφεν edd 1 Λέ a. corr. V (ον add. in marg. V^2) 2 περὶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ τραυλοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου Λέοντος τιμᾶται πατρίκιος V maiusc. in marg. 3 τιμὴ V 5 ὁμίλικα V 5 συμπαίστορα edd Boor 6 τουρμάχην V 6 <τοῦ> nos add. 7 πρωτοστράτορα edd 10 μάλιστα παρρησιαζόμενος edd 11 ἀντάραι V

and rejoice, he said, 'I have been secretly taught future events by a divine voice, which in thrilling wise proclaims you emperor.' These words spoken in a whisper, like second layers in painting which give form to the earlier sketches – by these I mean those revealed by the monk in Philomelion – made it possible to see the empire no longer as some vague image or impression, but in uncovered wise, as if something clearly accomplished. This caused the already spent and, as it were, extinguished flame of Leo's hope to smoulder and be rekindled, whereas it caused Michael to sink in a great abyss of despair; it raised up the rampart of Leo's soul and threw down that of Michael. Nor was this due only to the woman, but also the trusted and yet deceiving Kassiteras. But we must return to our history.

12. Now, when Leo assumed the imperial office, being acclaimed in public in the month of July in the sixth indiction, he bestowed the dignity of patrikios on Michael who lisped in his speech, having earlier sponsored his son in divine baptism, and as turmarch of the Phoideratoi he appointed Thomas who was above all others close to him in age and was his playmate. And he enrolled Michael's protostrator Manuel amongst the patrikioi, granting him the rank of general of the theme of the Armenians: 'You ought not,' he said, 'to have taken up arms against me being as you were the advisor to the emperor and Procopia.' But the other, speaking quite boldly, replied, 'And you ought not to have raised your hand against your benefector and fellow godparent.' Thereupon he fell silent from a sense of shame before the man's virtue.

13. Ὡς δὲ τὸν τῶν Βουλγάρων ἄρχοντα τῇ προτεραίᾳ νίκῃ φρονηματιζόμενον διακήκοεν καὶ αὖθις δῃοῦντα μὲν τὴν γείτονα γῆν, κείροντα δὲ καὶ λεηλατοῦντα τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν σώματα πολλὰ δὲ βοσκήματα καθαρπάζοντα, οἰκήσεις δ’ ἑτέρωθεν κατεμπιμπρῶντα καὶ ὅλως ὄντα ἀφόρητον, πρῶτον μὲν δεῖν ᾠήθη διὰ πρεσβείας εἰρήνης ἀναμνῆσαι αὐτόν, ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἔπεισεν, τὰ τῶν τειχῶν διερρυηκότα δι’ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἐξεβοήθει διὰ ταχέων, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Μεσημβρίᾳ | f. 8 τῇ πόλει τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἐχρήσατο στρατηγήματι. ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐπιταφρώσας ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκαθέζετο ἑκάστοτε σιτιζόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ λειπόμενος τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ <τῶν> πρὸς τρυφήν, οὐδενός. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς παρακειμένους καὶ κατ’ αὐτοῦ καθωπλισμένους Βουλγάρους ἐν στενότητι εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀκήκοεν, τοῦ μὲν οὗ ἐφήδρευε τόπου νύκτωρ ἀπάνεισι μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἱκανῶν καὶ ῥώμῃ τε καὶ | καρτερίᾳ γεγυμνασμένων, ἑνὶ μόνῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ B 25 παραγυμνώσας γνώμην, καὶ πρὸς λόχον ἐπί τινος βουνοῦ χωρεῖ, σύνθημα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὥραν εἰπών· ὡς δ’ ἡμέρα ἀνέλαμπε καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐγυμνοῦτο τοῦ βασιλεύοντος, φυγῇ χρήσασθαι τοῦτον, τὸν βασιλέα δηλονότι, πάντες καθωμολόγουν, τῶν γεγονότων εἰδότες οὐδέν. ὅθεν ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ ἐναντίοι μένειν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν οὐδ’ ὅλως ἠδύναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεξανίσταντο καὶ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ᾤοντο τὸ στράτευμα ἔχειν. νυκτὸς οὖν ἐπιγενομένης κάτεισιν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου ὁ Λέων ἀπροσδοκήτοις οὖσι κακῶν, καὶ συμμίξας αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὅπλων γυμνοῖς καὶ διαλελυμένοις ὕπνῳ τε καὶ θάρρει τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φυγῆς τοσοῦτον ἐνειργάσατο φθόρον καὶ φόνον πάντοθεν ἐκχυθέντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ σύνθημα, ὡς πανδημεὶ αἱρῆσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ μὴ δὲ πυρφόρον, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, διασωθῆναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐκ καταδρομῆς τε καὶ προνομῆς ἀνάρπαστον θεὶς καὶ τὰ τέκνα τούτων ταῖς πέτραις καὶ τῇ γῇ προσκροτῶν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατέλαβεν ἐν βραχεῖ. ὅθεν ἐκ-

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13.23–29 : ca. a. 815–816 Leo Armenus Bulgaros apud Montem Leonis vinxit, cf. Treadgold, *Riv. St. Biz. e Slavi* 4 (1985) 217–220 et Signes 1995, 107–110

Cap. 13: Gen 10.4–19 | Scyl 13.32–14.54 || 1-2 Diodorus Siculus 12.48.3 Φορμίων δὲ τῇ προγεγενημένῃ νίκῃ φρονηματισθείς; 25–26 Cassius Dio Historiae Romanae lib. 39 cap. 45 sect. 4 ln. 4, Michael Apostolius Paroemiae cent. XIII sect. 34a, cf. Herodotus 8.6, Suda Π no. 3251

13.2 διοῦντα V 4 καθ’ ἀρπάζοντα V 4 κατεμπιπρῶντα edd 5 ἄφόρητον V 7 διαταχέων V 7 ἐμ Μεσημβρία V 8 διεχρήσατο edd 9 τὸν στρατὸν ante corr. B edd Boor : τῶ στρατῶ V (et B post corr.) 11 <τῶν> coni. Boor in app. 12 καθ’ ὡπλισμένους V 12 καὶ om. edd 14 τὲ V 17 στρατὸς coni. Comb in app. 17 στρατήγημα καὶ τρόπαιον τοῦ τυράννου Λέοντος κατὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων V maiusc. in marg. 17 χρήσησθαι V 18 δηλον (sic) ὅτι V 18 καθ’ ὡμολόγουν V 19 ἠδύναντω V : ἐδύναντο edd 23 διαλελυμμένοις V 23 τὲ V 24 ἐκχυθέντων τῶν : ἐκχυθέντῶν V 25 πανδημεῖ V 25 πυρφόρων V 28 βραχεῖ : τάχει edd

13. When Leo heard that the ruler of the Bulgars, filled with presumption by his earlier victory, was again devastating the neighbouring country, cutting down and ravaging fields and carrying off a great many people and livestock, but also burning down inhabited districts and thus becoming completely intolerable, he first thought it good to remind him of the peace by means of an embassy; and when he failed to persuade him, he restored through his own efforts the parts of the walls that had collapsed and marched out in haste, and arriving at Mesembria he employed such a strategem as this. Digging himself and his army in for a number of days in a certain place he encamped there, being continuously provisioned from our lands and lacking none of the necessities of life or even luxuries. And when he learnt that the Bulgars who were nearby and who had taken arms against him were in need of the very necessities of life, he withdrew by night from where he had been lying in wait with a good number of soldiers practised in strength and endurance, revealing his intention only to one man; and telling him the signal and hour for battle, he went off to a certain hill to wait in ambush. When day dawned and the general was left without the emperor, it was the consensus of all, knowing nothing of what had happened, that he, that is the emperor, had taken flight. Therefore the enemy, regaining their courage, could in no wise restrain themselves where they were and, taking the offensive they thought to have the army in their hands. But when night fell Leo descended from his hiding place upon them, unsuspecting of any evil; and joining battle with these men who were without their arms and were slackened through sleep and confidence in the emperor's flight, he wrought such destruction and slaughter as the Romans poured forth on all sides at the signal that he captured their army to a man and, as the saying goes, not even the fire-bearer was spared. Moreover, through attack and incursion he took captives of every age, dashing their children upon the rocks and ground, and quickly regained his own country.

τοτε ἐκεῖνός τε ὁ βουνὸς Λέοντος ἐπωνομάσθη· καὶ οἱ ἀεὶ ἐκεῖσε διαβιβαζόμενοι τῶν Βουλγάρων τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισείοντες δακτυλοδεικτοῦσι, καὶ λήθην λαμβάνουσι τῶν τότε κακῶν οὐδαμῶς.

14. Τοῦτο γοῦν θρασύτερόν πως αὐτὸν καὶ ἰταμώτερον ἐνειργάσατο τὸ προτέρημα, καὶ εἰς τὴν σύντροφον ὠμότητα ἐναπέρραξε. μικροῦ γὰρ
καὶ μείζονος οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ διαφορὰ ἁμαρ|τήματος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντων ἐφ' B 26
ᾧ τινι καταλαμβανομένων μία ψῆφος, τὸ ἀκρωτηριάζεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων μέλος ὁποιονοῦν καὶ πάντων ἐπ' ὄψεσι τίθεσθαι ἐκκρεμές. ἃ καὶ πᾶσιν † πεποιηκότων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνέτικτον μῖσος δὲ τούτου καὶ δεινὴν ἀπέχθειαν· οἷς γὰρ ἄκρατον τὴν ἐγχώριον θηριωδίαν ἐνήσκησε, | f. 8v
ἀλλ' οὐ κεκολασμένην τινὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πραότερον ἀπονεύουσαν, τὴν συγγενίδα φύσιν ἐκφαυλίζων ἀνηλεῶς, μισθὸν τὸ ἔχθος ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν φιλίαν ἠμπόλησεν.

15. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἔπραττεν, καὶ κατὰ νοῦν λαμβάνει τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλομηλίῳ μονάζοντα, καὶ ἀμείβεσθαί οἱ δοκεῖ τῆς προρρήσεως, εὐχαριστήριά τινα προπέμπων αὐτῷ, τὰς τοῦ κράτους νίκας δῆθεν αἰτῶν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἤδη φθάσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, πονηρὸς δέ τις δαίμων καὶ βάσκανος – οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον καλέσαιμι τὸν πάντα συγχέαντα καὶ ταράξαντα καὶ κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν ὄφιν τὸν ἰὸν τοῖς τοῦ ταλαιπώρου Λέοντος ὠσὶν ἐκχέαντα ἀνεπίστατον κεκτημένου ὅλον τὸν νοῦν – τῷ τοῦ γέροντος οἰκίσκῳ ἐν εὐλαβείας προσχήματι ἐγκατέλαβεν. Σαββάτιος οὗτος ἐλέγετο, ὃς καὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν ἄγγελον πολλὰ προσονειδίζων καὶ δύσφημα κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πρόσωπον ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ κόλπον λαλῶν – ἦ μὴν ἐξελιπάρει μηδὲν καθυποστελλόμενον ἐξειπεῖν – ὡς "οὐκ ἔσται σοι τὸ βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰδώλοις" – ὢ τῆς καταράτου
γλώσσης ἐκείνης – "προσανέχοντι καὶ τολμῶντι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς παρ|δοῦς B 27
καὶ θυάδος καὶ ταραξίου σεβομένοις", τὴν βασιλεύσασαν Εἰρήνην καὶ

Cap. 14: Gen 13.83–91 | Scyl 16.43–17.52 Cap. 15: Epist ad Theophilum 115.1–28, 179.6–183.2; Gen 10.20–11.39 | PsSym 604.20–605.5, 605.10–18; Scyl 14.55–81

29 τὲ V : om. edd 29 ἐπ' ὠνομάσθη V **14.**1 γ' οὖν V 2 ἐν ἀπέρραξε V 4 τὸ edd : τῶ V 5 ἐπόψεσι V 6 post πᾶσιν coni. ἔλεον μὲν τῶν vel simile Boor in app. 6 πεποιημένα coni. Comb in marg 6 δὲ : δὴ edd **15.**1 κατανοῦν V 2 ἀμείβεσθαι οἱ V 3 εὐχαριστήρια τινὰ V 3 προσπέμπων coni. Bekk in app. 7 ἐγχέαντα Bekk 8 προσσχήματι (sic) V 9 Σαββάτιος nos e Gen 10.24 PsSym 604.23 Scyl 14. 61 : Συμβάτιος V edd περὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Συμβατίου τοῦ ἐξάρχου τοῦ τυράννου Λέοντος · τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἀθέως καὶ δυσσεβῶς ὑποσπείραντι V maiusc. in marg. 9 καὶ τὸν : τὸν om. Comb : καὶ del. Bekk 11 ὑποκόλπον V : ὑπὸ κόλπου Boor in app. 11 μὴδὲν V 11 καθ' ὑποστελλόμενον ἐξ εἰπεῖν V 12 ἔσταί σοι V 12 ἐπιπολὺ V

And from that time on the hill there was given the name of Leo, and Bulgars who pass by shake their heads and point with their fingers, in no wise able to forget the woes of that time.

14. This success rendered him yet bolder and more audacious and brought out his innate cruelty. For he made no distinction between great and minor offences but passed one and the same sentence against all who were apprehended on whatever charge: the cutting off of a vital limb and its exhibition, suspended in the sight of all. These deeds instilled <pity [?]> in all men for those who carried them out them but hatred and abject loathing for Leo. For by exercising his inborn ferocity in unbridled and in no wise restrained fashion, indisposed toward any mildness, mercilessly abasing the nature of his fellow men, he reaped the reward of enmity, not friendship.

15. Now he did these things; and he was reminded of the monk in Philomelion, and he thought fit to reward him for his prophecy, sending him gifts in thanks, as if soliciting victories for his reign. But the other had already left the company of men and in the monk's little dwelling there lived, in the guise of piety, an evil, envious demon – for I should not call this a man who confounded and disrupted everything, who after the manner of the serpent of old poured his venom into the ears of the wretched Leo whose mind was wholly without judgement. This person was called Symbatios, and he heaped many reproaches upon the imperial messenger and spoke words of ill omen against the emperor, directly to other's face and not under his own bosom – indeed, the other had entreated him to speak out, withholding naught: 'You will not reign for long if you devote yourself to idols' – Oh, how accursed his tongue! – 'and make bold in the things venerated by the Leopard and Bacchante and the Stirrer', for it was thus that he disparaged the empress Irene

τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Ταράσιον ἀφέτῳ γλώττῃ περὶ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων οὕτως ἀποκαλῶν. ὁ δὲ Λέων, τὸ ὄντως δαιμόνων εἴδωλον, τὸ τῆς ἀμαθίας ἀνδράποδον, τὸ σκιᾶς ἀφωνότερον, δέον τούτων κατολιγωρῆσαι, ἢ <εἰ> μὴ τοῦτο, ἐκπομπεύειν γοῦν καὶ θεατρίζειν ταῦτα τῷ τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡνίας ἰθύνοντι, καὶ σύνοδον συγκροτῆσαι περὶ μεγάλων μεγάλως ἀνερευνῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀνδράσι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονοῦσι, μὴ δὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ – φεῦ τῆς μετὰ δόλου φιλίας – ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα προμηθουμένων καὶ προδιοικουμένων, τῷ φιλουμένῳ ἀνακοινοῦται Κασσιτερᾷ καὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ἄγει τούτῳ εἰς φῶς. ὁ δὲ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν καὶ λύσσῃ λύσσαν οὐ θεραπεύων ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεγείρων, ἕτερόν τινα τῇ ὁμοίᾳ δόξῃ περὶ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων ἐνισχημένον κατὰ τὸν Μαυριανοῦ ἔμβολον ἐνσκηνοῦντα ἀναγνωρίζει, ἀπέραντά τινα καὶ μετέωρα λεσχηνεύων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄγγελον τοῦτον εἶναι διαβεβαιούμενος· "τούτῳ οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρῶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων μυσταγωγῷ· καὶ ὃ ἂν εἴπῃ σοι ποιῶν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις τοῦ δέοντος".

16. Ὡς οὖν ἐπεράνατο τὰ τῆς συμβουλῆς, μεταθέειν ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν μονάζοντα, καὶ τοῦτον καταντλήσας ταῖς φληναφίαις | f. 9 προσέθηκεν ὡς "κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα ἰδιώτου σχῆμα ἀναλαβόμενον αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα τὸν βασιλέα ἀγάγω σοι, περί τε πίστεως καὶ ἄλλων οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτων πραγμάτων συμβουλευσόμενον. τοῦτον οὖν ἔτη δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα | B 28 τὴν βασιλείαν κατευθύνειν καθυπισχνοῦ, καὶ τρισκαιδέκατον ἀρίθμει τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ παῖδας παίδων ἐπὶ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας ἰδεῖν, εἴ γε Λέοντος τοῦ ἐξ Ἰσαυρίας συστοιχεῖ πως τῷ δόγματι. μὴ ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ ἀλλ᾽ ἀπαναινομένου, ἐξώλειαν καὶ ἀπώλειαν καὶ κρημνοὺς καὶ βάραθρα ἠπειλῆσθαι τούτῳ ἐπόμνυεν ἐκ θεοῦ". ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἐκ σκαιωρίας καὶ γνώμης πονηρᾶς ἀναδιδάξας, τὸν βασιλέα ἦγεν κατὰ τὸν δηλωθέντα καιρόν. καὶ ἐπείπερ εἰσῄεσαν μετὰ τοῦ Θεοδότου καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἀπήρχοντο, "οὐ χρή σε", ἔφη ὁ μοναχός, "τὴν ἁλουργίδα καταλιμπάνοντα, βασιλεῦ, ἰδιώτου σχῆμα ἀλλάσσεσθαι καὶ τρώγειν γνώμας οὕτω τὰς τῶν πολλῶν". καὶ ὃς ἐκπαθὴς ἅμα καὶ παραπλὴξ τῷ ῥήματι τούτῳ γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλως οἰηθεὶς ἐκ θείας εἶναι προγνώσεως, ὡς σκιὰ τῷ ἀνδριάντι εἵπετο

||17 Aelius Aristides Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων 309, cf. Photius, Bibl. cod. 248 p. 438a Cap. 16: Gen 11.40–59 | Ps.Sym 605.18–606.10; Scyl 14.81–15.7

15 Ταράσσιον V 17 τὸ τῆς σκιᾶς edd 17 εἰ add. Bekk Boor 20 ἀνερευνῶντα vel ἀνερευνῶσαν coni. Bekk in app. 22 fortasse προμηθουμένοις καὶ προδιοικουμένοις 22 Κασιτερᾶ V 22 ἀπεσταλμένα edd 25 τὸν : τοῦ edd : τὸ Bekk in app. 26 ὑπὲρ ἄγγελον Boor in app. : ὑπεράγγελον V edd. 28 ὃ : ὧ V 28 εἴποι edd. **16.**1 ἐπεραίνετο Boor in app. 2 κατὰντλήσας V 2 φλυαρίαις edd 4 τὸν om. edd 4 ἀνάγω (vel ἄγω) Boor in app. 5 συμβουλευόμενον edd 6 κατευθυνεῖν edd 6 ἀρείθμει V : ἀριθμεῖσθαι Boor in app. 8 τοῦ om. edd 9 τὴν ἐξώλειαν edd 9 καὶ ἀπώλειαν iteravit V 10 ἡπειλῆσθαι 12 εἰσήσεσαν V 13 ὢ βασιλεῦ edd 16 εἴπετο V

and saintly Tarasios[1] with loose speech concerning the divine images. Now Leo, who was indeed the idol of the demons, the slave of ignorance, muter than a shadow, ought to have made light of these words, or else to have dispatched and held them up for show to the person charged with directing the Church, convoking a council and making enquiry into serious matters in serious wise, rather than to men with no sound thinking, for they were concerned and preoccupied not with his affairs – alas, what friendship in treacherous wise! – but with their own; but instead he communicated with his beloved Kassiteras and made known to him what had been enjoined. And this latter, not assuaging but rousing evil with evil and fury with fury, acquainted Leo with another person who held a similar opinion of the divine images and who dwelt in the portico of Maurianos; and with endless and vapid chatter he assured him that this same was greater than an angel: 'Consult this man, O emperor, as an initiator in these matters, and in doing whatever he says you shall not go wrong.'

16. When this advice was given he decided to go off to the monk, and pouring a flood of words over him he concluded: 'This coming night I shall bring to you, in the habit of a private person, the emperor himself, in order that he may take counsel with you concerning the faith and other matters of no little importance. Promise him that he will reign over the empire for seventy-two years, and count him as the thirteenth apostle, and that he will see his childrens' children on the throne, if only he agrees with the doctrine of Leo the Isaurian. And if he does not so promise but rather refuses, swear by God that he is threatened with utter destruction and ruin and precipices and abysses.' Thus instructing him with mischief and evil intention he brought the emperor at the time indicated. When they entered with Theodotos and began the consultation, the monk said, 'You ought not, O emperor, to put off the purple cloak, exchanging it for the habit of a private person in order thus to sample the opinions of the rabble.' By this speech Leo was at once excited and deranged; moreover, believing it to be by divine foreknowledge, he indeed obeyed the monk's words, as the shadow follows a statue, and was wholly

[1] Play on Ταράσιος and Ταράξιος, from τάραξις/ταράσσω

ἀληθῶς, καὶ ὅλος ἤρτητο καὶ ἐκρέματο, ἐξ ὤτων ὥσπέρ τι κεραμεοῦν ἀγγεῖον, τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ μοναχοῦ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἴρηται καὶ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν δι' ἐμμέτρου ποιήσεως.

17. Αὐτίκα γοῦν τὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ἀναγορεύει καθαίρεσιν, καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην – Νικηφόρος δὲ οὗτος ἦν – γραφῇ αὐτοχείρῳ ἠξίου τούτῳ συγκατατίθεσθαι, εἴ γε μὴ μέλλοι ὑπερορίαν καταψηφίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθεν τεκμηράμενος τὴν τοῦ τυράννου πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀπέχθειαν, ἄγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συνεῖναι τοιούτῳ κρίνας ἀπήγετο πρὸς τὴν καταψηφισθεῖσαν ὁμολογίαν· καὶ Θεόδοτος ὁ Κασσιτερᾶς τὸν τῆς ἱεραρχίας θρόνον ἆθλον | ἐλάμβανε κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θείου πάσχα καιρόν. ἄξιον δὲ μὴ δὲ τὸ B 29 τεκμήριον παραδραμεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεῖος Νικηφόρος, ἅτε τῆς ἱερωσύνης προϊστάμενος, ἐζήτει τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συμβόλου πρὸς τὴν θείαν πίστιν κατάθεσιν· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη νῦν τοῦτο ποιήσειν, ὑπερθέσθαι δὲ μέχρις ἂν ἡ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ τελείως ἀνάρρησις γένηται, δηλούσης τῆς ἀναβολῆς ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ γε προενισχημένου τῇ τῆς αἱρέσεως μανίᾳ ἐκ γενετῆς.

18. Ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος σαφέστερον· ὡς γὰρ ἄρτι τὸ πρῶτον | f. 9v ἀνηγορευμένος ἐδεῖτο τοῦ διαδήματος, καὶ τοῦτο ἔδει τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῇ καταπτύστῳ ἐπιθεῖναι κεφαλῇ, προσήγγισεν δὲ ταύτῃ κατεπαφώμενος οὐ τριχῶν, ὅπερ ἐδόκει, μαλακῶν, ἀκανθῶν δὲ καὶ <τρι>βόλων, ὅπερ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐνῆν, ἐν αἰσθήσει ἐγένετο, ἀκίσιν οἷον κατακεντούμενος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ὀδύναις περιπειρόμενος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρότερον. τότε γοῦν ὁ πατριάρχης ὑπερόριος, τὴν καταχειροτονήσασαν ψῆφον δεξάμενος, ἐπορεύετο· ὅτε δὴ καὶ λέγεται ἐφ' ὁλκάδος αὐτῷ φερομένῳ μακρᾶς κατά τινα τόπον παραθαλάττιον πόρρωθεν ἰδεῖν Θεοφάνην τὸν μακαρίτην, θυμιάμασί τε καὶ λαμπάσι δεξιούμενον καὶ οἷόν τινα προπομπὸν τῇ καλῇ ἐκείνῃ

17.5–6 : Mart. a. 815 Nicephorus patriarcha depositus et deportatus est 6–7 : die prima Apr. ad Pascham 815 Theodotus Cassiteras patriarcha designatus est

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||17–18 cf. Plutarchus, De vitioso pudore 536A Cap. 17: Theoph 502–19–22; Scrip Inc 340.15–341.7; Vita Nicephori 163.26–164.7, 164.20–25 et passim; GeorgMon 777.5–780.18; Gen 20.2–9; Log A 210.2–4, 211.35–47 | PsSym 604.1–2, 607.10–609.13; Scyl 15.7–17, 16.36–42 Cap. 18: Vita Nicephori 164.7–19; Gen 12.60–13.82 | PsSym 604.2–6; Scyl 15.17–16.36 |4 cf. Gn 3.18

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17 ὅλως edd 17 κεραμοῦν B edd 19 δι' ἐμμέτρου Boor : δι' ἐμέτρου V : διαμέτρου Comb : διὰ μέτρου Bekk **17.**1 ἄρνησις τῆς τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων προσκυνήσεως καὶ ὑπορία τοῦ ἁγίου Νικηφόρου τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ ἀντεισαγωγὴ τοῦ Κασσιτερᾶ V maiusc. in marg. 3 τούτῳ B in marg. Bekk in app. Boor : τοῦτο V edd 8 θεῖος om. edd 10 συγκατάθεσιν edd **18.**2 ἀνηγορέμενος V 3 ταύτῃ καὶ edd : ταύτην V 4 βόλων V 6 ὅπως ὁ θεῖος Θεοφάνης ὁ τῆς Σιγριανῆς Νικηφόρον τὸν θεοσεβέστατον πατριάρχην εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν στελλόμενον μακρόθεν ἰδὼν προσέπεμπε maiusc. in marg. V 8 δὴ edd Boor : δὲ V 8 ἐφολκάδος V 8 μακρὰν edd 10 λαμπᾶσι V 10 καὶ om. edd 10 προπομπὴν edd

taken up and dependant on him as a ceramic vessel on its handles. But all this has been related by those before us in metric composition.

17. Forthwith, therefore, he proclaimed the destruction of the venerable images, and he demanded that the patriarch – Nicephorus it was – should assent to this in writing by his own hand; if not, he should be sentenced to banishment. Nicephorus, who had had other signs of the tyrant's enmity toward the Divinity, judging it better to leave than to have relations with such a one, went off toward the confession to which he was sentenced; and at the time of divine Easter Theodotos Kassiteras received as a prize the hierarchical throne. Nor is it fitting to omit this evidence from our account. For the divine Nicephorus, in as much as head of the priesthood, had sought Leo's promise with regard to the divine faith through the holy creed; Leo, however, said that he would not do this at the time, but would put it off until his proclamation as emperor had been fully accomplished, his hesitation demonstrating how he was even formerly, from birth, held fast by the madness of heresy.

18. And there was something yet more manifest than that which has already been related. For when Leo had first been proclaimed and sought the crown, the hierarch had to place it on his accursed head; and drawing near to touch this latter, he felt not soft hair, as it appeared, but thorns and prickles – which indeed they were – as if being pierced through with needles and wracked with pain in his hand. But this had occurred earlier. Now the patriarch was going off into banishment, after receiving the sentence of condemnation. And it was then, they say, as Nicephorus was being borne in a long ship, that he saw from afar, somewhere along the coast, the blessed Theophanes who received him with incensings and lights, like an attendent escorting

ὁμολογίᾳ προπέμποντα. ὃν ὡς εἰκὸς ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιώσας καὶ θεῷ παραδοὺς δι’ εὐχῆς, τὰς χεῖρας οἷον ἄρας ἐμμεταρσίως περιεβάλετο τοῦτον, πόρρωθεν τὸν τελευταῖον ἀποδοὺς ἀσπασμόν. ἐρομένου δέ τινος τῶν συνεπομένων ὡς δὴ “τίνι τοῦτον ἀποδίδως εὐ|κτῶς τε καὶ ἐφετῶς;”, “τῷ B 30 ὁμολογητῇ”, φάναι, “Θεοφάνει”, προφήτιδι γλώττῃ, “μονῆς προεστῶτι τοῦ Ἀγροῦ”. ὃ καὶ συνέβη μετ’ οὐ πολύ· αὐτός τε γὰρ τοῦτον ἑώρακεν οὐδαμῶς, κἀκεῖνος τὸν τῆς ὁμολογίας στέφανον ἀνεδήσατο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως οὕτως.

19. Αὐτὸς δὲ οἷόν τινα τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἀρχὴν ἐπιθεὶς δεξιὰν τῷ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὑτωσὶ διοικονομῆσαι, καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν εἴπέρ τις νοσῶν, τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἀντελαμβάνετο, πανταχοῦ τὸ κέντρον κατὰ τοὺς σφῆκας φέρων μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν στρατιώτην τε ὄχλον γυμνάζων αὐτός, καὶ πόλεις πολλαχοῦ τῶν κατὰ Θρᾴκην καὶ Μακεδονίαν δι’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ βάθρων ἀνεγείρων καὶ περιπορευόμενος πανταχοῦ, ὡς φοβερὸς εἶναι καὶ καταπληκτικὸς καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Νικηφόρον φασὶν εἰπεῖν ποτε μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποβίωσιν ὡς, εἰ καὶ ἀλάστορα, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἡ πόλις ἄνδρα ἀπώλεσεν. καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ ἡγεμονίας, οὐ τὰς πολιτικὰς δὴ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς στρατηγικάς, διεπτόητο ἰσχυρῶς καὶ χρημάτων <οὐχ> ἥττων αὐτὸς ὢν τοὺς ἀδωροτάτους πάντων προέκρινεν, ἀριστίνδην πάντας ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ πλοῦ|τον τιμῶν. καὶ δικαιοσύνης λέγεσθαι μὲν ἐραστὴς ἐβούλετο, οὐκ f. 10 ἐγίνετο δέ· πλὴν ἀντεποιεῖτο ταύτης, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν κρίσεων δι’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξεπέραινε κατὰ τὸν Λαυσιακὸν ἐγκαθήμενος. καί ποτε δή τινος ἔγκλησιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιη|σαμένου περὶ γυναικὸς ἁρπαγῆς, ὡς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τις B 31 τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκδίκως ἀνηρπάκει ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ὅτι “οὐδὲ λόγων ἠξίωμαι τῷ ὑπάρχῳ πολλάκις διενοχλῶν”, ἐκεῖνον μέν, ἐπείπερ αὐθωρὸν παραστάντα οὕτως ἔχειν ἐπεμαρτύρησεν, εἰς εὐθύνας ἦγε τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταστήσας καὶ πικρίαν πολλὴν καταχέας αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ μοιχὸν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκδοθῆναι προστέταχεν.

Cap. 19: Gen 14.11–37, 21.34–38 | Scyl 17.74–18.3

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12 μεταρσίως edd 13 ἐρωμένου V 15 μονῇ edd 16 αὐτὸς τὲ V **19.**1 τῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ coni. Boor in app., cf. infra IV.2.5 1 ὑποθεὶς coni. Bekk in app., sed idem et infra IV.2.5 1 τῷ : τὸ edd 2 ὅτι τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελητὴς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ὁ τύραννος Λέων maiusc. in marg. V 9 ὅτι καὶ χρημάτων αὐτὸς ἥττων ὢν τοὺς ἀδωροτάτους ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς προέκρινεν V maiusc. in marg. 11 καὶ om. edd, quamobrem deinde post χρημάτων coni. γὰρ Bekk in app. 11 <οὐχ> ἥττων Boor e Gen 14.35 : ἥττων V : κρείττων edd 12 ἀρίστίνδην V 13 καταπλοῦτον V 13 μὲν ἐραστὴς λέγεσθαι edd 15 τὸ edd 16 ἀρπαγῆς V 17 ἐκδίκως om. B edd 20 τῷ om. edd

him in his noble confession. And Nicephorus, according him favour, as is right, and commending him to God in prayer, raised his hands aloft as if to embrace him, giving him a last greeting from afar. When one of those accompanying him asked 'To whom do you give this greeting with such desire and longing?', he replied, with prophetic tongue, 'To the confessor Theophanes, superior of the monastery of Agros.' And so it came to pass soon afterwards. For Nicephorus saw him nevermore, and the other obtained the crown of a confessor. So much for the patriarch.

19. But Leo, as if making a dextrous beginning of his reign in thus administering the affairs of the Church, being possessed of an inordinate craving for honour, set about the affairs of state by carrying with him everywhere a sting, after the manner of wasps: he himself trained the army of soldiers, and through his own efforts he raised up cities everywhere in Thrace and Macedonia from the foundations and made acquisitions everywhere, so that he became fearsome and terrifying even to enemies. On this account they say that the holy Nicephorus once said after Leo's demise that even if he was a scourge, nevertheless the city had lost a man who took care for the affairs of state. He inspired great fear in those in positions of rank and authority, both civil and military, and being himself insusceptible to money he preferred to all others those who offered no gifts, bestowing honours on everyone by merit and not according to wealth. He wished to be called a lover of justice, though he was not one; nevertheless, he sought after this and, sitting in the Lausiakos, he delivered many judgements by himself. Once someone brought before him a charge concerning the theft of a wife, to wit that a certain notable person had unjustly stolen this person's wife and that 'Despite many attempts I have not even been allowed to speak to the prefect.' And when the prefect, who presented himself forthwith, avowed that the case was thus, Leo brought him to account, dismissing him from office and venting great anger upon him; and he commanded that the adulterer should be handed over to the law.

20. Ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν τὴν πολιτείαν οἷον ὑπέσαινε καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, εὔνοιαν ἐκαπήλευσε· περὶ δὲ τὴν πίστιν ἐμαίνετο κραταιῶς, καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς μὴ δὲ θεὸν ὀνομάζειν ἐδόκει τούτῳ καλόν. καὶ γὰρ τὰς τριακοντούτας σπονδὰς τοῖς Οὔννοις δὴ τούτοις τοῖς καλουμένοις Βουλγάροις ἐνωμότως ποιῶν καὶ εἰρηνικὰς συμβάσεις καταπραττόμενος, ἐπεὶ δι’ ὅρκων ταύτας ἔμελλε βεβαιοῦν τε καὶ ἐμπεδοῦν, οὐ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχρῆτο, θεὸν καὶ οὐρανίους δυνάμεις ἢ τὴν κατὰ σάρκα γενομένην μητέρα Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῶν λεγομένων τε καὶ πραττομένων ἐφόρους καὶ μάρτυρας· ἀλλ’ οἷά τις ψυχὴ βάρβαρος θεοσεβείας ἀπῳκισμένη, κύνας μὲν καὶ οἷς τὰ ἄνομα ἔθνη θύουσιν ἐχρῆτο μάρτυσι τῶν πραττομένων, καὶ ἀπέτεμνεν καὶ διὰ στόματος ἄγειν οὐκ ἐμυσάττετο εἰς βεβαίωσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνοι χαίρουσιν ἐμφορούμενοι, τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν δὲ πίστιν ἐκείνοις μέλλουσί ποτε ἐφ’ ἡμῶν διαβιβάζεσθαι πρὸς ἐκείνην, ὡς ἔοικε, κατεπίστευσεν. καὶ σαφῶς οὑτωσὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο ἀσεβῶν· οἷς τε γὰρ τοὺς τῆς πίστεως μαργαρίτας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου φωνὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἠφίει τῶν χοίρων καὶ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπὶ στόματος ἐξεβιάζετο, ἄξιος βδελυρίας ὁ ἀνὴρ | ἀσεβῶν· καὶ οἷς τὰ ἐκείνων αὖθις αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν B 32 Ῥωμαίων διέπων βασιλείαν τε καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἠρυθρία μυσταγωγούμενος καὶ τελούμενος ἐν πανδήμῳ θεάτρῳ καὶ οὕτω γε δὴ πλήρει τῶν ἀπίστων τε καὶ πιστῶν, τοῦ αἰωνίου σκώληκος καὶ πυρὸς ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄλλων ἐπάξιος. καὶ ὅσους δὴ τὸν ὀρθὸν εὕρισκε λόγον τηροῦντας, τούτους πικρῶς κατῄκιζε καὶ δεινῶς· ἑτέρωθεν δὲ τὰ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων οἱ στίφη τε καὶ συστήμα|τα συνεκρότει τε καὶ συνήγειρεν ἐν ταὐτῷ παρὰ πλευρὰν f. 10v αὐτοῦ τιθεὶς καὶ προσεπικλύζων ταῖς ὠφελείαις. τούτοις καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐγκατείλεκτο, παντὸς ἀνάσκητος ὑπάρχων καλοῦ. οἷς καί τινα γραφὴν ὁ Λέων νεαρᾶς τινος καὶ μιαρᾶς ἐξερχομένην πίστεως

20.4–5 : ca. 816 foedus triginta annorum inter Bulgaros et Byzantinos ictum est

Cap. 20: Scrip Inc 349.18–352.1; Vita Nicephori 164.25–27, 165.20–166.11, 206.27–207.22; Epist ad Theophilum 75.21–77.8, 171.9–14, 191.14–24; GeorgMon 777.20–778.15; Gen 13.91–10, 20.9–21.33; Log A 211.25–35, 212.47–57 | PsSym 606.11–607.9; Scyl 17.53–73 || 14–16 Matt 7.6; 20 cf. Matt 18.8, Eusebius Comm. in Isaiam lib. 2 sect. 58, Ioannes Chrysostomus In Genesim vol. 53 p. 158 etc.;

20.2 τίς V 2 ἐκαπήλευσεν V 3 καὶ om. edd 5 ἐν ὠμότως V 6 διόρκων V 7 ἢ : εἰ V 8 τὲ V 9 μάρτυρας ποιούμενος vel ἐπικαλούμενος coni. Boor in app. 11 κύνας μὲν ἀπέτεμνεν καὶ οἷς – τῶν πραττομένων καὶ διὰ στόματος coni. Boor in app. (fortasse recte) 12 χαίρουσιν om. edd 12 χρι|ανῶν V 13 ἐφ’ : ὑφ’ edd 14 καταιπίστευσεν V 16 ἐπιστόματος V 17 βδελλοιρίας V 18 τὲ V 18 μυσταγωγούμενως V 20 τὲ V 20 αἰῶνίου V 21 ὄσους V 21 δὴ Boor : δὲ V edd : μὲν Bekk in app. 21 εὔρισκε V 22 τὲ V 23 ταυτῷ V 23 παραπλευρὰν V 25 ἐγκατέλεκτο edd 26 καὶ τινα V 26 ἐξαρχομένην edd

20. By these actions he pandered, as it were, to the citizenry and, one might say, bought their good will; however, in matters of the faith he was affected with a mighty rage and to such an extent that he thought it wrong even to utter the name of God. For, arranging in sworn manner the thirty-year treaty and negotiating the accords for peace with those Huns who are called Bulgars, when it came time to confirm and ratify these through oaths, he did not use our oaths by God and the heavenly Powers or by her who became the mother of Christ God in the flesh as overseers and witnesses of what was said and transacted. But, like some barbarous soul estranged from the reverence of God, he used dogs and the things to which lawless nations make sacrifice as witnesses of what was transacted, and he cut off the bits whereof the latter delight in taking their fill and did not feel disgust at putting these in his mouth as confirmation; and he thus commended to the Bulgars, so it seemed, the Christian faith, to which they would one day be brought through us. Thus clearly he had no shame in his impious action. For unto them he cast the *pearls* of the faith, *before swine* in accordance with the saying of the Lord, and he compelled them take these in their mouths, this man deserving of abomination through his impious action; and though ruler of the Roman state and empire, he did not blush from being initiated by them and performing their rites in view of all the people and multitude of both infidels and believers, he who deserves nothing other than the eternal worm and fire. Moreover, all those whom he found who observed the correct teaching he tortured relentlessly and dreadfully, whereas he assembled the masses and companies of those who were of the same mind as himself and gathered them together, placing them at his side and lavishing benefits upon them. Amongst these was ranged John the Grammarian who was unpractised in any good thing; and pursuing his way against the divine images Leo commanded these men to compose a

ἀναγράψαι κελεύσας τὸν κατὰ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων δρόμον ἐδίωκεν. ἀνερρίπισε δέ πως καὶ οἷον ἐξεφύσησεν εἰς ὕψος αἴρων αὐτὸν – καὶ γὰρ ἦν κοῦφος καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐφέρετο λελογισμένῳ τῷ νῷ – ὁ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συστήματός τε καὶ κλήρου τῶν βασιλικῶν αὐλῶν ἀρχηγός. λοχῶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ οἷον ἐξ ἐνέδρας ὡς τὸν Πρωτέα αἱρήσειν ἐρῶν, ἐπεὶ κατά τινα καιρὸν τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο εἰς ἐπήκοον ῥητὸν ἐκκλησιαζόμενον ἐκηρύττετο “τίνι ὡμοιώσατε κύριον, καὶ τίνι ὁμοιώματι ὡμοιώσατε αὐτόν; μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησε τέκτων, ἢ χρυσοχόος χωνεύσας χρυσίον περιεχρύσωσεν αὐτόν, ἢ ὁμοίωμα κατεσκεύασεν;” – ἐπεὶ γοῦν τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν φωσ<φόρον> τοῦ Φάρου ναὸν ἐξηχεῖτό τε καὶ διεβεβόητο, ἠρέμα πως ὑποσυρεὶς καὶ ἑαυτὸν εἰς προῦπτον ἀγαγών, “σύνες ὅ | τι <λέγει>”, B 33 φησίν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ ἱερὸν λόγιον· καὶ μηδείς σοι μετάμελος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναρχθεῖσιν ἔστω, ἀλλ’ ἅπαν θεῖον δοκοῦν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσας εἰκόνισμα τῆς ὀρθῆς ἔχου λατρείας τῶν μὴ σεβομένων αὐτά”. τούτοις, ὡς εἶπον, ἀσυλλογίστως ὑπεκκαεὶς καὶ τὴν ἄθλιον ἐκείνην ψυχὴν προσεκπυρωθεὶς ὅλην ἐκίνησε κατὰ μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μανίαν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τὴν θείαν καὶ δικαίαν ὀργήν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεσπίσματι πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας μετεπέμπετο συλαγωγῶν τούτους καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου θέας πόρρωθεν καθιστῶν καὶ ἀποκρύπτων αὐτούς, ὡς τῷ οἰκείῳ βουλήματι πειθηνίους κατεργασόμενος, πολλοὺς τὴν καλὴν ἀναιρήσασθαι μαρτυρίαν πεπεικὼς τῷ γε μὴ πεισθῆναι αὐτῷ· θεὸς δέ, οἷος τρόπος ἐκείνου οὐ σύντονός τις ἀλλὰ μακρόθυμος, τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἐστίλβου μέν, οὐκ ἠφίει δέ. νῦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς λοιμοὶ καὶ αὐχμοὶ καὶ διάπυροι ἥλιοι, νῦν δὲ σεισμοὶ καὶ ἀναβρασμοί, καὶ ἄλλοτε φλογὸς οἷα κατὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀκοντίσεις καὶ ἑτέρωθεν ἐμφύλιοι στάσεις τῶν δεινῶν τὰ ἀκμαιότατα ἐπεσείοντο.

20.43 : Ian. a. 815 Leo decreto imperiali sacerdotes in synodum vocat

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33–35 Is 40.18–19; 48–49 cf. Ps 7.13

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27 τῶν : τὸν V 28 καὶ οἷον : οἷον καὶ edd 28 αὐτῶν V 36 φωσ<φόρον> nos, cf. supra I.10.2–3 Φάρος … ἀπὸ τοῦ φῶς ἀνάπτειν πᾶσι : φωσ (sic) V : om. edd 36 φάροῦ V 36 ἐξειχεῖτο V 36 πῶς V 37 προῦπτρον ante corr. V 37 ὅ τι <λέγει> Bekk Boor e Gen 13.5 et Scyl 17.65 σύνες τοῖς λεγομένοις : ὅ τοι V : ὅ τι Comb 40 ὦς V 41 πρὸς ἐκπυρωθεὶς V 44 καὶ om. edd 45 ἀποκηρύττων edd fort. e Scyl 17.68 κηρύττειν 46 κατεργαζόμενος edd 47 περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ναὸ τοῦ παλατήου ἡμέρας τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεος σφαγῆς Λέοντος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας · φζ´ in marg. infer. cum signo apud textum V adnotator B : ut titulum capitis 21 hic adiunxit Comb 49 ἐστίβου ante corr. V (λ sscr)

work setting out a new and polluted faith. And also the superior of the holy orders and clergy of the imperial palace somehow fanned and, as it were, puffed Leo up, carrying him aloft – for he was light-spirited and was not moved to anything by reasoned thought. He lay in wait for him over a long time, desiring as it were to seize Proteus by ambush, when, on one occasion, that divine phrase was proclaimed in church: *'To whom then did ye liken God? or to what likeness did ye liken Him? Did not the workman make an image? or the goldsmith having melted gold not spread it over, or fabricate a likeness?'* – When this had been shouted and proclaimed aloud in the light<-bringing> church of the Pharos, this man, somehow quietly slipping through and bringing himself to the front, said: 'Hear, O emperor, what the divine word says! Have no regret for the things you have begun, but do away with every seemingly divine image and hold fast to the correct worship of those who do not revere these things.' Inflamed by these words, as I said, in an irrational way and burning with ardour in his wretched soul, he set into motion all his own rage against the pious and also divine and righteous wrath against the impious. By decree he summoned all the hierarchs from foreign parts, suborning them and keeping them hidden, out of sight of the patriarch, so as to make them obedient to his own will, though he persuaded many to bear the good witness of the martyrs in that they were not persuaded by him; but God, whose manner is not impetuous, but rather, patient, *whetted his sword* but did not strike. For there were now famines and droughts and burning sun, now earthquakes and eruptions; and at other times darts of fire, so it seemed, in the air and, from another side, civil uprisings threatened the most extreme dangers.

21. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνην ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν συὸς δίκην κατὰ κρημνοῦ ἐπιβρίσασαν. ἐντεῦθεν ὀψὲ γοῦν καὶ καιρίως πλήττουσα μάχαιρα | παρὰ f. 11 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκπεπόρευται, ἵν᾽ ἥλῳ τέως ἧλος ἐκκρουσθῇ καὶ κακὸν τῷ κακῷ ἰαθῇ. Μιχαὴλ τοῦτο ἦν, ὃς τὴν Φοιδεράτων τότε ἐπειλημμένος ἀρχήν, ἐγκλήματι καθοσιώσεως | ἁλοὺς μόγῳ πολλῷ καὶ κόπῳ ἀποτρίψασθαι B 34 ἴσχυσεν. ἀλλ᾽ ἔμελλεν ὑπ᾽ ὀδόντα τοῦτον ἔχων ἀεὶ καθάπερ διαπεπραγμένον ἱερεῖον δεῖξαι οὐκ εἰς μακράν. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ ἐξήσκει γλῶσσαν ὁ Μιχαὴλ πρόλαλόν τε καὶ ἰταμόν, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔληγεν ἐκπομπεύων θηριοτροπίαν, ἅτε δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ συναυξηθεὶς καὶ τῇ ἐκ χειρὸς γαννύμενος ἀνδρειότητι. ὁ Λέων δὲ – οὐ φέρει γάρ τις πάντων κρατῶν ἑνὸς ἡττᾶσθαι μωροῦ, εἰ μή γε ὄντως οὐκ ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ θυμοῦ βασιλεὺς καταστῇ – ὠτακουστάς τινας τούτῳ λόχον κατέστησεν, ὡς ἂν διά τινος πορθμείου διαβιβάζοιντο λόγοι οἱ αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ὑπείδετο τὸ μέλλον, τῆς κατὰ τὸ Φιλομήλιον προρρήσεως ἐξημβλωκυίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς οὐδαμῶς, ἣ τὸν Μιχαὴλ δεύτερον τοῦ Λέοντος ἀναρρηθῆναι διωμολόγησεν. τούτων τῶν ἐφεδρευόντων εἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἐξαβούλιος, ἀνὴρ οἷός τε ὢν ἦθος καὶ φύσιν ἀνθρώπων καταμαθεῖν. ὡς γοῦν χρόνου προϊόντος οὐκ ἐνεδίδου τῆς ἀθυροστομίας οὐδὲ τοῦ τωθασμοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ οἷόν τις κυματίας πᾶσαν ἀκαίρως ἰλὺν ἐξέβρασσε ποταμός, ἠπείλησε τῷ Λέοντι πανώλειαν καὶ ἄλλ᾽ ἅττα, ὑφ᾽ ὧν θυμὸς ἐτρέφετο πονηρός, ἀνεπέμπετο δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς βασιλέα, ἀνάρπαστος γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ τέλος, τῶν ἐλεγχόντων τὰ τῆς κατηγορίας κατεμπεδούντων, κατατίθεται τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν μελετῶν. ἡμέρα ἦν ἡ προτεραία τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τοῦ λόγου Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίας τε καὶ σαρκώσεως. ἐπεὶ γοῦν πάντοθεν κατάφωρος ἐγεγένητο αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς Ἀσηκρητείοις ἐξετάζοντος, καὶ δρασμὸς τῶν | τολμηθέντων οὐκ ἦν, κατα- B 35 χειροτονεῖται τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, καὶ θάνατον οὐ τόνδε ἢ τόνδε, ἀλλ᾽ ἵν᾽ ἔχοι καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτὸν θεατήν τε καὶ αὐτουργόν, εἴτε τῷ πάθει τῆς ὀργῆς

21.23–24 : die 24 Dec. a. 820 Michael Amoriensis capite damnatus est

Cap. 21: GeorgMon 788.9–12; Gen 15.44–16.94; Log A 213.58–62 | PsSym 609.22–610.12; Scyl 19.14–20.59 || 1–2 cf. Matt 8.33; 3–4 Diogenianus Paroemiae cent. V sect. 16, Photius Lexicon H no. 136, Suda H no. 259 etc.; 12–13 cf. Arethas, Schol. in Arist. schol. 214, ln. 39

21.4 περὶ τῆς μελετωμένης Μιχαὴλ τῷ τραυλῷ κατὰ τοῦ Λέοντος ἐπιθέσεως V maiusc. in marg. 6 ὑποδόντα V 7 διαπρεπραγμένον V 8 ἰταμόν sic V 12 ὠτακουστὰς τινὰς V 13 πορθμείου : cf. Scyl 19.31 προθύμως, qui fortasse facilius reddidit 14 ἐξημβλωκυῖας V 15 <.>υχῆς V (prima lettera in ras.) 15 οὐδαμῶς : μηδαμῶς edd 16 δι᾽ ὡμολόγησεν V 16 ὁ om. V 16 Ἐξαβούλλιος V, sed cf. supra I.8.1 17 ὦν V 17 ἦθος V 17 ἀνθρώπων coni. Boor in marg. : ἄνον V : ἀνθρώπου edd. 17 γοῦν V : οὖν edd 18 οὐδὲ : μηδὲ edd. 19 ἐξέβρασεν edd 20 ἄλλάττα V : ἀλλ᾽ ἅττα edd. 20 ὑφ᾽ ὧν om. edd 23 τυρραννίδος V 23 ἡ om. edd 24 τὲ V 26 ἀσηκρητίοις V 27 ἔχῃ edd

21. However, it was impossible to restrain that soul which after the manner of a swine rushed *down a steep place*. Therefore a sword was at length dispatched by the Lord which struck in mortal fashion, in order that nail now be driven in with nail and evil cured with evil. This was Michael, then in charge of the Phoideratoi, who had been convicted of lèse majesté but had managed with great pain and effort to clear himself. However he was soon to offer Leo as a victim ready for sacrifice, having had him always between his teeth. For in general Michael was practised in chattering and reckless speech, continually vaunting the other's brutal ways, in as much as he had grown up with him and had exulted in his courage at close hand; and Leo – for one who rules over all cannot bear to be worsted by any fool unless he indeed be master of his own anger as well as of men – set spies in wait for him, so that his words might be conveyed to him as by a sort of ferry. For Leo was wary of the future, the prophecy in Philomelion having in no wise miscarried in his soul whereby it was promised that Michael should be proclaimed emperor second after Leo. One of these spies was Exaboulios, a man capable of understanding the character and nature of men. As time went by Michael did not temper his insolent speech and mocking but, as a billowy river discharges importunately all manner of slime, he threatened Leo with utter destruction and whatever else fed his wicked anger. This was reported to the emperor and Michael was seized on the spot; and, finally, when those examining the charges confirmed them, he was convicted of plotting to usurp power. It was the day before the incarnation and dwelling amongst us of the Word Christ our God. Now, since his guilt was detected on all counts with the emperor himself examining the question in the Asecretia, and there was no way of escape from the things he had dared, he was condemned to death – and to no ordinary death but, in order that the emperor, either because he was overcome with passionate wrath or else delighted in savagery, might himself be

ἐκνικώμενον, εἴτ’ ἄλλως τῇ ὠμότητι ἐφηδόμενον, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ βαλανείου κάμινον δριμέως δεδεμένον ἐκριφῆναι πυρὸς παραβόσκημα. ὥριστο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτὸς προέθεεν τὰ τοῦ δράματος ἐποψόμενος.

Ἀλλ’ ἡ τούτου σύζυγος – Θεοδοσία ἦν, τὸ τοῦ Ἀρσαβὴρ | θυγάτριον – f. 11v
ἀνασπούδαστα καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε θέουσα, ὡς ἔκ τινος βακχείας ἐξοιστρηθεῖσα, ἀπέσπευδε τοῦτον καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐγκατέπαυεν, ἀλάστορα καὶ θεομάχον ἀποκαλοῦσα, οἷς οὐδὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἄγει διὰ φειδοῦς, τοῦ θείου μέλλων σώματος μετασχεῖν. ἐκθυόμενος οὖν τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ μὴ ἀπὸ θυμοῦ γένηται δεδοικώς, τότε μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν παλίντροπον ἐπεβράβευσε, τῷ παπίᾳ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτρέψας φρουράν, εἰ καὶ τῶν σιδηροπέδων δι’ ἑαυτοῦ φρουρεῖσθαι ἠξίου τὴν κλεῖν· ἐπηπείλει δὲ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ “οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπόψεσθε”, ἔφη, “σύ τε, ὦ γύναι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐμῆς νηδύος βλαστήματα, τὰ ἀποβησόμενα, εἰ καὶ σήμερόν με τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν πυρὸς ἠλευθέρωσας”. τούτοις τὸ μέλλον ἀπεφοίβασέ τε καὶ προεκήρυξε.

22. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ δέος τῇ ψυχῇ ἐγκαθήμενον ἔκ τινος χρησμολογίας ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν κάτω ταύτης γεννήσεως πᾶσαν τὴν αὐξηθεῖσαν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ βα|σιλείαν ἀποκεί- B 36
ρεσθαι μέλλοντος. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ἦν Σιβυλλιακός, ἔν τινι βίβλῳ εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν βιβλιοθήκην ἐναποκείμενος οὐ χρησμοὺς μόνον ἁπλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ μορφὰς καὶ σχήματα ἐχούσῃ τῶν γενησομένων βασιλέων διὰ χρωμάτων. ἦν οὖν Λέων θηρίον μεμορφωμένον χῖ στοιχεῖον κεχαραγμένον ἔχων ἀπὸ τῆς ῥάχεως μέχρι τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ. τούτου κατόπιν ἀνήρ τις ἐπιθέων δόρατι καιρίαν ἐδίδου πληγὴν τῷ θηρίῳ διὰ τοῦ χῖ. πολλοῖς οὖν πρὸς σαφήνειαν τούτου δειχθέντος, ὁ τηνικαῦτα τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος ἐπανῃρημένος ἀρχὴν μόνος διετράνου τὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ, ὡς Λέοντος οὕτω καλουμένου βασιλέως τινὸς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως θανάτῳ ὀλεθρίῳ μέλλοντος παραδίδοσθαι.

Cap. 22: Gen 16.94–17.3 | PsSym 610.12–611.2; Scyl 20.60–72

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29 ὁμότητι V 30 δεδεμένον om. edd 30 ἐκ ῥιφῆναι V 31 ὤριστο V 33 ἀνασπούδασα edd 35 οὐδὲ : οὔτε edd 35 διαφειδοῦς V 36 ἐκθειόμενος edd : ἐνθυμούμενος coni. Bekk in app. 36 ταδεινὰ V 36 ἀποθυμοῦ V 37 τὴν παλίντροπον edd 38 παππίᾳ edd 38 ἐπιτρέψας edd Boor : ἐπιστρέψας V 40 ἐπόψεσθαι V 41 ἐμῆς : σῆς Boor in app., sed ἐμῆς Scyl 20.57 42 με τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν πυρὸς ἠλευθέρωσας nos, cf. Greg. Naz., In laudem Caesarii fratris, 22.4.7 τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν πυρός et Gen 16.91–92 τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν τῆς ἐκεῖθεν δίκης ἀπήλλαξας : με τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν προσηλευθέρωσας V : με τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν ἁμαρτήματος προσηλευθέρωσας edd e Scyl 20.58 με τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος ἠλευθέρωσας : crucem ante προσηλευθέρωσας statuit Boor qui aliud quid in προσ mutatum suspicatur 42 ἀπεφοίβασέ τε edd e Scyl 20.59 : ἀπεφοίασέται V **22.**2 τῆς : τοῦ edd, sed τῆς coni. Bekk in app. 2 κάτω ταύτης : κατὰ σάρκα edd e Scyl 20.61 4 ἐν τινι V 6 ἐχούσῃ Boor e Scyl 20.63–64 βιβλίῳ … ἔχοντι : ἔχουσα V edd 7 fort. <τὸ> χῖ scribendum, cf. 22.9 διὰ τοῦ χῖ 7 ἔχων om. edd 8 ἀνὴρ τίς V 10 κοιαίστορος edd 11 οὕτως edd

spectator and executor, Michael was to be cruelly thrown bound in the furnace of the imperial bath as fuel for the fire. This had been decreed, and Leo himself rushed off to watch the scene.

But his consort – Theodosia it was, the daughter of Arsaber – running in dismay and disarray, like a woman stung with Bacchic frenzy, dissuaded him and stopped his impulse, calling him a vengeful spirit and enemy of God because he did not observe clemency on the very day before he was to partake of the body of God. Averting evil, then, and fearing lest this should be the cause of anger unto God, Leo granted Michael unexpected salvation, charging the papias to guard him, though he thought best to keep the key of his iron fetters for himself; but he threatened his wife and said 'It will not be long before you, O wife, and the offspring of my loins see the outcome, even if you have to-day delivered me from the fire thereafter.' By these things did he foretell and proclaim the future.

22. For fear had lodged in his soul on account of an oracle that on the day of the nativity of Christ our God here below he would be shorn of all his accumulated fortune and empire. Now this was a Sibylline oracle found in a certain book in the imperial library which contained not simply oracles but also the forms and figures in colours of future emperors. Leo, then, was represented as a beast with the letter Ch inscribed between its backbone and its belly. Next after this a man running in pursuit dealt a mortal blow to the beast with a spear through the Ch. After this had been shewn to many for explanation, only the man then charged with the office of quaestor could make sense of the oracle: that a certain emperor called Leo would be given over to a miserable death on the day of Christ's Nativity.

23. Προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς μητρὸς ὄψις ἐπλήρου φόβου αὐτόν· ἣ τότε μὲν λεχθεῖσα εἰς οὐδὲν τούτῳ λελόγιστο, τὰ νῦν δὲ καὶ σφόδρα δάκνουσα ἐπέκειτο τὴν ψυχήν. ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτῇ κατὰ τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις θεῖον ναὸν προσφοιτώσῃ ἀεὶ κόρη τις ὑπὸ πολλῶν λευχειμόνων περιστοιχιζομένη καὶ ὁ ναὸς αἵματος ἅπας πλήρης. ταύτην οὖν τὴν κόρην εἰπεῖν τινι τῶν παρεστώτων, χύτραν ἐπιπληρώσαντα αἵματος ἐπιδοῦναι τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Λέοντος πιεῖν. αὐτῆς δὲ πολυετῆ χρείαν | προβαλλομένης, δι᾽ ἧς μήτε f. 12 κρεῶν μήτε τινὸς ἐναίμων γεύσασθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτε ταύτης χρῄζειν τῆς χύτρας, "καὶ πῶς", ἀντέφησεν ἡ κόρη μετὰ θυμοῦ, "ὁ σὸς υἱὸς οὐ παύεται ἐμὲ πολλῶν αἱμάτων πληρῶν, καὶ τούτῳ τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν | παρ- B 37 οργίζων τε καὶ θεόν;" πολλά τε ἔκτοτε ἐλιτάνευε τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱὸν τῆς τῶν εἰκονοκαυστῶν αἱρέσεως ἀποστῆναι, τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην ἐκτραγῳδήσασα.

24. Καί τις δὲ ὄψις ἄλλη νυκτερινὴ ἐδειμάτου τοῦτον οὐκ ἔλαττον· αὐτοῦ γὰρ Ταρασίου τοῦ ἀοιδίμου πατριάρχου πάλαι τὸν βίον μετηλλαχότος Μιχαήλ τινα ἐξ ὀνόματος διακοῦσαι ἐπιπηδήσαντα προτρεπομένου ἐπιπλῆξαί τε καιρίαν καὶ κατὰ κρημνοῦ ὠθῆσαι ἄβυσσον ἔχοντος.

Πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὸ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Φιλομήλιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐσθῆτος θᾶττον μεταμφίασις. ἃ συμφορήσας ἐπάλλετό τε τῷ δέει καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκυμαίνετο, τῷ ὕπνῳ κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ἀπεχθανόμενος. ὅθεν ἀκμαζούσης νυκτὸς σοφώτερα ἢ βασιλικώτερα βουλευσάμενος τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παπίαν φερούσας πυλίδας καταρράξας – καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὐσθενὴς τὼ χεῖρε –, τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν διήνυε πρόοδον. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸ δωμάτιον εἰσῄει καὶ <αὐ>τοῦ τὸν κατάκριτον ἐν σκίμποδι τῷ τοῦ παπίου περιδεξίως, τὸν δὲ παπίαν ἐπ᾽ ἐδάφους κοιμώμενον εὕρισκεν, τὰς χεῖρας ἐπῆγε πρὸς Μιχαὴλ καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν, μαθεῖν βουλόμενος εἰ ἄρα, ὅπερ τοῖς ἐν συμφορᾷ ἐπακολουθεῖ, ἄφροντίν τινα καὶ ἡδὺν ἢ ἐμμέριμνον ὕπνον καὶ κεκολασμένον

Cap. 23: | PsSym 611.5–18; Scyl 20.72–21.83 Cap. 24: Vita Tarasii § 67 | PsSym 611.2–5, 611.18–612.2; Scyl 21.84–22.13

23.1 πρὸς ἔτι V 4 προσφοιτώσης ante corr. V (ς ultimum in ras.) : προσφοιτώσεις PsSym f. 236v (προσφοιτώσης 611.9) 4 τίς V 5 τινὶ V 5 περὶ τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ ἧς εἶδε θείας καὶ προαγορευτικῆς ὄψεως V maiusc. in marg. 7 πολυετήχρειαν V : πολυετῆ χηρείαν edd Boor e Scyl 21.78 : πολὺν ἐτίαν PsSym f. 236v (πολυετίαν 611.12) 8 μή τέ τινὸς V 8 διατοῦτο V 8 μήτε V : μηδὲ edd Boor e Scyl 21.79 et PsSym 611.14 11 τὲ V : del. Boor e Scyl 21.82 et PsSym 611.16 11 πολλὰ τὲ V 11 αὐτῆς edd **24.**1 Καὶ τίς V 2 Ταρασσίου V 3 Μιχαὴλ τινὰ V 3 διακοῦσαι <καλέσαντος καὶ> Boor e Scyl 21.85–86 καλεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος et PsSym 611.21 ἤκουσε … ἐξ ὀνόματος καλέσαι 4 τε om. edd : τε Λέοντος Boor in app. e Scyl 21.86 τῷ Λέοντι et PsSym 612.1 Λέοντα 4 κατακρημνοῦ V 6 ἡ om. edd 7 μετἀμφίασις V 12 καὶ <αὐ>τοῦ τὸν Boor : καὶ τοῦ τὸν V : θέαμα ὁρᾷ εἰς ἔκπληξιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἄγον αὐτόν· εἶδεν γὰρ τὸν μὲν edd e Scyl 21.94–95 13 πρὸς τὸν edd 14 καὶ V : κατὰ coni. Boor in app. (fortasse recte) 15 καὶ κεκολασμένον edd : κεκεκολασμένον V

23. Furthermore, his mother's vision filled him with fear. Though it had been told him before, he had considered it as nothing; but now it weighed greatly upon his soul in biting wise. For always when she visited the divine temple in the Blachernae there appeared to her a certain girl surrounded by many persons clad in white and all the temple full of blood. And this girl told one of those standing beside her to fill a pot with blood and give it to Leo's mother to drink. But when she cited on her own part the usage of many years, whereby she partook of no meat or blood nor, therefore, had any need of this pot, the girl responded with anger: 'How, then, is it that your son does not cease filling me with blood and thereby provoking my son and God to anger?' Thereafter she often begged her son to give up the heresy of the burners of the images, recounting this vision in tragic style.

24. Yet another nocturnal vision frightened him no less: for he heard Tarasios himself, the glorious patriarch who had left this life long before, command someone by the name of Michael to spring to the assault and strike a mortal blow and hurl <another> down from a precipice over an abyss.

Besides this, there was also the episode of the monk in Philomelion, and forthwith, the change of garment. Casting these things together in his mind Leo quivered with fear and was agitated in his soul, and he was loath to sleep in the night. Therefore, in the middle of the night, he formed a plan more cunning than imperial and, breaking down the doors which led to the papias – for he was strong of hand –, made his way to him. As he entered the room and there found the condemned sleeping, conveniently, on the papias's couch, whereas the papias was on the floor, he put his hands on Michael and his head, wishing to know whether his sleep was carefree and sweet, or else, troubled and disturbed, as happens to those in misfortune. And as he found him to be relaxed and removed from all care – for even by touching him he

καθεύδει. ὡς δ’ εὗρεν ἄνετον καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγμένον μερίμνης – οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἐπαφώμενος αὐτὸν διύπνισεν –, μείζονα τὸν θυμὸν ἔθρεψε τοῖς ἀπ’ ἐλπίδος τού|τοις θεάμασι, καὶ δεινὸν ἀπῄει οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ B 38 τῷ παπίᾳ ἐνσείων. οὐκ ἔλαθε γοῦν ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ τὸν παπίαν, ἀλλά τις τῶν προκοίτων τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἐκ τῶν φοινικῶν φωρασάμενος ὑποδημάτων ἀπήγγειλε πάντα σαφῶς. οἷς ἐκπαθεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ ἀμάχῳ δέει περιληφθέντες βουλὴν ἐξήρτυον αὐτοῖς τὴν σωτήριον.

25. Ἕως ἄρτι ὑπέλαμπεν, καὶ σκῆψις γίνεται τῷ Μιχαὴλ ψυχικάς τινας κηλίδας ἐπαγομένῳ διὰ Θεοκτίστου, ὃν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῷ τοῦ κανικλείου τετίμηκεν ἀξιώματι, ταύτας βούλεσθαί τινι προσαναθέσθαι τῶν θεοφιλῶν. ἐπετέτραπτο γοῦν καὶ συγκεχώρητο | ταῦτα παρὰ βασιλέως. f. 12v καὶ “ἄγε δή”, φησὶν τῷ Θεοκτίστῳ, “τοῖς ἡμῖν κεκοινωνηκόσι τῆς πράξεως πάντα ἀνειπεῖν διαπείλει τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἰ μή τι γένηται παρ’ ὑμῶν γενναῖον τούτου με διασῶζον τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς εἱρκτῆς”. καὶ οἵ γε δὴ οἱ συνωμόται, ὡς ταῦτα διήκουσαν, βουλὴν τοιαύτην συρράπτουσιν. ἔθος ἦν τῷ κλήρῳ τῷ ἱερῷ οὐχ ὡς νῦν ἔνδον τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἔκτοτε λαβὸν τὴν ἀρχήν, προσμένειν διὰ νυκτός, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σφῶν οἴκοις, ἄρτι δὲ τρίτης ἀρχομένης φυλακῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην συναγείρεσθαι δοξολογίαν ἀποδώσοντας κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἑωθινήν. τούτοις οἱ συνωμόται ὑπὸ μάλης φέροντες ἐγχειρίδια ἐγκαταμιχθέντες, ἅτε δὴ καὶ κνέφᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς λαθόντες στολαῖς, συνεισῄεσαν ἀφειδῶς, ἔν τινι σκοτεινῷ λοχήσαντες τόπῳ, τὸ σύνθημα προσδεχόμενοι. ὡς δ’ ὁ ὕμνος διεπεραίνετο καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ που | πλησίον ἦν τοῖς ᾄδουσι, προεξάρχων B 39 πολλάκις τοῦτο δὴ τὸ φίλον αὐτῷ “τῷ παντάνακτος ἐξεφαύλισαν πόθῳ” – ἦν γὰρ φύσει τε εὔφωνος καὶ ἐν ταῖς μελῳδίαις τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἀνθρώπων ἡδύτατος –, τότε δὴ εἰσπηδήσαντες ἀθρόως ἐκ μὲν τῆς πρώτης ἡμάρτανον προσβολῆς, πρὸς τὸν τοῦ κλήρου ἔξαρχον ἀποπλανηθέντες, εἴτε δή τινι ἐμφερείᾳ καὶ σώματος ὁμοιότητι εἴτε τῇ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμοίᾳ περιβολῇ· κρυμώδους γὰρ οὔσης καὶ χειμερίου τῆς ὥρας ἑνὶ περιβλήματι ἀμφότεροι διεκαρτέρουν, πίλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὀξυτάτῳ περικαλύπτοντες. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν τοῦ κλήρου καθηγεμὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπεώσατο –

Cap. 25: Vita Ignatii 493A-B; Acta Davidis 229.3–4, 20–23; GeorgMon 788.12–789.4; Gen 14.37–15.44; LogA 213.62–70 |PsSym 619.3–14; Scyl 18.4–13, 22.13–23.55 ||17–18 Anatecta hymnica, Canones Decembris dies 17, canon 27, oda 7, ln. 1

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16 ἀπηλλαγμένον edd 17 δἰ ὕπνισεν V 18 ἀπελπίδος V 19 γοῦν V 19 τοῖς V : τοὺς Boor e Scyl 21.9 (ACVF) 19 παπείαν V 20 φωρασαμένος V **25.**3 βούλεσθαι τινὶ V 3 πρὸς ἀναθέσθαι V 4 γοῦν V 4 συγκεχορητο V 8 οἵ γε δὴ om. edd 9 οὐχ̓ V 10 λαβὼν V 10 διανυκτός V 10 οἶκοις V 12 συνωμώται V 13 ἐγχειρίδι V 16 ᾄδουσιν edd 16 προἐξάρχων V 17 αὐτῷ τὸ edd 18 μελλωδίαις V 18 ἐκείνο V 19 ἡδύτατος V 20 ἔπαρχον edd 21 τῇ om. edd 22 κρυμῶδους V

did not wake him – his anger grew stronger through these sights of ill-boding and he went out menacing not only Michael but also the papias in terrible wise. Now these things did not escape the notice of those in the company of the papias, and one of Michael's guards who had recognised <Leo's> red boots recounted everything clearly. Whereupon, becoming crazed and seised with irresistable fear, they worked out a plan for their salvation.

25. No sooner had day dawned than a pretext occurred to Michael, whereby, citing certain stains on his soul, he wished to refer these latter to one of the clergy through the agency of Theoktistos, whom he later rewarded with the dignity of the keeper of the Inkpot. This was allowed and granted by the emperor. 'Come now,' said Michael to Theoktistos, 'threaten those who participated with us in the deed that you will report everything to the emperor, "unless something valiant be done by you to save me from this death and emprisonment".' And his co-conspirators, when they heard this, put together such a plan. It was the custom for the holy clergy not, as now, to abide through the night inside the palace – this was begun afterwards –, but rather in their own houses, and to gather by the Ivory Gate at the beginning of the third hour, in order then to offer the morning praise unto the Lord God. Mixing in with these latter whilst carrying weapons under their arms, the conspirators went in together with ease, escaping notice under cover of twilight and sacerdotal vestments; and, lying in wait in a dark place, they awaited the signal. When the hymn was over and the emperor was near to the singers, beginning as he often did his beloved 'By longing for the Almighty did they spurn' – for he was endowed by nature with a good voice and of the men of his time he was the merriest in melody –, then it was that they suddenly rushed in, though they erred in their first assault, mistaking the chief of the clergy, whether through some resemblance or likeness of body, or similar covering of the head; for it being the icy-cold, wintry season, they both persevered wrapped up in garments, covering their heads with the roughest felt. But the superior of the clergy repulsed the danger – for baring his head

αὐτίκα γὰρ γυμνώσας τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ φαλακρώματι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐθήρασεν –, ὁ Λέων δὲ τοῖς ἀδύτοις ἐπεισρυεὶς οὐ σώζεσθαι ἀλλ’ ἀμύνασθαι διεσπούδαζεν. ὅθεν τὴν τοῦ θυμιατηρίου σειρὰν διαρπάσας, ἢ κατά τινας θεῖον σταυρόν, τοῖς ἐπερχομένοις ἀντιπαρατάττεσθαι ἐβουλεύετο. ἀλλ’ οὗτοι πολλοὶ καὶ οὐ καθεῖς ἐπιδραμόντες κατετίτρωσκον καὶ ὡς ἀμυνόμενον καὶ τῇ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὕλῃ τὰς τῶν ξιφῶν ὁρμὰς ἀποπέμποντα. ἀλλ’ ἔκαμεν πάντοθεν ὡς θηρίον βαλλόμενος · ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἀπογνοὺς ὅρκῳ τῆς ἐνοικούσης χάριτος ἐν τῷ ναῷ τινα εὐμεγέθη καὶ γιγαντιαῖον ἐπιφέροντα ὁρῶν τὴν πληγὴν ἐδέσμει καὶ ἐξελιπάρει τρανῶς. τῆς ἐκ τῶν
Κραμβωνιτῶν | οὗτος ὡρμᾶτο γενεᾶς. ἀλλ’ ὅ γε “οὐχ ὅρκων”, εἰπών, f.13
“ἀλλὰ φόνων καιρός”, ἔτι τε κατὰ τῆς θείας ὀμόσας χάριτος, παίει κατὰ χειρὸς οὕτω δὴ ἀνδρικῶς ὡς οὐ μόνον τῆς κλειδὸς ἀπορράξαι ταύτην
δεινῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ | κέρας τοῦ σταυροῦ κοπτόμενον μέχρι πολλοῦ προ- B 40
ελθεῖν. συναποτέμνει δέ τις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅλμου δίκην τὸ σῶμα καταλιπών.

26. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τέλει βίου ὁ Λέων ἐχρήσατο κατὰ τὸν <Δεκέμβριον> μῆνα – ὥρα δὲ ἦν δεκάτη νυκτός –, βασιλεύσας ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ πρὸς πέντε μησίν, ὠμότητα μὲν ἐξασκήσας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀσέβειαν εἴπέρ τις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ· καὶ τούτοις τήν τε προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἰσχὺν καὶ ἀνδρείαν κατῄσχυνεν. λέγεται δὲ καί τινα φωνὴν οὐρανόθεν αὐθωρὸν ῥαγῆναι, τὴν αὐτοῦ κατάλυσιν εὐαγγελιζομένην πολλοῖς· ἧς καί τινες ἀκηκοότες ναυτίλοι, τὸν καιρόν τε καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀπογραψάμενοι, ἐκ τῆς ὕστερον ἐρεύνης ταύτην εὗρον οὖσαν ἀληθινήν.

26.1–3 : die Nativitatis a. 820 Leo Armenus, cum regnasset septem annos et quinque menses, occisus est

Cap. 26: Gen 19.79–82, 21.44–46 | PsSym 618.19–619.2; Scyl 23.56–64

26 ἐπεισρυεὶς Boor : ἐπισρυεὶς V : ἐπισυρεὶς edd 26 σώζεται edd 28 ἐβούλετο edd 29 καθ’ εἷς V 29 ὢς Bekk Boor : fortasse <οὔτ>ως scribendum 32 τινὰ V 32 γιγανταῖον edd 33 ἐδέσμει : ἐδυσώπει edd 33 τῆς ἐκ τῶν : ἐκ τῆς τῶν Boor, cf. Scyl 23.51 τῆς τῶν 34 ὁρμᾶτο V 34 οὐχ’ V 35 ὁμόσας 35 post παίει add. διανταίαν edd e Scyl 23.53 36 ἀπαρράξαι edd **26.**1 Δεκέμβριον add. edd e Scyl 23.56 2 δεκάτη τῆς edd 2 ἑπτὰ V 5 καὶ τινα V 7 ναυτῖλοι V 7 καιρὸν τε V

staightway he sought deliverance with his baldness –; Leo, however, rushed into the sanctuary, seeking not to escape but to defend himself. Thus, taking hold of the cord of the thurible or, according to others, the divine cross, he resolved to ward off the attackers. But they were many, and setting upon him all together they inflicted wounds, though he warded them off and repulsed the blows of the swords with the wood of the cross. But he grew tired, being attacked on all sides like a beast. And then despairing, seeing someone huge and gigantic rushing up to strike a blow, he bound and piercingly exhorted him with an oath by the grace dwelling in the temple. The man was of the race of the Krambonitai. But this same said, 'Now is not the time for oaths, but for murders'; and yet again swearing an oath against divine grace he struck him on the arm so vigorousy that not only was this latter severed at the clavicle, but also the broken top of the cross flew off at a distance. Someone also cut off his head, leaving the body as a stump.

26. Such was the end of Leo's life, in the month of <December> – it was the tenth hour of night –, having reigned seven years and five months and having exercised such brutality, as well as impiety, as anyone ever before him; and thereby did he dishonour both the solicitude he had had for public affairs and his strength of hand and courage. It is also said that a voice came forth from heaven at the very hour announcing his destruction to many. Hearing this same, certain sailors noted in writing the time and the night, and through later enquiry they found that it was true.

Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμορίου. Λόγος β ΄

1. Ἀνῃρηκότες δὲ τὸν Λέοντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Μιχαήλ, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου ἡμῖν δεδήλωται συντάγματι, τὸν τούτου νεκρὸν σύροντες ἀνηλεῶς τε καὶ ἀφειδῶς διὰ τῶν Σκύλων εἰς τὸν Ἱππόδρομον ἐξήγαγον, μή τινα φόβον ἔχοντες ἤδη διὰ τὸ πλήρη εἶναι τῶν ἐπι| B 41 βούλων καὶ συνωμοτῶν τὴν βασίλειον αὐλήν. συνεξέφερον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν σὺν τέτταρσι τέκνοις αὐτῶν, Συμβατίῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸ στέψιμον μετονομασθέντι Κωνσταντίνῳ Βασιλείῳ τε, καὶ Γρηγορίῳ ἅμα Θεοδοσίῳ· οὓς καὶ ἀκατίῳ ἐνθέντες πρὸς τὴν Πρώτην νῆσον ἀπήγαγον, ἔνθα καὶ τῶν παίδων εὐνουχισθέντων τὸν Θεοδόσιον συνέβη δυστυχῆσαι περὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ταφῆς τῷ ἰδίῳ κεκοινωνηκέναι πατρί.

2. Ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ παπίου φρουρᾶς ἀνεθείς, ἔτι τοὺς πόδας σιδήρῳ δεδεμένους ἔχων διὰ τὸ τὴν κλεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Λέοντος φυλαττομένην ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκεν τέως εἶναι ἀφανῆ, ἐπὶ τὸν βασίλειον ἐκάθισε θρόνον καὶ παρὰ πάντων τῶν τέως ὄντων ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ προσεκυνήθη αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναγορευθείς. ἤδη δὲ μεσούσης ἡμέρας τῆς φήμης πανταχοῦ διαδραμούσης, τῶν δεσμῶν σφύρᾳ | f. 13v θλασθέντων μόλις, οὐ χεῖρας ἀπονιψάμενος, οὐ τὸν θεῖον φόβον κατὰ νοῦν εἰληφώς, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιήσας, πρὸς τὸν θεῖον καὶ μέγαν ναὸν προελήλυθεν τοῦ στέφους ἐκ τῆς πατριαρχικῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς πανδήμου τυχεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν ἀναρρήσεως, ἐκείνους μόνους φραγμὸν καὶ περιχαράκωμα ἔχων τοὺς τοῦ φόνου μετεσχηκότας καὶ συνωμοκότας αὐτῷ. ἔνθα καί τις ἀμφοτέρων θαυμάσειεν τὸ κακόγνωμον, τοῦ μὲν ὅπως οὐδένα ἔσχε τῶν τηλικούτων κολάκων καὶ φιλούντων τότε δὴ βοηθόν, πάντων ὥσπερ ἑρπετῶν εἰς κα-

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2.1 : die Nativitatis a. 820 Leo occisus est 6–7 : die Nativitatis a. 813 Constantinus filius Leonis imperialem coronam accepit

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Cap. 1: GeorgMon 788.18–789.10; Gen 19.83–20.1; Log A 213.74–214.2 | PsSym 619.14–620.6; Scyl 24.66–74 Cap. 2: Gen 22.49–59; Log A 213.70–74 | PsSym 619.11–14; Scyl 24.75–25.93

II.tit. ἐξαμορίου V **1**.2 τὸν : τὸ edd 2 τούτου : primum τοῦ, deinde subito τούτου scripsit V 4 εἴναι V 6 τοῖς ante τέσσαρσι add. edd Boor e Gen 19.92 et Scyl 24.70 6 τὸ om. edd 9 δυστῆσαι ante corr. V (υχ sscr) **2**.1 τῆς ἐκ : ἐκ τῆς Boor 1 παππίου V 1 ἀνεθείς post corr. V (duae litterae in ras. ante θ) Boor e Scyl 24.75 : ἀνενεχθείς B edd 3 ἐκάθισεν edd 4 παραπάντων V 6 χεῖρᾶς V 11 μετεσχοικότας V 11 συνομωκότας V Comb : συνομωμοκότας Bekk 12 θαυμάσει ἐν V 12 ἔσχε : εἶχε edd

Concerning the Reign of Michael of Amorion. Book 2.

1. After Michael's associates had slain Leo, as has been described by us in the composition preceeding this, they dragged his corpse mercilessly and without regard through the Skyla into the [Covered] Hippodrome, having lost all fear in as much as the imperial palace was full of traitors and fellow-conspirators. And with him they brought out his wife with their four children, Symbatios, re-named Constantine after his coronation, as well as Basil, and Gregory together with Theodosius. Putting them in a boat they took them to the island of Prote, where, when the children were made eunuchs, it happened that Theodosius lost his life and shared with his father in the burial of his body.

2. Michael was released from the prison by the papias, his feet still in irons since the key which had been kept by Leo for safety could not be found; and sitting upon the imperial throne, he was acclaimed emperor and received the obeissance of all those who were then in the Palace. By mid-day word had spread everywhere and, the irons scarcely smashed with a hammer, his hands still unwashed, perceiving no fear of God in his thoughts nor doing any of the things he ought to have done, he went off to the Great Church of God, longing to receive the crown from the hand of the patriarch and the acclamation of all the people and having as his sole defence and bulwark those who had shared in the murder and conspiracy with him. Therefore one might well be astonished at the bad judgement of both: of the one [Leo], how he found no helper at the time from amongst so many flatterers and men who showed affection, all of them retreating to their holes like reptiles, and of the other's

ταδύσεις χωρησάντων, τοῦ δευτέρου δὲ τὸ πρὸς πάντας ἄφοβον καὶ αἱμοχαρές, οἷς ὥσπέρ τις ἀπὸ νίκης | ἀθλοφόρος ἐπανερχόμενος ἀλλ᾽ οὐ B 42 δήμιος – τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς τὰ πάντα διοικούσης προνοίας ἐγένετο – κατὰ τὴν πλατεῖαν διήρχετο, δέον ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν, οὐκ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἄξιον αἷμα δικαίως ἐξέχεεν, καίτοι γε οὐδὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἐπαινετῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς οὐκ ἐν ἀξίῳ τόπῳ, θείῳ δὲ καὶ καθαρῷ, καὶ μόνον ἔνθα τὸ δεσποτικὸν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐκχέεται τῶν ἡμετέρων ἕνεκεν λύτρον ἁμαρτιῶν.

3. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν θρεψαμένην τοῦτον ἡ ἱστορία ἀγέσθω, καὶ μέσον αὐτὸν λαμβανέτω τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀπαγγέλλουσα. ἤνεγκε μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Φρυγίαν πόλις Ἀμόριον οὕτω καλουμένη, ἐν ᾗ καὶ Ἰουδαίων καί τινων Ἀθιγγάνων πλῆθος ἀεί πως ἐγκατοικίζεται· καί τις δὲ αἵρεσις ἐκ τῆς ἀλλήλων κοινωνίας τε καὶ διηνεκοῦς ὁμιλίας καινὸν ἔχουσα τρόπον καὶ δόγματα ἐπιφύεται, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς μετέσχεν ἐκ πατέρων διαδεξάμενος. αὕτη δὲ τοῦ μὲν θείου λουτροῦ ὡς σωτηριώδους ὄντως καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς διωμολογημένου τοὺς τελουμένους μεταλαγχάνειν ἀνίησι, τἄλλα δὲ πάντα σώζει φυλάττουσα κατὰ νόμον τὸν Μωσαϊκόν, πλὴν τῆς περιτομῆς. διδάσκαλον δὲ καὶ οἷον ἔξαρχον ὁ ταύτῃ μεμυσταγωγημένος Ἑβραῖόν τινα ἢ Ἑβραΐδα κέκτηται, τοῦ θείου τελέως βαπτίσματος ἀπεχόμενον, κατὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ οὐ μόνον τὰ ψυχικὰ ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰς κατ᾽ οἶκον οἰκονομίας ἐμπιστεύει καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα δίδωσι τὴν αὐτοῦ. ταύτης οὖν ἐκ παιδὸς | μετασχὼν καὶ οἷον τὴν ψυχὴν προ- B 43 καταληφθεὶς οὐκ ἔσχεν οὐδ᾽ οὕτως τὸ τῆς προλήψεως καθαρόν, | ἀλλ᾽ f. 14 οἷόν τις ἀπιστίας σύνοδος γεγονὼς ὁμοῦ τε ταύτην οὐ πόρρω γενόμενος παρεχάραξεν καὶ τὴν Χριστιανῶν παρενόθευσεν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἐκιβδήλευσεν. τέως μὲν οὖν εἴχετο ταύτης, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς ἄνδρας τελοῦσαν ἡλικίαν ἀνήγετο, ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀμαθίαν ὥσπέρ τινας ἕλικας ἄμπελος συνανιούσας ἔχων αὐτῷ· μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐχόμενος καὶ παιδαγωγούμενος κατάλληλα προῄει μαθήματα διδασκόμενος, οἷς καὶ πολλάκις τὴν βασίλειον δεδραγμένος ἀρχὴν ἐφαίνετο σεμνυνόμενός τε καὶ καλλωπιζόμενος ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ διαδήματι. τὴν λογικὴν δὲ παντάπασιν, ὡς τὰ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ προβαλλόμενα ἀνατρέπουσαν καὶ πείθειν δυναμένην τε καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν τοῦ μὴ τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ θρησκείας ὀπίσω πορεύεσθαι, ἠτίμαζέ τε καὶ ἀπεβάλλετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιβούλως ψυχῆς. καίτοι γε ἦν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τε σέβεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα μὴ ἀτιμοῦν,

Cap. 3: Vita Ignatii §7 (10.19–26); Gen 23.84–85 | Scyl 25.94–18

15 ἀπονίκης V 17 πλατείαν V 18 καίτοί γε V 19 ἐφοῖς V 20 ἕνεκεν om. edd 20 λύτρον edd e Scyl 25.93 : λύτρων V **3.**2 ἀπαγγέλλουσα V Bekk in app. : ἐπαγγέλλουσα edd 4 καὶ τίς V 5 τε om. V 7 ὅντως V : ὄντος edd 7 αὐτοῖς ante corr. V (-τους V^2, ut vid.) Bekk in app. : αὐτοὺς B edd 8 τ᾽ ἆλλα V 11 ἑβραίον τινὰ V 13 τὰς edd e Scyl : τὰ V 14 οἷον Boor : οἷ V : ᾗ edd 15 εἶχεν edd 16 ἀπίστιας ante corr. V 16 τὲ V 18 αὐτῆς edd 18 πρὸς om. edd 19 ἕλικας V 21 πεδαγωγούμενος V 21 προσῄει edd 21 καὶ om. edd 27 καὶ τοι γε V 27 τὲ V

[Michael's] fearlessness and bloodthirstiness towards all when, returning like a champion from victory and not an executioner – for this came to pass through providence which orders all things –, he passed through the broad street, whereas he ought to have hid himself and lamented, not because he justly shed blood fit to be shed – though this too is no praiseworthy thing – but because it was not done in a fitting place, but in a divine and pure one where only the Lord's blood is shed daily as ransom on account of our sins.

3. But let our history proceed to the country which nurtured this Michael and let it set him in our midst by relating the facts of his life. He was given birth by the city called Amorion in upper Phrygia, in which there always dwell a multitude of Jews and certain Athinganoi; and out of association and constant intercourse with one another a certain heresy grew up with new manners and doctrines, to which Michael belonged, having received it from his parents. This same allows its initiates to partake of the divine font, which is indeed acknowledged as salutary also by them, but in all other things it preserves and follows the Mosaic law, except for circumcision. Whoever is initiated in this heresy procures for himself in his house as teacher and, as it were, leader a Jew or a Jewess who abstains completely from divine baptism and to whom he entrusts and gives charge not only in spiritual matters but also the running of his household. Now, though he participated in this heresy from childhood and was, as it were, won over in his soul from the first, he did not maintain the integrity of previous notions but, becoming, as it were, an assembly of unbelief, he adulterated the heresy – though not straying far from it –, whilst corrupting the faith of the Christians and debasing that of the Jews all at once. For the while he held fast to this heresy and, arriving at the age of manhood, his rusticity and boorishness grew together with him, like tendrils of the vine; or rather, he was held fast and brought up by these same and progressed in the learning of subjects appropriate to them, wherein, after he had seized the imperial power, he often seemed to exult and take pride more than in his diadem. With design he disregarded logic and rejected it in every wise from his soul in as much as it refuted that which he purposed and might have persuaded and converted him that he should not pursue his heresy and religion. And yet, it was possible for him to respect his own beliefs and to not

ὅταν μὴ πρὸς τοσοῦτον χορὸν τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ διαλαμψάντων χρόνῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ κεκρατηκότα ἀνταμιλλᾶσθαι ἠδύνατο.

4. Πλὴν ἐτίμα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. τὰ δὲ ἦν συῶν μὲν τῶν ἀρτιτόκων προλέγειν ὅσοι τε ἔσονται εὐτραφεῖς καὶ σωμάτων μεγέθους οὐκ ἀμοιρήσουσι, καὶ ὅσοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις περισχεθήσονται, καὶ ἵππων μὲν ἐγγὺς ἑστάναι τῶν λακτιζόντων εἰδέναι, ὄνους δὲ τοὺς λακτίζοντας ὡς πορρωτάτω ἐκτρέπεσθαι εὐφυῶς, ἡμιόνων τε κριτὴς ἄριστος εἶναι, καὶ τούτων | ὅσαι μὲν πρὸς B 44 φόρτον ἁρμόδιοί τε καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι, ὅσαι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εὐφόρως, ἀλλὰ μή τινι πτοίᾳ περιδεεῖς γινόμεναι, φέρουσιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους μόναις ὀφθαλμῶν διακρίνειν ἐπιβολαῖς, ὅσαι τε πρὸς δρόμον εὔτονοί τε καὶ τάχισται πεφύκασιν καὶ ὅσοι πρὸς πόλεμον τὸ καρτερικὸν διασώζουσιν, προβάτων τε καὶ βοῶν εὐτοκίαν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ γάλακτος ὅσαι δαψίλειαν ἐκ φύσεως ἔλαχον, καὶ ὡς σιγώντων, τὸ δὴ μεῖζον, τῆς τε μητρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀρτιγενῶν γεννημάτων, εἰδέναι διακρίνειν ποῖον ὁποίας ἐστὶν ἴδιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ τῆς τελευταίας, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ μαθήματά τε καὶ σεμνολογήματα. | f. 14v

5. Ὡς δ' ἤδη ἤκμαζε τὸν πένητα βίον διαθλῶν τε καὶ καρτερῶν, ἔσπευδε δὲ τοῦτον πάσῃ ἀποτρίψασθαι μηχανῇ, καί ποτε τῷ ἑαυτοῦ παρέστη δὴ στρατηγῷ, ἑαυτόν τε ὑποφαίνων καὶ τῇ τῆς γλώττης τραυλότητι τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐκκαλούμενος, τῶν Ἀθιγγάνων τις γνωστός τε καὶ οἰκεῖος τῷ στρατηγῷ ὢν αὐτόν τε τοῦτον τὸν Μιχαὴλ καί τινα ἕτερον περιβοήτους ἔσεσθαι μετ' οὐ πολὺ διηγόρευε καὶ βασιλείας αὐτῆς ἐπιτυχεῖν οὐκ εἰς μακράν. τούτοις ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκθερμανθείς, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὥσπερ καταστρ<ατ>ηγῶν, οὐκ ἔγνω βραδυτῆτι τὸν καιρὸν ἀπώσασθαι, οὗ πάλιν τυχεῖν οὐκ εὐπετὲς οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον. τράπεζα γοῦν παραχρῆμα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας καταλιπὼν τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς ἑστίασιν συγκαλεῖ. ὡς δὲ τοῦ πότου ἀκμάζοντος καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας | B 45 ἄγων ἐδίδου ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ νυμφίους καθωμολόγει, τῷ ξένῳ μὲν καὶ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐν ἐκστάσει τούτους τὸ πρῶτον ἐποίει καὶ

Cap. 4: | Scyl 25.18–26.31 Cap. 5: Gen 22.60–23.79 | Scyl 26.32–47

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28 ὅτ' ἂν V 29 ἀνθαμιλλᾶσθαι Bekk **4.**2 εὐτραφεῖς edd Boor e Scyl 25.19, cf. Ptolomaeus, Apotelesmatica 2.2.4.8 σώματα μεγάλοι καὶ εὐτραφεῖς τοῖς μεγέθεσι : ἐντραφεῖς V 2 σωμάτων edd Boor : δωμάτων V 3 ἐστάναι V 4 τοὺς om. edd 5 ἐπιτρέπεσθαι Comb : ἀποτρέπεσθαι Bekk 5 τὲ V 7 περιδεείς V 7 ὅσαι – ὅσαι – γινόμεναι Boor : ὅσαι – ὅσοι – γινόμεναι V : ὅσοι – ὅσοι – γινόμεναι Comb : ὅσοι – ὅσοι – γινόμενοι Bekk e Scyl 25.23–25 8 ἐπιβολαῖς : βολαῖς edd 8 εὔτωνοί V 10 τὲ V 10 ante εὐτοκίαν add. τὴν edd 10 ante δαψίλειαν add. τὴν edd 12 ἀρτιγεννῶν V **5.**1 τὲ V 2 ἀποτρέψασθαι Scyl 26.33 (CVMN) 4 ἐγκαλούμενος Scyl 26.35 (MH) 4 τίς V 5 τὸν om. edd 6 ἕτερον V 7 τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ στρατηγὸς edd 8 καταστρ<ατ>ηγῶν coni. in app. Boor, qui cruxem posuit : καταστρηγῶν V : κατατρηγῶν B : ἐνοπτριζόμενος Scyl 26.39 : κατατρυγῶν edd : 8 βραδύτητι edd 9 οὗ V 10 καταλιπῶν V 11 ἐστίασιν V 12 καθ' ὡμολόγει V

dishonour ours, since he was unable to vie with the great company of those who had shone bright for their wisdom and prevailed through time and number.

4. But he valued his own knowledge. This included how to predict which new-born swine would grow fat and not lack volume of body, and which would be comprised amongst those of an opposite nature; to know to stand near kicking horses, but skillfully to get as far away as possible from kicking asses; also to be a very good judge of mules, which of these were fit and suitable for carrying loads, and which could carry passengers with ease but would not be susceptible to any fright; moreover, to discern of horses by the looks in their eyes alone which mares were vigorous and swiftest in running and which stallions had the capacity of endurance in war; also to discern good breeding of sheep and cattle, which are endowed by nature with an abundance of milk and, what is even greater, to know how to recognise which of the newly-born belonged to which mother even when they were silent. These were the lessons and boastings of the first – and it could also be said of the last – age of his life.

5. Having reached his prime he still struggled and endured a poor life, and he strove by every device to escape from this latter. Once, when he came to his general, presenting himself and invoking the emperor in his stammering speech, one of the Athinganoi, a trusted acquaintance of the general, declared that this Michael and a certain other would soon become famous and would obtain the imperial office not long afterwards. Being excited in his soul by these words and, as it were, outwitting the future, the general was determined not to spurn through sluggishness the opportunity which would be neither easy nor simple to obtain another time. A table was laid forthwith, and leaving aside all the others he invited these same men to dine. And when the drinking-bout was at its height and the general brought out and gave away his daughters, engaging the men as bridegrooms, the strange and wondrous nature of the thing at first left the men in astonishment and without speech, but

δίχα φωνῆς, ἀποδεχομένους δὲ ὅμως μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ συγκατατιθεμένους καὶ θεὸν τάχα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον, ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτόν.

6. Εἶναι μὲν οὖν τέχνην τὴν μαντικὴν πολλά τι<να> ὑποκείμενα, ὀρνίθων τε πτήσεις καὶ ὀνείρων ἀγέλας καὶ παντοίων σωμάτων δι᾽ ἐντόμων θέας, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ὀλίγος φιλονεικῶ, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διοίσομαι. εἶναι δὲ καθαρὰν καὶ δαιμόνων τινῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπηρεσίας, πόρρω θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον σπουδαζόντων βαλεῖν, οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς εἴποιμι οὔτ᾽ ἄλλος οἶμαι τῶν φρονούντων εὖ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς οὐκ εἰλικρινῆ τινα βίον διώκοντας καὶ καθαρόν, τοὺς ἀσπούδαστον δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον, τὴν ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν ταύτης λαβεῖν ἀκηκόαμεν. τί μοι τοῦτο τὸ παρὸν ἐζήτηται; ἵνα μή τις ἐπιπνοίᾳ θείᾳ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα ἀσχολουμένους νομίζῃ τι τοιοῦτον διασαφεῖν, καὶ αἴτιον ποιῇ τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἀδίκου γνώμης αὐτῶν, ταὐτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀρχῆς, μήτε τοὺς ἐπιδιδόντας τούτοις αὐτοὺς ἔχειν νοῦν οἰηθῇ, ἅτε καῖ πολλῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀποτυγχανόντων καὶ αἰτίων γινομένων τῆς ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀρχέκακον ὄφιν καταιτιῷτο, ὃς | ὄργανα f. 15
κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπεριπατῶν καὶ καταλαμβάνων ἁρμόδια οὐκ ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ ἢ τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας σπέρματα καταβάλλει, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πολλοῖς, καὶ τούτους ἀναπείθων τε καὶ κινῶν ἐπιβάλλειν μὲν πείθει καὶ δήμους | ἀνατρέπειν καὶ ἐμφυλίους μάχας ἐρ- B 46
γάζεσθαι, κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ λίθους πολλάκις ἐπαφιέντος τισὶ τυφλοῦ· πολλοὺς γὰρ βάλλων τάχα καὶ μὴ ὁρῶν ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις τοῦ βαλλομένου καταστοχάζοιτο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν παρὰ θεωρίαν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ θείῳ ἀναφέροι τις τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν πράξεων μὴ δὲ δὴ τὰς πονηροτέρας ἀρχάς, ἐκείνῃ δὴ τῇ γραφικῇ βοηθούμενος μαρτυρίᾳ, τῇ "ἑαυτοῖς ἐβασίλευσαν" λεγούσῃ, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δι᾽ ἐμοῦ".

7. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν τοῦ Ἀθιγγάνου μάντεως πρόρρησιν ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἐνηχηθείς, καὶ αὖθις ὀψέ ποτε τὴν κατὰ τὸ Φιλομήλιον, ὥς μοι πρότερον εἴρηται, τόν τε τοῦ Λέοντος φόνον θρασύτερόν πως μεταχειρισάμενος ἐξεπλήρωσεν, ἔκτοτε μελέτην τοῦτο διηνεκῆ σχών, καὶ αὖθις τὴν εἰς τὸν θεῖον ναὸν θᾶττον ἢ ἔδει θαρρούντως ἐξειργάσατο πρόοδον, κακὸς μὲν περὶ τὸν πρῶτον εὐεργέτην φανείς, ἐκεῖνον δὴ τὸν εἰρημένον Βαρδάνιον,

Cap. 6: || 22–23 Os 8.4 Cap. 7: | cf. Gen 22.60–62 Scyl 26.47–27.70

6.1 τέχνῃ τῇ μαντικῇ edd 1 πολλά τι<να> nos : πολλά τι V : πολλὰ τὰ edd : πολλά τε Boor 2 καὶ om. edd 2 ὀνείρων τε edd 3 διεντόμων edd 3 πολλοῖς ὀλίγος edd Boor : πολλοὺς ὀλίγους V 3 ἐπιπολὺ V 6 τινὰ V 7 τοὺς delendum dubitanter coni. Boor in app. 7 ἀκριβὴ V 10 ποιεῖ V 10 ταὐτὸ δ᾽ edd 11 μηδὲ edd 11 αὑτοὺς Boor : ἑαυτοὺς edd 13 ἀρχέκακων V 14 ὃς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπεριπατῶν καὶ ὄργανα καταλαμβάνων edd : καὶ del. ut e dittographia ortum Boor 17 ἐπιβάλλην V 19 πολοὺς V 19 ταχά V 20 παραθεωρίαν V 21 τίς V 22 δὲ edd 22 γραφική V **7.**1 post μάντεως add. φωνὴν ὡς θείαν τινὰ edd e Scyl 26.48 3 τε om. edd 3 φώνον V 4 αὖθις repetitum e versu superiore suspicatur Boor 6 εἰρήμένον V

afterwards they accepted and assented, avowing that the general was not a man but rather a god.

6. Now, so as not to incite a quarrel of the few with the many, I shall not at any length dispute that a great many things are subject to the faculty of divination, including the flight of birds and herds in dreams and the inspection of discected parts of all manner of animals. But I would not myself say, nor, I think, would anyone else with sound judgement, that this faculty is unpolluted and removed from the service of certain demons seeking to thrust man far away from God, for we have heard that those leading lives which are not upright and pure, but rather contemptible and servile, have acquired exact knowledge of this faculty. Now, why do I make this enquiry just now? Lest anyone should think it to be by divine purpose that those engaged in these practices explain such a thing and should make God the cause of their unrighteous intention, that is to say, their power; nor should anyone consider as intelligent those who devote themselves to these men, for many of them miss the mark every day and become the cause of the others' perdition. But let him accuse the author of all evil, the serpent, who, going about in the world and seizing upon fitting instruments, sows the seeds of striving for empire not only in this or that man, but in many men; and seducing these same and rousing them he convinces them to assault and bring peoples into upheaval and cause civil wars after the image of the blind one who cast stones many times at who so ever it might be, for by throwing many, even if he did not see, sooner or later he reached his goal. We add these things, outside the scope of our exposition, lest anyone should attribute such actions or these evil powers to the divinity, guided by the Scriptural witness: *They have set up kings, but not through me.*

7. Thus Michael, with the prophecy of the Athinganian seer and, sometime afterwards, as related by me already, the other in Philomelion, ringing in his ears, planned and committed the murder of Leo in over-bold wise and was thereafter seized by constant care; and, in turn, he made his entrance into the divine church more quickly than was fitting, revealing himself as wicked with regard to his first benefactor, Bardanios, who was mentioned earlier, and

κακίων δὲ περὶ τὸν δεύτερον Λέοντα, ὅσον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος υἱοθετησάμενος ἦν. πλὴν ἀπόμοιράν τινα ποιεῖται καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν χορηγεῖσθαι προστάττει τοῖς τοῦ Λέοντος παισὶν ἅμα τῇ τούτων μητρί τε καὶ γαμετῇ ἐκ τῶν εἰσκομισθέντων κτημάτων αὐτοῦ, καί τινας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντας, αὐτοῖς ἐδωρήσατο, τῇ μητρὶ μὲν καὶ γαμετῇ εἰς τὴν μονὴν τὴν οὕτω λεγομένην τῶν Δεσποτῶν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ζῆν κελεύσας αὐθεντικῶς, τοὺς ἄρρενας δὲ τῶν παί|δων ἐν τῇ Πρώτῃ νήσῳ, ὡς εἴρηται. ἔνθα καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ B 47 μετονομασθεὶς Βασίλειος ἀφωνίᾳ πως συσχεθεὶς μετὰ τὸ τὰ γόνιμα τῶν μορίων ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἐδέετο μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λυθῆναι φωνὴν καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὖθις τὸ εὔηχον ἀπολαβεῖν, ἐδέετο δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐν θεολογίᾳ διαλάμψαντος Γρηγορίου ἐκεῖσέ που ἀνεστηλωμένου τυγχάνοντος. εἶξε γοῦν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ δεήσεως ὁ ἅγιος κατὰ τὴν τῶν φώτων πανήγυριν ἐπακήκοεν. ὁρᾷ γὰρ τὸν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον χαρακτῆρα κατὰ τὸν ὄρθρον τούτῳ διαλεγόμενον | καὶ "τὸν κηρόν", οὕτω δὴ λέγοντα, "λαβὼν f. 15v ἀνάγνωθι". ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας τοῖς λεγομένοις εἰσελθὼν ἀνέγνω λαμπρᾷ καὶ καθαρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ "πάλιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐμός". ἔκτοτε γοῦν τὴν πατροπαράδοτον αὐτοῦ οὐ διέλιπε βδελυσσόμενος ἄνοιαν καὶ περὶ τὰς θείας εἰκόνας ἀγνωμοσύνην, μετετίθετο δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων χαρακτῆρας περιπτυσσόμενος οὐ διέλιπεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀψὲ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ πολύ περ ἐς ὕστερον.

8. Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἐπανελομένου ἀρχὴν καὶ <τὰ> κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ὡς ἐβούλετο διοικοῦντος, ἐπιστολὴν ὁ μακαρίτης Νικηφόρος ἐκπέμπει, τὴν τῆς πίστεως παρακαλῶν ἀνάκλησιν γενέσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τὰς θείας εἰκόνας. "ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε καινουργήσων", ἀπεκρίνετο ὁ Μιχαήλ, "τῶν περὶ πίστεώς τι δογμάτων ἐλήλυθα, οὔτε μὴν τῶν ἤδη παραδοθέντων καὶ ἀνομολογηθέντων καταδρομήν τινα ἐργάσασθαι καὶ καθαίρεσιν. ἕκαστος οὖν <τὸ δοκοῦν> αὐτῷ ποιείτω καὶ ἐφετόν, | ἀμαθὴς πόνων καὶ ἄγευστος λύπης διατελῶν". B 48 πλὴν οὐ μέχρι τέλους ταύτην ἐτήρησε τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ μὴ δ᾽ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀληθὴς Χριστιανὸς γεγονώς· ἀλλ᾽ ὅσῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγένετο ἐγκρατής,

|| 23 Follieri III. 86 πάλιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐμὸς καθαίρεται (Andreas Cretensis) Cap. 8: Vita Nicephori 209.12–210.24; Vita Methodii 1248B-1249A; Vita Euthymii *passim*; Acta Davidis 237.4–238.16; GeorgMon 792.9–793.6; Synaxarium Const 345; Gen 35.68–70, 73–77; Log A 214.2–11 | PsSym 620.10–20; Scyl 27.71–28.18

9 προστάττει Boor, cf. Scyl 26.55 ἐναποτάττει : πράττει V edd 10 τούτων nos e Scyl 27.1 : τούτου V 10 ἐκκομισθέντων edd, sed cf. infra IV.16.10 et Scyl 27.1 δημευθέντων 13 κελεύσας post corr. V^2 (ante corr. λεύσας) 15 πῶς V 18 ἐκεῖσε που V 19 εἶξε | οὖν post corr. V, a. corr. γοῦν, ut vid. (γ in ras.) : εἶξεν οὖν Boor 19 ὁ ἅγιος ante καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ δεήσεως edd : ὁ ἅγιος V 22 πιστεύων V 22 λαμπρὰ καὶ καθαρὰ V **8.**2 τὰ add. edd Boor e Scyl 27.72 5 ἀπεκρίνατο Scyl 27.75 5 πίστεῶς τι V 6 ἐξελήλυθα 7 τὸ δοκοῦν add. edd e Scyl 27.77 et Vita Nicephori 209 8 ἀπαθὴς Scyl 27.78 9 ἐξαρχῆς V

even more wicked with regard to the second, Leo, in as much as this latter had received his son from the divine font of baptism. But he set aside a certain portion of Leo's confiscated property and commanded that it should be allotted for the use of Leo's children together with their mother, his wife; and granting them several – though not all – of Leo's own slaves for their service, he commanded that his wife, their mother, should live in security and with all due rights in the monastery called Despotai, and the male children, as has been said, on the island of Prote. It was there that Constantine, re-named Basil, who was somehow stricken with dumbness after his genital organs were removed, prayed to God that he might recover his speech and melodious voice, and he also prayed to Gregory who shone in knowledge of God and whose image had been set up somewhere in that place. The saint yielded and heeded his prayer on the feast of Epiphany. For during matins he saw that holy likeness held converse with him and said, 'Take the candle and read.' Complying with these words he went in and read with bright and clear speech the verse 'Again my Jesus'. From then on he never ceased in his abhorrance of the folly and hostility toward the divine images which he had inherited from his father, but rather, he repented and never ceased embracing the likenesses of the saints. But this occurred later, a long time afterwards.

8. After Michael had assumed the imperial power and administered affairs of state as he wished, the blessed Nicephorus sent him a letter calling for the restoration of the faith and the acceptance once again of the worship of the divine images. 'But I have not come,' replied Michael, 'either to make any innovation of dogma regarding the faith, or to carry out any attack or overthrow of that which has been handed down by tradition and accepted. Let everyone do <as he sees fit> and desires, remaining ignorant of troubles and unaffected by grief.' However, he who was from the beginning no true Christian did not maintain this resolve to the end. The firmer his hold on the em-

τοσούτῳ κακοδαίμονι φύσει καὶ ὠμοτάτῃ τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀνερρίπισε πόλεμον, νῦν μὲν τοὺς μοναχοὺς διαπτύων παντοίοις τε περιβάλλων δεινοῖς καὶ ποιναῖς ἐξευρίσκων ποινάς, νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους πιστοὺς παραπέμπων ταῖς φρουραῖς καὶ ὑπερορίους ποιῶν. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ Μεθόδιον τὸν μετὰ βραχὺ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου ἀντιλαβόμενον καὶ Εὐθύμιον τὸν τηνικαῦτα Σάρδεων πρόεδρον, τῷ αὐτοῦ θελήματι μὴ ὑπείκοντας μὴ δὲ τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων ἐξαρνουμένους τιμήν, τῆς πόλεως ἐξωθεῖ, καὶ τὸν μὲν θεῖον Μεθόδιον φυλακῇ παραδίδωσι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Ἀνδρέου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, καθ' ἣν ὁ Ἀκρίτας ἐγγειτονεῖ, τὸν δὲ μακαρίτην Εὐθύμιον διὰ Θεοφίλου τοῦ οἰκείου υἱοῦ θανάτῳ παραδίδωσι βουνεύροις τυπτόμενον ἀφειδῶς. ὅσῳ δὲ τὴν Χριστοῦ κληρονομίαν ἐπίεζε καὶ οἷόν τις θὴρ ἄγριος κατενέμετο, τοσούτῳ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνέτους φόρων καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἐδείκνυεν, ἀγαπωμένους καὶ στεργομένους αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων διαφερόντως. καὶ ζωγράφοι μὲν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ζῴων | εἰς μίμησιν ἔχουσιν, οὗτος δὲ τὸν τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου βίον οἷόν τι f. 16 προχάραγμα καὶ πρωτότυπον θεὶς ἀπομιμεῖσθαι εἰς ἄκρον ἐσπούδαζεν. διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλαύνει τῆς ἀσεβείας, ἄρτι μὲν σάββατα νηστεύειν νομοθετῶν, ἄρτι δὲ κατὰ τῶν θείων προφητῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξα|κονῶν, ἀνάστασίν τε τὴν μέλλουσαν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπιστῶν ἀγαθά, B 49 διάβολόν τε ὅλως μὴ εἶναι διισχυρίζετο, ἅτε μὴ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωσέως τούτου παραδεδομένου. πορνείαν δὲ κατασπαζόμενος, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων δεῖν ὀμνύναι μόνον θεὸν νομοθετῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἀκολάστῳ γλώσσῃ κατατάττων τοῖς σωζομένοις, καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα κακῶς καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν χλευάζων τιμᾶσθαι, καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν παίδευσιν διαπτύων, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ θείας τοσοῦτον καταφρονῶν ὡς μὴ δὲ τοὺς νέους παιδοτριβεῖσθαί που συγχωρεῖν, ἵνα μήτε τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀλογίᾳ ἔχοι τις ἀναστῆναί ποτε καὶ διελέγξαι, μήτε πάλιν τῷ τάχει τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τῇ τῆς γλώττης ῥύμῃ φερόμενος διὰ τῆς παιδεύσεως τὰ δευτερεῖα τοῦτον φέρειν καταναγκάσειεν· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἤργει πρὸς τὴν μῖξιν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν τῶν συλλαβῶν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὡς ῥᾷον ἄν τις διῆλθε βιβλίον ἢ αὐτὸς τῇ βραδυτῆτι τοῦ νοῦ τὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στοιχεῖα ὀνόματος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ

8.15–16 : die 11 (sive 4) Mart. a. 843 Methodius patriarcha designatus est 16 : Euthymius usque ad a. 804 episcopatu Sardium functus est, sed postea fortasse dignitatem recuperavit et denique a Michaele ca. 824–825 de sede depositus est 19–21 : ca. a. 831 Euthymius a Theophilo occissus est

11 ὠμωτάτη V 11 τὸν : τῶν V 11 καταχριστιανῶν V 13 ἐφευρίσκων coni. Boor in app., sed cf. Scyl 28.83 ἐξ- 15 ἐντεῦθε V 16 αὐτοῦ edd e Scyl 28.87 : αὐτῶ V 17 εἰκόνων ἐξαρνουμένους edd Boor e Scyl 28.87–88 : ἐξαρνουμένους εἰκόνων V 20 θεωφίλου V 34 Ἐλληνικὴν V 37 ἀντιστῆναι edd e Scyl 39 τοῦτον Bekk Boor e Scyl 28.13 : τούτων V 39 τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἤργει edd Boor e Scyl 28.13–14 : τοσοῦτος γὰρ ἔρρει V 42 στειχεῖα V

pire became, the more he fanned the flames of war, with a malicious and most cruel nature, against Christians and those of his own race, now spitting upon the monks, heaping all manner of evils upon them and devising penalties with penalties, now sending others of the faithful to garrisons and banishing them. Thus did he also expell from the city Methodius who soon afterwards ascended the patriarchal throne and Euthymius who was then bishop of Sardis because they would not yield to his will nor renounce worship of the images. He confined Methodius to jail on the island of the apostle Andrew, near Akritas, and through his own son Theophilus he put Euhymius to death, having him scourged mercilessly with whips. In the same measure as he repressed the heritage of Christ and ravaged it like a wild beast, so did he give licence to the Jews and render them free, they who were beloved and cherished by him more than all other men. Now, artists have the beauty of living creatures for imitation, but Michael took the life of Copronymus as an outline and prototype and strove to imitate it to the utmost. Therefore he mounted to the summit of impiety, now ordaining the fast on Saturday, now sharpening his tongue against the divine prophets, doubting the coming resurrection and the bounties that will come thence. He also affirmed that the devil did not exist at all, since nothing of the sort was handed down by Moses. He embraced fornication; he ordained that one should swear on all occasions by God alone; with unbridled tongue he counted Judas amongst the saved; he scoffed in evil and untimely wise at the reverence of the feast of the Saviour's Pascha; he spat upon Greek learning, and so despised our divine learning as not to allow youths to be educated therein, in order that no one might be able to resist and refute his lack of reason nor, in turn, assisted by quickness of eye and flow of speech through learning, might force him to take second place. For so slow was he in the joining up of written characters and reading of syllables, that anyone else might more easily get through a book than he, in the sluggishness of his mind, through the letters of his own name. But let us leave these things

κεκωμῳδημένα θείοις ἀνδράσιν ἐατέον· πλήρεις γὰρ βίβλοι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐκστηλιτεύουσαι· ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑξῆς προσβῶμεν τῆς ἱστορίας, τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῶν ἀθέσμων αὐτοῦ πράξεων ἐνορῶντες.

9. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀρχὴν λαβὼν ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος ἐξ ἀνατολῆς παντοίων ἐνέπλησε τὴν οἰκουμένην κακῶν καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰργάσατο, πατέρων δη|λονότι τὰς δεξιὰς κατὰ B 50
τῶν υἱῶν ὁπλισάντων, καὶ ἀδελφῶν κατὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φύντων γαστρός, καὶ φίλου τὸ τέλος κατὰ τοῦ φιλοῦντος τὰ μάλιστα. Θωμᾶς ἦν τούτων ἔξαρχος, περὶ οὗ διττὸς λόγος φέρεται. ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὖσιν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀκοῇ ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ὄψει ἐκ τῆς τοσούτου χρόνου παρολκῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα κατειληφόσι τῆς ἱστορίας, ἵνα δὴ πανταχοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν σωζομένην ἔχοιμεν, καὶ τοὺς τοιῶσδε ἀλλὰ μὴ τοιῶσδε μόνον παραδιδομένους λόγους | ἀναγράφειν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀμφιβολίας καὶ f. 16v
πλάνης λυμαινομένης τῆς προκειμένης ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεως, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρας τυγχανούσης τοῖς γε μὴ οὕτως ἔχειν ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως διαπληκτιζομένοις ἀεί. ἄριστον μὲν γὰρ ἦν, εἰ γυμνῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκτὸς παραπετάσματος τὴν πάντων εἴδησιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἴχομεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πολὺς ῥεύσας χρόνος οἷόν τι κάλυμμα ἡμῖν προτεθὲν ἀσθενεστέραν τὴν γνῶσιν ἐργάζεται, δεῖ τῇ γε φήμῃ καὶ κληδόνι πειθομένους εἰς φῶς ἄγειν ποσῶς τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῆς λήθης παραδοῦναι ὁλοσχερῶς.

10. Ὁ μὲν οὖν εἷς καὶ πρῶτος λόγος, ᾧ καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι ἐξ ἐγγράφων τινῶν ἔχων τὸ βέβαιον, τοῦτον ὁρμᾶσθαί φησι τὸν Θωμᾶν ἐξ ἀσήμων τε γονέων καὶ πενιχρῶν, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ Σκλαβογενῶν, τῶν πολλάκις ἐγκισσευθέντων κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν. πενίᾳ γοῦν ἀποζῶν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἐμπορευόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν | ἀπέδρα, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ταύτην B 51
εἰσέφρησεν. καὶ δή τινι τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐξυπηρετεῖν τε καὶ λειτουργεῖν κολληθεὶς αἰσχῦναι δι᾽ ἀκολασίαν καὶ καθυβρίσαι τὴν δεσποτικὴν εὐνὴν καὶ τὰ λέκτρα τούτου ἠπείγετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν φωραθεὶς οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν τὸν πολὺν ὄνειδον καὶ τὰς διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομεῖναι πληγάς, φυγὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἄγαρ γίνεται, καὶ τούτοις πίστιν ἱκανὴν ἔκ τε τῶν καταλλήλων αὐτῷ

10.9–10 : Thomas Slavus regnante Eirene, sive cum filio Constantino (780–797), sive sola, in Asiam profugit (797–802) secundum epistolam Michaelis ad regem Ludovicum

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Cap. 9: Vita Ioannicii 394 | Scyl 29.18–21 Cap. 10: Epist ad Ludovicum 476.7–25; Vita Euthymii 202–205; Acta Davidis 231.22–232.19; Acta Mart Amor, versio Z, 64.26–28; GeorgMon 793.7–13; Gen 25.50–26.83; Log A 214.12–13, 16–17 | Scyl 29.21–30.53

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43 κενωμωδημένα V 45 ἀθέων edd **9.**1 πόλεμον V 2 ἐξανατολῆς 6 τούτων ante ἦν edd 6 ἀνάγκῃ edd 9 τοιῶσδε V 13 γυμνεῖς V 14 πανείδησιν edd 15 ἔχομεν V 16 προστεθὲν edd 17 κλειδόνι V **10.**1 οὖν V 1 εἷς B edd : εἰς V 1 ἐξεγγράφων V 2 ὁρμᾶσθαι φησὶ V 2 ἐξασήμων V 3 σκαβογενῶν primum scripsit, deinde λ add. V 7 αἰσχύναι V 9 διατοῦτο V 10 κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων V 10 αὐτοῦ edd

which were the object of ridicule by divine men at the time – for whole books have been written exposing his deeds –, and let us proceed with what follows in our history, observing the results of his lawless actions.

9. At this time a civil war broke out in the east and filled the world with all manner of evils, reducing from many to few the number of men: fathers took up arms against their sons, brothers against those born of the same womb, and finally friends against those who loved them the most. Their leader was Thomas, about whom diverse reports circulated. Now, on account of the lapse of so much time, we, being men, have received the details of this history through hearing, not seeing; and in order that we may in all cases preserve the truth, it is necessary that we should record events handed down not only in one manner but in a different one as well, in as much as our presentation is in no wise compromised by such ambivalence and variation, but rather, thus inspires more confidence in those who forever contend that something is not so but otherwise. For it would be best if Truth was naked and we men had knowledge of all things without any curtain. But since the long time that has gone past renders our knowledge more feeble, as if covered by a veil, we must rely on common report and rumour in order somehow to present the facts, rather than abandoning them altogether to Lethe's stream.

10. According to the first and only report, which I trust, in as much as we have assurance from certain written sources, this Thomas was born of humble and poor parents who, moreover, were descended from the Slavs who are often intermingled in the East. Faced, then, with a life of poverty, he ventured his luck and, running off from his country, introduced himself into this great city. And attaching himself as servant and assistant to a certain person of consular rank, he hastened through his intemperence to dishonour and insult his master's bed and marriage. Being caught in the act and unable to bear the great shame and scourgings on this account, he fled to to the descendants of Hagar and, giving them sufficient assurance both though his

δοὺς πράξεων διὰ πολλῶν ἤδη χρόνων – ἔτος γάρ που διηνύετο τούτῳ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν – καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν ἠρνῆσθαι ἡμῶν, πολεμικῆς τινος φάλαγγος γίνεται ἀρχηγὸς καὶ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ὁπλίζεται, κραταιοτάτῃ χειρὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν χεῖρα ποιῆσαι καθυποσχόμενος. καὶ ἵνα μή τινα ἐμποδὼν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις γινόμενος σχῇ, πάντας δὲ συνεφαπτομένους καὶ τούτου προκινδυνεύοντας, Κωνσταντῖνον εἶναι αὐτὸν τῆς Εἰρήνης διετράνου καὶ ἐπεφήμιζεν, ὃν ἡ ἄνοια καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἤθους ὠμὸν πάλαι μὲν μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀφείλετο καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸν βίον μετηλλαχὼς ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν πράξεων μέγεθος καὶ αἱ βόσκουσαι τοῦτον ἐλπίδες κοινωνόν τινα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπῄτουν – οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως αὐτῷ | τὰ κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ὑπελάμβανε κραταιοῦσθαι –, καὶ υἱόν f. 17 τινα ἐπείσακτον εἰσποιεῖται, τῇ τοῦ σώματος διαμορφώσει τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς δηλοῦντα ἀπόνοιαν. ᾧ καὶ δυνάμεις ἀρκούσας δὴ παρασχὼν καὶ Κωνστάντιον μετονομάσας ἐκεῖνον ἄλλοθεν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἑτέρωθεν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κείρειν καὶ κατατρέχειν ἐπέ|τattε γῆν. Λέων τότε καιροῦ ὁ ἐξ B 52 Ἀρμενίων τὰς τῆς βασιλείας ἐκεκρατήκει ἡνίας, ἐν ὑστέρῳ καιρῷ· ὃς δύναμίν τινα κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ συστήσας οὐκ ἀξιόλογον αὐτὴν μὲν σφαλῆναι ἐποίησεν – ἅμα γὰρ τῇ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑπαντήσει ἐτρέπετο πρὸς φυγήν –, τοῦτον δὲ θρασύτερον καὶ πλέον ἢ ἦν τὰ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν φρονεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος καὶ πολὺς οὕτως ἔχειν λόγος περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης κινήσεως καὶ στάσεώς φησι τὴν ἀρχήν.

11. Ἅτερος δὲ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Θωμᾶν, μηδὲν περὶ τῆς κλήσεως διενηνεγμένος, τὸν τῷ Βαρδανίῳ μὲν πάλαι συνόντα, παρὰ τοῦ ἡγησαμένου δὲ Λέοντος τιμηθέντα· ὃς τὴν τῶν Φοιδεράτων τηνικαῦτα διοικῶν ἀρχήν, κατὰ τὸν Ἀνατολικὸν ἐνδιατρίβων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Μιχαὴλ ἄρτι διήκουεν ἀνῃρηκότα τὸν Λέοντα, ἐκδικῶν, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ θυμὸν ἴδιον ἀποπιμπλῶν – ἐτύγχανε γάρ πως πόρρωθεν ἐξ ἡλικιωτῶν διαφερόμενος πρὸς

10.13–14 : Aug. a. 819 Calipha Mamun ad Bagdad rediens Thomam Slavum cum exercitu in Byzantium missit 18–19 : a. 797 Eirene filium Constantinum caecavit 27 : a. 819 sive 820 Leo Armenus cum Thoma Slavo proelium commisit **11**.2 : Thomas Armenus Bardanio usque ad a. 803 serviit 3–4 : ca. a. 813–820 Thomas Armenus archon foederatorum

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Cap. 11: Gen 23.80–24.7 | Scyl 30.53–31.90

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12 ἔτος γάρ – εἰκοστὸν : add. verba ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνους διατριβῇ Scyl 29.33, quae Boor suspicitur excidisse, cf. Gen 25.59–60 χρόνον συχνὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς διατρίψας ὡσεὶ ε΄ καὶ κ΄ παρελκυσθῆναι ἐνιαυτοὺς 12 ἠρνεῖσθαι V 15 καθ᾽ ὑποσχόμενος V 15 ἐμποδῶν V 17 αὑτὸν Bekk cf. Scyl 29.38 ἑαυτὸν : αὑτὸν <τὸν> Boor 20 μετελλαχῶς V 23 μεταμορφώσει edd 24 δὴ om. edd 25 μετ᾽ ὀνομάσας V 25 ἐκεῖνον om. edd 25 ἑτέρωθεν V 26 <τῷ> τότε καιροῦ coni. Kamb 29 κατὰ : πρὸς edd 29 ἀπαντήσει edd 32 στάσεως φησὶ V **11.**1 post εἶναι add. φησι Boor e Scyl 30.53 1 θωμάν V 6 πως : που edd

successive deeds over many years – for it was about the twenty-fifth year he passed – and the fact that he renounced Christ our God, he became leader of a certain military division and took up arms against the Christians, promising with the greatest force to bring the empire of the Romans under their control. And lest anyone should stand in his way when he came to the land of the Romans, but might all join and bear the brunt of battle for him, he claimed and declared himself to be Constantine, the son of Irene, whom madness and cruelty of custom had earlier deprived of his eyes as well as the imperial power, whereafter he also departed from this life. Now, because the magnitude of the undertaking and the hopes which Thomas nurtured necessitated a partner in affairs – for he understood that he could not otherwise prevail on land and by sea –, he took an adopted son whose madness of soul was made evident by the shape of his body; and giving him ample forces and re-naming him Constantius, he gave the order that the latter should ravage and lay waste the land of the Romans on one side and he himself on another. Leo the Armenian then held the reigns of empire, toward the end of his reign, and raising an insufficient force against Thomas he was the cause both of its failing – for upon meeting face to face it was put to flight –, and of Thomas thinking more boldly and better of his chances than he ought. Such, then, is the first and prevailing report concerning the beginning of this revolution and revolt.

11. According to the other report, which differs in no wise concerning his name, this was the Thomas who had been formerly with Bardanios and was awarded a dignity by Leo when he became ruler. Thomas was then holding office as leader of the Phoideratoi, residing in the Anatolic theme; and no sooner had the news reached his ears that Michael had slain Leo, than he set about avenging him and satisfying his own anger – for he had long, since

αὐτόν –, καὶ ἅμα τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προρρήσεις φοβούμενος, χεῖρα ἐναντίαν κινεῖ, καὶ χεῖρα οὐ μικράν τινα καὶ ἀσθενῆ, βαρεῖαν δὲ καὶ ἀνδρώδη καὶ νεανικήν, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν τῶν δόρυ δυναμένων κινεῖν ἔχων μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτύγχανε γάρ πως καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Μιχαὴλ ὑπὸ πάντων μισούμενος, ἅτε δὴ κακῆς μὲν αἱρέσεως μετεσχηκὼς τῆς τῶν Ἀθιγγάνων, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ ὅτι γλῶσσαν χωλεύουσαν ἔχων εἰς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν διεβεβόητο, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον, ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς γλώττης οὐχ ἧττον χωλεύουσαν | B 53 ἔφερεν, ἐβδελύσσετό τε καὶ εἰς φόρτον λελόγιστο τοῖς πολλοῖς. ὁ Θωμᾶς δέ, εἰ καὶ τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένος καὶ τῷ γένει βάρβαρος ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν τῇ γε πολιᾷ αἰδέσιμος, καὶ μᾶλλον φιλούμενος ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτι τὸ εὐπροσήγορον καὶ ἀστεῖον, οἷα δὴ φιλεῖ ὁ στρατιώτης ὄχλος, αὐτῷ πως συνουσίωτο ἐκ παιδός, καὶ τῶν κατὰ γενναιότητα σώματος οὐ δή τινος ἐφαίνετο δεύτερος. οὗ|τος οὖν τοὺς τοὺς δημοσίους φόρους εἰσπράττοντας ἐφ᾽ ἑαυ- f. 17v τὸν ποιησάμενος καὶ ἐκ μεγαλόφρονος ἐπιδόσεως σπουδάζων ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖν τοὺς πολλούς, πολὺς γέγονεν ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ μέγας ἐξ ἐλαχίστης χειρός· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἦγε πειθοῖ καί τινι φιλίᾳ, ὅσοις δὴ ὁ τῶν καινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ φιλοπλουτεῖν ἔρως ἐνῆν, τοὺς δὲ βίᾳ καὶ γνώμῃ ἀβουλήτῳ, ὅσοις δὴ τὰ τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων κακὰ ἐν πείρᾳ ἤδη γεγένηντο. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν οἱ ἐμφύλιοι ἀναρρηγνύμενοι πόλεμοι, καὶ οἷόν τινες Νειλῷοι καταρράκται ἀνοιγόμενοι, οὐχ ὕδατι ἀλλ᾽ αἵματι τὴν γῆν κατεπόντιζον. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ δοῦλοι κατὰ δεσποτῶν καὶ στρατιώτης κατὰ ταξεώτου καὶ λοχαγὸς κατὰ στρατηγέτου τὴν χεῖρα φονῶσαν καθώπλιζεν, καὶ πᾶσα τέως ἡ Ἀσία βυθιζομένη κατέστενεν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάνδρως τῶν πόλεων ἀνήρηντο τῷ Θωμᾷ τῷ φόβῳ πεισθεῖσαι· αἱ δὲ πολλάκις ἀντιπίπτουσαι, τὰ πιστὰ τῷ γε κρατοῦντι τηροῦσαι, μετὰ πολλῶν φόνων καὶ ἀνδραποδισμῶν ὑπήγοντο δεύτεραι. πλὴν ἀλλὰ πᾶσα ἡ Ἀσία ὀπίσω τούτου ἐγένετο, ἐκτὸς τοῦ τὸ Ὀψίκιον Κατάκυλα στρατηγοῦντος | καὶ Ὀλβιανοῦ τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τοσούτοις μόνοι B 54 στρατηγέταις τὰ πιστὰ τηροῦντες πρὸς Μιχαὴλ ἀνεφάνησαν. οἷς καὶ τὴν χάριν ἀπονέμων, ὡς μὴ προδεδωκόσιν αὐτόν, τὸ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τελούμενον ταμεῖον δημόσιον, καπνικὸν οὕτω λεγόμενον, μιλιαρίσιον ἓν συγκεχώρηται· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων πάντων ἀνὰ δύο τελούντων ἀνέκαθεν μιλιαρισίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τούτων, τότε τὸ ἓν ἀφείθη διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν.

11.7–8 : initio a. 821 Thomas Armenus armis contra Michaelem insurgit

7 τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προρρήσεις : τὴν (τὰς Comb) περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Φιλομηλίῳ μοναχοῦ πρόρρησιν edd e Scyl 30.59–60   10 ἐτύχανε V   16 αἰδεσίμος V   17 πως : που edd   17 συνουσίω τὸ V   19 ἐφ᾽: εἰς edd : ὑφ᾽ Boor e Scyl 30.74   20 εἰσποιησάμενος edd   23 τοῦ : τὸ edd   23 ἐνῆν post πραγμάτων Bekk dubitanter in app.: ἐν ἦν V   24 πεῖρα V   26 ἅματι V   27 κατεπότιζον B edd   27 στρατιῶτης V   28 καταξεώτου ante corr. V (τα sscr.)   29 ἀυτ᾽ ἄνδρως V   30 ἀνήρτηντο coni. Boor in app., cf. Scyl 31.82 προστεθεμένων   31 ἀντεπίπτουσαι primum scripsit, deinde in ι corr. V   31 μεταπολλῶν V   32 δεύτεροι V   32 ἡ om. edd   37 ταμιεῖον edd   37 δημόσιον τέλος Scyl 31.89   39 εὔωοιαν V

youth, been somehow at variance with Michael –, and also fearing the prophecies concerning him, he set up an opposing force, and this no small or weak force, but a mighty and manly and valiant one, having with him men of all ages who could wield the spear. For it happened that Michael was hated by all in any case because he participated, as has been said, in the evil heresy of the Athinganoi and because, with his defective speech, he was renowned for cowardice and weakness; moreover, because his soul was no less defective than his speech, he was detested and considered a burden by the many. But Thomas, though lame of leg and barbarian of race, was nevertheless venerable with his white hair and all the more beloved for the affability and wit, esteemed amongst the military, which was somehow innate in him from childhood, and he seemed second to none of those of noble body. He won over to his side those who collected public taxes and, striving to subject the many to his will through generous gifts, from a person of little importance he became renowned, and from one with the least means, one great. He prevailed with persuasion and a certain aimiability upon those who had desire for a new state of affairs and their own enrichment, but with force and against the will of those who had already had bad experience of civil revolts. Hence did civil wars break out and, opening like cataracts of the Nile, flooded the land not with water but blood. Hence did servants raise murderous hands against their masters, and the soldier against his sergeant, and the captain against his general, until all of Asia was submerged in moaning. Some cities with all their inhabitants took Thomas's side, won over by fear, but others often resisted, keeping faith with the emperor, and were subsequently subdued with much slaughter and enslavement. Nevertheless, all Asia followed him, except for Katakylas, general of the Opsikion and Olbianos of the Armeniacs, for these generals proved to be the only who kept faith with Michael. And giving thanks to them, because they had not betrayed him, a concession was made of one miliaresion for the public tax gathered by the imperial treasury which was called the Kapnikon; for from the beginning all the others, including these, each payed two miliaresia, but now one was remitted as a token of goodwill.

12. Ἃ καὶ μαθοῦσι τοῖς Ἀγαρηνοῖς ἀγαπητὸν κατεφαίνετο καὶ ὅλως ἐντρύφημα· καιροῦ γὰρ λαβόμενοι πᾶσαν χώραν καὶ νῆσον κατέτρεχον ἀδεῶς, μή τινος ἐμποδὼν ἱσταμένου αὐτοῖς. διὸ καὶ ταῦτα τῷ Θωμᾷ διακηκοότι, ἐπεί τινα κίνησιν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ᾤετο καὶ νεωτερισμόν, εἴ γέ τινα φροντίδα μὴ τῶν ἐπ' οἴκου ποιήσοιτο καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀνατολῆς, ἀλλὰ συγχωρήσοι τούς τε παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καταληϊσθῆναι καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι αὐτῶν, συμφέρον κέκρικε τέως μὲν ἐπικρατῆσαι τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρμὴν δι' ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ | καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκπλῆξαί τε καὶ πρὸς f. 18 εἰρήνην πανούργως ἐκκαλέσασθαι. ὃ καὶ συνέβη· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄρτι δὴ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν εἰσβάλλων ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀνύποιστος κατεφαίνετο, εἰς λόγους δὴ προελθὼν βαρβαρικοὺς σπονδάς τε ἐποιεῖτο εἰρηνικὰς καὶ πρὸς συμμαχίαν ἐξεκαλεῖτο αὐτούς, συντιθέμενός τε καὶ καθυπισχνούμενος ἃ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε προδοῦναι ὅρια καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρας ποιῆσαι ἀρχήν. ὅθεν τοῦ μὲν βουλεύματος οὐ διήμαρτεν τοῦ οἰ|κείου, ἀλλὰ καὶ στέφους μεταλαγχάνει καὶ B 55 αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναγορεύεται παρὰ τοῦ τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ θρόνον τηνικαῦτα μεταποιουμένου Ἰώβ, καὶ χεῖρα συλλέγει πολλήν, μᾶλλον δὲ λαμβάνει πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ κραταίωσιν· οὐκ Ἀγαρηνῶν μόνον τούτων δὴ τῶν ἡμῖν γειτονούντων καὶ ὁμορούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνδότερον οἰκούντων, Αἰγυπτίων, Ἰνδῶν, Περσῶν, Ἀσσυρίων, Ἀρμενίων, Χάλδων, Ἰβήρων, Ζηχῶν, Καβείρων καὶ πάντων δὴ τῶν τοῖς Μάνεντος συστοιχούντων δόγμασι καὶ θεσπίσμασι. τούτοις οὖν οἷον κατοχυρωθεὶς καὶ πάντοθεν ἑαυτὸν περιφράξας ἄριστον ὑπετόπασε τοῖς τρόποις καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ἀλλάξασθαι καὶ υἱὸν εἰσποιήσασθαι, ὥς μοι δεδήλωται.

13. Εἰσβάλλει οὖν πᾶσαν πορθῶν τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν τὴν μὴ διὰ πειθοῦς ἐρχομένην αὐτῷ. ἃ δὴ ὁ βασιλεύων ἀκηκοώς, μεῖζον εἶναι κρίνας τῶν ἔργων τὴν ἀκοὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐκπέμπει στρατὸν οὔτ' ἀξιόχρεον οὔτ' ἀξιόλογον, ᾧ συρραγεὶς ὁ Θωμᾶς τοὺς μὲν ὥσπέρ τι ποτὸν διψῶν ἀνερρόφησεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς φυγὴν τρέψας τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν

12.16–17 : Thomas a patriarcha Antiochiae Iob ca. a. 821 coronatus est

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Cap. 12: Epist ad Ludovicum 476.21–22; GeorgMon. 793.8–9, 14–15; Gen 24.8–22; Log A 214.13–215.14, 17–18 | Scyl 31.91–32.15 Cap. 13: Epist ad Ludovicum 477.2–4; Gen. 26.84–27.16 | Scyl 32.16–33.42

12.3 ἐμποδῶν V 3 δἰ ὸ V 3 θωμά V 4 ἐπεὶ τινὰ V 5 ἐποίκου V 8 διεπιφανείας V 10 εἰσβάλλων edd Boor : εἰσβάλλοντι V 13 ὑπισχνούμενος edd 16 ἀν ἀγορεύεται V 17 Ἰώβ Boor e Gen 24.17 et Scyl 31.9 : Ἰακώβ V edd 18 οὐκ : οὐ γὰρ edd 21 Cf. Scyl 32.12 (CMN) Ζεχῶν, (A) Ζέχων, (VB) Ζιχῶν 21 δὴ τῶν τοῖς : τῶν δὴ edd **13.**2 διαπειθοῦς V 2 μείζονα vel μείζω coni. Boor in app. 3 στρατὸν : στρατιὰν καὶ στρατηγὸν dubitanter e Scyl 32.18 (ACVN) restituit Boor in app., sed Scyl (M) στρατιὰν καὶ om. 4 οὔτ' ἀξιόχρεον οὔτ' V : οὐκ ἀξιόχρεον οὐδ' edd (ἀξιόχρεων Boor e VBas 99.40) 5 ποτὼν V

12. Now when the Hagarenes learnt of these things, it seemed a thoroughly welcome delight. For seizing the opportunity they overran every land and island with impunity, with no one to oppose them. Thus, when Thomas heard this, because he thought that there might be commotion and revolt amongst his men if he did not take thought for those left at home and others in the east and allowed their wives and children to be carried off and made prisoners, he judged it to be in his interest to check the inroads of the Hagarenes at that moment through his appearance and to frighten them by the multitude of his forces and call for peace in cunning wise. The which indeed came to pass; for straightway invading the Saracens' country by return march he appeared to them invincible; and entering into barbarian dialogues he concluded a treaty of peace and invited them into an alliance, conceding and promising that which has already been mentioned, that he would betray the Roman territories and put control of them in their hands. Whereupon he was not unsucessful in his purpose, but received the crown and was proclaimed emperor by Job who then held the see of Antioch; and he gathered, or rather took hold of, a great force in order to strengthen himself: there were not only Hagarenes, our neighbours on the borders, but also those dwelling further, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Assyrians, Armenians, Chaldeans, Iberians, Zechians, Kabeirans and all those who followed the doctrines and decrees of Manes. After fortifying and, as it were, fencing himself all around with these same, he thought it best to change his name together with his manners and to adopt a son, as I have explained.

13. So Thomas invaded, destroying all the east and those of all ages who did not come to him in submission. Upon hearing this the reigning emperor, judging the rumour to be graver than the facts, dispatched against him an army worthy neither of the task nor even of mention; and giving battle Thomas gulped down part of it as one thirsty does with a drink, whilst he put the rest to flight, rendering his position yet stronger. And fitting out biremes and

διετίθετο κραταιότερον. ναῦς τε ἐξαρτύων διήρεις καὶ ἑτέρας στρογγύλας σιταγωγοὺς ἑπομένας αὐτῷ καὶ ἱππαγωγούς, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοῦ θεματικοῦ στόλου γίνεται ἐγκρατής, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Λέσβον ἅπαν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀθροίζεσθαι ἐγκελεύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη που ἀνανταγώνιστος εἶναι δοκῶν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν λεηλατεῖ. ὀκτὼ γὰρ μυριάδων κατάρχων | καὶ ἑνὶ B 56 λόγῳ τούτους ἡνιοχῶν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἄβυδον ᾕει φέρουσαν ἐκεῖσε δὴ περαιωθησόμενος. | ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα καταδραμὼν σποδὸν καὶ κόνιν, μή πού γε f. 18 v τὰ ταπεινὰ τῶν χωρίων ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ κραταιότερα, ἐνειργάσατο, κατελέλειπτο δέ τι χωρίον εὐφυὲς καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν κακώσεως ἄμοιρον ἦν, τῷ εἰσποιητῷ τοῦτο καταδραμεῖν μετὰ τῆς προσούσης φάλαγγος ἐπιτρέπει υἱῷ. ὁ δέ τισι δαιμόνων γοητείαις κατεπαιρόμενος καὶ μαντείαις τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκφυσώμενος τῇ προτεραίᾳ τοῦτο δὴ εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκεκράγει, ῥητήν τινα ἡμέραν ἔσεσθαι καθομολογῶν καὶ φάσκων ᾗ μέλλοι εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν προελθεῖν. τότε γοῦν θρασέως ἱππαζόμενος ἐς βαρεῖαν βλάβην ὁ δείλαιος ἐξεχόρευσεν. διεσπαρμένως γὰρ φερόμενος, ἅτε γυμνὸν εἶναι τῶν ἀντιπάλων τὸ χωρίον οἰόμενος λόχῳ δή τινι περιπίπτει τοῦ Ὀλβιανοῦ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐθωρὸν ἀποτμηθεὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποστέλλεται Μιχαήλ· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὑφιεμένῳ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν οὐδὲ μὴν τοῖς δεινοῖς τῶν ἔργων καὶ χαλεποῖς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποστέλλει πατρί. ἄρτι ταύτην ἐδέδεκτο ὁ Θωμᾶς, καὶ πρὸς Θρᾴκην οὐδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος ἔκ του κατὰ θάλατταν ὄντος χωρίου – Ὁρκώσιον τοῦτο καλεῖται –, καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσας ὅτε δὴ κατὰ σύνοδον ἡ σελήνη ἀφώτιστος ἦν, πολλαχοῦ διαπεραιοῦται κατὰ τὴν Θρᾴκην. ἔμελεν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ διαβάσεως ταῦτα τῷ Μιχαήλ, ὅθεν πᾶσαν περιελθὼν τὴν Θρᾳκῶν ἰσχυροτέρους ἅμα παρῄνει γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστάτην καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ φρονεῖν | μέχρις αἱμάτων παρεκάλει, μήτε τὴν βασιλέως πίστιν μήτε μὴν B 57 τὴν σφῶν ἐξαρνουμένους ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἀρετήν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἡ ὄψις ἄμαχόν τι εἶναι πρᾶγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνου μὲν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ὑποκεχωρηκότος, τοῦ Θωμᾶ δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον παρισταμένου, μεταθέσθαι συνέβη πάντας εὐκόλως, ὡς μὴ δὲ λόγου δεηθῆναι, καὶ ἅμα συστρατεύεσθαι ἡγουμένῳ κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν.

13.36 : a. 821 Constantinopolis obsidium a Thoma Slavo inceptum est

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6 ἐξ ἀρτύων V 8 τὸν αὐτικὸν V 11 ἐκεῖσε om. edd 12 μή που γε V edd : μήπου Boor 14 καταλέλειπτο edd 15 τοῦτο Bekk Boor : τούτω V 16 μαντείαν Comb : μαντείᾳ Bekk 17 ἐκφυσώμενος Boor : ἐκφυσόμενος V : ἐμφυσώμενος edd, sed cf. supra I.20.28 19 εἰς edd 20 διεσπαρμένος V 21 ἅτε γυμνὸν – οἰόμενος nos : τῷ γυμνὸν – οἴεσθαι Boor e Scyl 32.29 : τὸ γυμνὸν – οἰόμενος V Comb : καὶ γυμνὸν – οἰόμενος Bekk 22 τοῦ edd Boor e Scyl 32.30 : τῶ V 26 ἔκ του Boor : ἐκ τοῦ V edd 26 καταθάλατταν V 28 ἔμελλεν V 30 ἰσχυροτεροτέρους V 32 ἀνδρίαν edd 33 εἶνα V 33 πράγμα V

other, round ships bearing provisions and horses which followed him, he then gained control of the theme's fleet and commanded that all the naval forces should assemble on Lesbos; and already thinking himself somehow invincible he laid waste to all Asia. For having charge of eighty-thousand and directing these same with his single command he set out for Abydos intending to cross over from there. Now, after he had overrun and turned to dust and ashes not only the poorer but also the more powerful districts, and there remained but one prosperous district untouched by the devastation of the others, he commanded his adopted son to invade it with the contingent assigned to him. But this latter, roused to arrogance by enchantments of the demons and puffed up in his soul by divinations, divulged this the day before in the hearing of his men, promising and affirming that it would be on such and such a day that he would advance on the imperial city. Then, riding on his horse with insolence, the wretch went off to grievous harm. For rushing on in dispersed formation, thinking the place then clear of the enemy, he fell into a trap of Olbianos and on the spot his head was severed and sent off to the emperor Michael; and this latter then sent it off to his father who was not tarrying on his way despite the dangers and difficulties of his affairs. Thomas received the head and, in no wise hindered on his way toward Thrace, crossed over from a village on the sea – it was called Orkosion – into many places in Thrace, seizing the opportunity when by conjunction the moon was unlit. Now, Michael took thought for this even before the other's crossing over and thus, going round all of Thrace, he incited the more powerful to resist the rebel and exhorted them to espouse his cause unto the shedding of their blood, betraying neither the emperor's faith nor their own courage and virtue. But his aspect seemed to many as that of one who had no part in battle; and therefore, after Michael had withdrawn to the imperial city and Thomas appeared, all readily went over to his side, without a word being said, and joined the expedition led by him against the imperial city.

14. Οὐκ ἔλαθεν οὖν ταῦτα θᾶττον ἢ ἔδει τὸν βασιλέα· ὅθεν καὶ στρατόν τινα ἐκ τῶν ἤδη που καταλελειμμένων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισυνάγει καὶ δυνάμεις τινὰς διὰ τοῦ Κατάκυλα καὶ Ὀλβιανοῦ συναθροίζει, τὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἤδη κίνδυνον δεδιώς. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν ἠμέλει στρατοῦ, τάχει δὲ πολλῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀντιπαρεσκευ|άζετο δύναμιν. εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἧκε δυσεργίας καὶ περιστάσεως f. 19 ὡς καὶ σιδηρᾶν ἅλυσιν ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τὸ καταντικρὺ πολίχνιον ἐπεκτεῖναι, τὴν ἔσωθεν ἄβατον τηρῶν ὁδόν. ἦν δέ τις ἐν Σκύρῳ νήσῳ τῶν Κυκλάδων μιᾷ πολλάκις ἐστρατηγηκὼς ἀνὴρ ὑπερόριος, ἄρτι δὲ τῷ Μιχαὴλ εἰς πικρίαν ψυχῆς ἀφικόμενος· ὄνομα τούτῳ Γρηγόριος ὁ οὕτω λεγόμενος Πτερωτός. ὃς ἀδελφιδοῦς μὲν ὑπάρχων τοῦ Λέοντος, ἄρτι δὲ τούτου ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπερόριος γίνεται, ὅτι μὴ σιγῇ, ζεούσῃ δὲ καρδίᾳ καὶ φιλίᾳ τοῦ Λέοντος, προσκυνήσων τὸν Μιχαὴλ εἰσερχόμενος πολλοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς αὐτὸν περιέβαλεν, τὸν φόνον φέρων τῶν λεγομένων κατήγορον. ᾧ ὁ Μι|χαὴλ τότε μὲν εἰπών· “οἶδά σου τῆς ἀθυμίας τὸ πέλαγος B 58 καὶ τῆς λύπης τὸ μέγεθος”, φέρειν ἐπέτρεπε τὰ γενόμενα· τρίτης δὲ παρῳχηκυίας ἡμέρας κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τόπον τῶν Κυκλάδων πεποίηκεν ὑπερόριον. τοῦτον ἑταιρισάμενος ὁ Θωμᾶς στρατεύματός τινος τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ὡσεὶ χιλιάδων δέκα ἀνέδειξε στρατηγόν· καὶ τὸν κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ στόλον αὐτῷ γενόμενον εὐτρεπισάμενος οἷόν τινας προδρόμους ἐξέπεμψεν κρίνας τούτους κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ἅμα ποιεῖσθαι τὰς προσβολάς. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἀναφανέντων τῶν τε ναυτικῶν καὶ πεζικῶν δυνάμεων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Βλαχέρναις κόλπῳ – οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδεμίαν κώλυσιν ἢ βοήθειαν ἡ ἐξαρτισθεῖσα σιδηρᾶ σειρὰ ἐπεδέδεικτο – εἰς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν ἡ τούτων παρουσία λελόγιστο· ὅθεν οὐδ’ ἀξιόλογόν τι παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο. πλὴν ὁ Θωμᾶς κριοὺς καὶ χελώνας καί τινας ἑλεπόλεις, δι’ ὧν τὰ τείχη ᾤετο κατασείειν, διά τινων κατασκευάσας μηχανουργῶν, πρὸς δὲ καί τινα Ἀναστάσιον ἄρτι δὴ τὸν τῶν μοναχῶν ἀλλαξάμενον βίον καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀγυρτικὸν τοῦτον δὴ καὶ πολιτικὸν ὑποστρέψαντα, μέλανα τὴν χροιάν, μέλανα τὴν ψυχήν, υἱοθετήσας

Cap. 14: Epist ad Ludovicum 477.4–9; Gen 27.15–28.43 | Scyl 33.43–34.76 || 15–16 Analecta hymnica, Canones Septembris dies 22, canon 27, oda 3, ln. 4 εἰς πέλαγος ἀθυμίας

14.4 θάλασσαν edd 5 κατὰ om. edd 6 τοσοῦτο edd 7 σιδηρὰν edd 7 ἁλύσιν V 11 ἀδελφιδοὺς V 12 ζεοῦσῃ V 12 ante καρδίᾳ add. τῇ edd 15 ὁ om. edd 17 παρωχηκυῖας V 18 στρατεύματος τινὸς V 19 ὡσεὶ χιλιάδων Boor e Scyl 33.56 : ὡσεὶ χιλιάδας V edd : ὡς εἰς χιλιάδας coni. Bekk in app. 19 ἀνέδειξεν edd 20 θάλασσαν edd 20 post εὐτρεπισάμενος add. καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ ἐπιστήσας στρατηγὸν edd e Scyl 33.57–58 21 post ἐξέπεμψεν add. ὠφέλιμον εἶναι edd e Scyl 33.59 21 τούτους nos : τοῦ V edd, quod dubitanter del. Boor in app. 22 κατὰ ταὐτὸν edd e Scyl 33.60 et Gen 27.27 (Lachmann et Thurn) : κατ’ αὐτὸν V Gen (L) : κατ’ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν sive χρόνον aut κατ’ αὐτὸ coni. Stephanus Berglerus in ed. Venet. 1733 Genesii 23 τε om. edd 26 ἀξιόλογον τί V 27 καὶ τίνας V 29 ἀλλαξάμενον edd Boor : ἀλλαξάμενος V

14. All this came as fast as could be to the attention of the emperor and, fearing danger for his reign, he gathered an army out of soldiers from Asia who had been left behind somewhere and added some other forces with the help of Katakyles and Olbianos. Nor did he neglect his army on the sea, but in great haste did he build up his force both on land and sea against that of Thomas. He came into such a difficult position and crisis that he suspended an iron chain from the acropolis to the village opposite, rendering the inner channel inaccessible. Now there was a certain man in banishment on Skyros, one of the Cyclades islands, who had often served as general but who had recently been the source of bitterness for Michael. His name was Gregory, nicknamed Pterotos [the Winged]. Being the nephew of Leo, he was banished when this latter was slain, for he did not come to render obeissance to Michael in silence but, with fervent heart and love for Leo, heaped many reproaches on him, bringing murder as the reason for his words. Michael then said to him, 'I know the vast sea of your dispair and magnitude of your grief,' and bade him bring forth the facts; but after three days had passed he banished him to the aforementioned place in the Cyclades. Associating himself with this Gregory, Thomas made him general of a land army of some ten thousand; and preparing the fleet at his disposal on the sea, he dispatched certain men as a vanguard, choosing them for attacks both by land and by sea. But this being done, and the naval and infantry forces appearing all at once in the bay by Blachernai – for the suspended iron chain rendered no defence or aid –, their presence counted for little or nothing, and thus they achieved nothing worthy of note. Thomas, however, with the help of engineers constructed battering rams and tortoise-shields and siege-engines by which he thought to undermine the city walls, and he adopted and proclaimed as partner in his rebellion a certain Anastasius – a man dark in his skin, dark in his soul – who had just abandoned the monastic estate and returned to this

καὶ συγκοινωνὸν τῆς ἀνταρσίας ἀναγορεύσας, πολλῷ στρατῷ καὶ δυνάμει ῥέων κατὰ τῆς βασιλευούσης προσήλαυνεν, ἅμα δὴ τῷ εἰς ὄψιν ἐποφθῆναι τῶν πολιτῶν τὰς πύλας αὐτῷ ἀναπετάσαι οἰόμενος, μίσει δὴ τῷ πρὸς Μιχαήλ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος διέπεσεν, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ὕβρεσι τούτων καὶ λοι|δορίαις ἐπλύνετο, τότε μὲν τὴν στρατη- B 59v γι|κὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸν χάρακα κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Παυλίνου οἶκον, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ f. 19v τὸ τῶν σεβασμίων Ἀναργύρων τέμενος οἷόν τι ἀνάκτορον ᾠκοδόμηται, ἐγκατέπηξε, καὶ πάντα τὸν ἄχρι Εὐξείνου τόπον καὶ Ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν περαιτέρω δὴ τούτων πολιχνίων ἐπῆλθε διά τινος στρατεύματος πείσων, καὶ μή τινα ἔχειν ὑπὸ νώτου ἐχθρόν.

14bis. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ νοῦν ἔχειν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, τινας ἡμέρας πρὸς παρασκευὴν δοὺς ἑαυτῷ, ὡς ἔκ τινος ἀπόπτου κατεῖδεν τὸν μὲν Μιχαὴλ τὸ πολεμικὸν σημεῖον ἐπὶ τέγους τοῦ τῆς θεοτόκου ναοῦ καταπεπηγότα κἀκεῖθεν τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἰσχὺν αἰτούμενόν τε καὶ προσλαμβάνοντα, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Θεόφιλον πάντα τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τάγματος ἐπιφοιτῶντα, τό τε ζῳοποιὸν τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῆς πανάγνου μητρὸς Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, εἰς πολλὴν μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων <ἐνέπεσε> δυσελπιστίαν καὶ παντοῖος ἐγένετο τὴν γνώμην κατὰ τὸν χαμαιλέοντα, εἴ γε μὴ πρὸς ὁρατοὺς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀοράτους τινὰς δυνάμεις ἀναγκάζοιτο διαμάχεσθαι. οὐκ ἔχων δ' ὅ τι καὶ πράξειεν, ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ ὄχλῳ δὴ τοσούτῳ τεθαρρηκώς, τὸν διὰ μάχης ἔκρινεν ἀγῶνα τῶν τοιούτων δὴ λογισμῶν γενέσθαι κριτήν. ὅθεν τῇ ἑξῆς ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ σημάνας τὸ ἐνυάλιον τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξῆγε, καὶ τῷ μὲν υἱῷ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ χέρσῳ τοῦ τείχους περίβολον φέρειν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπέτρεπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πολὺ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων, δι' ὧν ἔμελλε τὸ | τεῖχος B 60 καταπειράζειν τῆς πόλεως, ἔχων κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Βλαχερνῶν πύργους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν προσβολήν, κλίμακάς τε τῷ ὕψει προσφέρων ἀναλογούσας καὶ χελώνας ἄλλοθεν καὶ ἑτέρωθεν τοὺς κριούς, τοξεύμασί τε καὶ πετροβόλοις οἷς ἔμελλε πάντοθεν παντοῖος φαινόμενος καταπλῆξαι μὲν τοὺς πολίτας, κρατήσειν δὲ καὶ τῆς πόλεως. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἠμέλει τειχῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ναυτικῷ πάντοθεν περικυκλώσας αὐτήν, πυρί τε καὶ τοξεύμασι, πρὸς δὲ καί τισι τετρασκελέσιν ἑλεπόλεσιν, χρῆσθαι

Cap. 14bis: Epist ad Ludovicum 477.11–12; Gen 28.43–57 | Scyl 34.77–35.11

32 δὴ V B in marg. Comb : δὲ B edd 33 αὐτῷ : αὐτοὺς coni. Boor in app. 33 οἰόμενος V 35 post μὲν add. δὴ edd 40 ὑπὸ : κατὰ Bekk in app., cf. infra II.16.8 : ἐπὶ coni. Boor in app. **14bis.**5 ante Θεόφιλον add. τὸν edd 8 ante δυσελπιστίαν add. ἐνέπεσε Boor e Scyl 34.84 ἐνέπιπτε 8 post δυσελπ. coni. ἀφίκετο Bekk in app. 9 τῇ γνώμῃ Boor, cf. Scyl 34.88 ταῖς γνώμαις 14 χερσῷ edd 16 τῶν δυνάμεων edd 16 μηχανικῶν : πολεμικῶν edd 19 χελῶνας V 20 post πετροβόλοις add. πανταχόθεν χρώμενος edd e Scyl 34.92–93 20 οἷς del. Boor 21 κρατήσιν V 23 καὶ τισι V 23 τετρασκέλεσιν V

idle, secular life; and rushing with a great army and force he approached the imperial city, thinking that upon his appearance to the populace the gates would be opened to him, out of hatred for Michael. But after he failed in this hope and, on the contrary, was heaped up with insults and reproaches from them, he then fixed his tent of command and trench by the house of Paulinus, where the sanctuary of the venerable Anargyroi was constructed as a sort of palace, and with an army he traversed all the region up to the Euxene and Hieron and the villages beyond to verify that there was no enemy at his back.

14bis. Thomas, then, had all this on his mind, giving himself several days for preparations; but when from a certain lookout he spied Michael fixing the battle standard on the roof of the church of the Theotokos, seeking and receiving from thence power over his enemy, and also his son Theophilus going round all the city with the clergy, bearing the life-giving wood of the Cross and the garment of the all-pure mother of Christ our God, Thomas fell into great despair for his cause and tried every shift of opinion, like a chameleon, as to whether he need do battle not only against visible but also certain invisible forces. Not knowing what to do, but taking confidence all the same in his great army, he decided that the trial of battle would be arbitor of such considerations. Thus on the morrow at dawn he gave the signal for war and led his men out. He commanded his son to bring battle and constraint in the land circuit of the wall, whilst he himself led an attack on the towers of Blachernai with the bulk of the troops and siege-engines whereby he intended to assault the city wall; bringing ladders of corresponding height and, on another side, tortoise-shields and, on yet another, battering-rams, with archers and stone-throwers, he intended to overwhelm the populace and take the city by appearing on every side and in every manner. Nor did he neglect the walls beside the sea, but surrounding the city on every side with his fleet he commanded that fire and archery, as well as certain four-legged engines, should be used relent-

ἐκέλευεν ἀφειδῶς, ταὐτὸν δὲ καὶ ἀτέχνως εἰπεῖν· ὅθεν οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς ὄνησιν φερόντων αὐτῷ ἡ τοσαύτη δύναμις συμπαρομαρτούντων ἀνδρῶν κατεπράξατο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ναυτικὸν | εὐθύς τις ἐναντίος ἐπιγενόμενος ἄνεμος f. 20 συνδιέλυσέ τε καὶ ἄλλο ἄλλῃ διασπαρῆναι ἐποίησεν ἅτε δὴ καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐξαισίου· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον γενναίως μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀπομαχομένων, καὶ τέως μὲν τὰς κλίμακας ἀχρήστους αὐτῷ ποιούντων διὰ τῶν ἐκ τῶν πύργων ῥηγνυμένων ἰσχυροτέρων βελῶν, τῶν δ᾿ ἄλλων ὀργάνων πῇ μὲν οὐκ ἐφικνουμένων – καὶ τούτου μεγάλην ῥοπὴν τοῖς πράγμασι τεθεικότος – καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἀπειρίαν καταμαρτυρησάντων, πῇ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφικνουμένων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων ἀσθενεστάτων ὄντων καὶ οὐ κατὰ μάχην γενναίαν τε καὶ διασείειν τείχη εἰδότων, ἀλλ᾿ οὐδέ του κατὰ τοὺς πύργους ἱσταμένου ἀνδρὸς ὑποχώρησίν τινα παρασκευαζόντων. ὡς οὖν ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα οὐ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν διαθρυλήσασαν πάντα φήμην καὶ | διακωδωνίσασαν, ἧττω B 61 δὲ καὶ ὡς ἔκ τινος ἀσθενεστάτης φρενὸς διακυβερνώμενα καὶ ἐκπερατούμενα, ἀνεθάρρησέ τε ἡ πολιορκουμένη πόλις εὐθέως, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἑκηβολωτέροις ἐχρῆτο τοῖς βέλεσιν, ὡς πόρρω που τούτους αὐλισθῆναι ἐπαναγκάσαι τὰς τοσαύτας μηχανὰς ἐγκαταλιπόντας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας βουλεύεσθαι σωτηρίας. ὅθεν ἐπεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐχ ὡς ᾤετο, στερρότερα δὲ ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπήντησεν, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ἡ ὥρα δριμύτερον ἐδείκνυ τὸν καιρόν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου καὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης τῶν ἄλλων οὔσης δυσχειμέρου, ἐπὶ παραχειμασίαν ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνακομιδήν.

15. Ἤδη δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος ἥμερον ἐπιλάμποντος καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ὄχλον τὰς καταδύσεις καὶ χηραμοὺς καταλιπεῖν ἐκβιάζοντος, ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὖθις κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἔκρινε προσβάλλειν τῇ Κωνσταντίνου. ἀλλ᾿ ἤδη καὶ τὸν Μιχαὴλ οὐχ ὡς τὸ πρότερον, ἄρτι δὲ στρατιωτικήν τινα δύναμιν εὕρισκε συλλεξάμενον, καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἄλλην δὴ ναυτικήν. κατ᾿ ἐκεῖνο γοῦν πάλιν ᾔει τὸ μέρος ὁπλισάμενος ᾗ καὶ πρότερον, τὸν κόλπον τῶν Βλαχερνῶν. ὡς οὖν ἡμέρα ὑπέλαμπεν καὶ τὸ σύνθημα

14bis.44–46 : hieme a. 821–822 Thomas Slavus ad hiberna recessit **15**.1 : primo vere a. 822 Thomas Slavus Constantinopolin iterum oppugnavit

Cap. 15: Gen 28.58–29.70; Log A 215.20–23 | PsSym 621.11–13; Scyl 35.12–36.36

25 ἡ τοσαύτη δύναμις edd e Scyl 35.96 : ἢ τοσαύτη δυνάμει V 27 συνδιέλκυσε edd 28 ἀπὸ Bekk Boor e Scyl 35.4 : αὐτοῦ V Comb 33 καταμαρτυρήσαντος edd Boor 35 οὐδέ του coni. Boor in app. : οὐδὲ τοῦ V edd 35 τοὺς om. edd 43 ἢ edd : ἦν V 45 post ἄλλων coni. μᾶλλον Bekk in app. 45 δυσχειμερ<ώτερ>ον coni. Kamb 46 τὴν : τὸν Bekk **15.**1 ὑπολάμποντος coni. Boor in app. 2 χειραμοὺς V 3 καταγῆν V 3 τὲ V 4 καὶ om. edd 5 δύναμι V 6 κατεκεῖνο V 6 ᾔει edd Boor, cf. Scyl 35.16 : εἴη V 6 ὁπλησάμενος V

lessly but, by the same token, without skill; and therefore it was that the great force of men accompanying him achieved nothing that brought advantage. For forthwith a contrary wind arose, wrecking the fleet and scattering it here and there, as if there was a violent storm; and on land the inhabitants of the city put up a courageous defence, rendering Thomas's ladders useless by hurling powerful missiles down from the towers, whilst his other engines either could not reach the walls – this giving a decisive turn to events and thus proved his inexperience in war –, or else, where they did reach and got hold, they were too weak and unsuited for intense battle and were incapable of shaking the walls; nor did they cause the retreat of any of the men standing on the towers. When these efforts turned out not to be in accordance with the earlier reports which had been noised and bruited about everywhere, but inferior, as though directed and carried out by a very feeble mind, the besieged city took courage forthwith and made such use of far-flying missiles as to force the others to make camp elsewhere, further afield, abandoning these engines, and to deliberate concerning their own safety. Therefore, since the siege did not turn out as he had thought but much harder than his estimation, and, besides, the season announced severe weather, winter impending and Thrace being known amongst other places for its harsh winters, Thomas withdrew for winter quartering and recuperation of his army.

15. But when the mildness of Spring had come and prompted the host of soldiers to leave their hiding-places and hollows, Thomas decided to attack the city of Constantine again from both sides, by land and by sea. Now however he found Michael not as before, but already with a military force which he had assembled, as well as a naval one at sea. Thomas prepared for battle in the same place as before, the bay of Blachernae. As the day dawned and the

ἐδίδοτο τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ <τὸ> τεῖχος ἔμελλε κατασείειν τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, εἰς λόγους δή τισιν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν τειχῶν μετεώρου ἦλθεν ὁ Μιχαήλ, ἀ|μνηστίαν αὐτοῖς δεινῶν εὐαγγελιζόμενος καὶ καθυπισχνούμενος, εἰ f. 20v μόνον δὴ μετατάξοιντο καὶ μὴ βουληθεῖεν αἵμασιν ὁμοφύλων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καταχραίνεσθαι. ἀλλ’ εἰς πίθον | τετρημένον, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, τούτους B 62 ἐναπορράνας τοὺς λόγους, ἐκείνους μὲν θαρσαλεωτέρους, ὅτι δὴ καὶ παρακαλοῖντο, ταὐτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ φόβου συστάσεως λελυμένους εἰργάσατο, ἑαυτὸν δὲ σταθερώτερόν τε καὶ στερρότερον. ὅθεν ἄφνω ἐκ πολλῶν πυλίδων κατ’ αὐτῶν συρρυείς, ᾗ μὴ προσεδόκων ἐκεῖνοι, συρρήγνυταί τισι τούτοις εἰς μάχην, καὶ φθόρον ἱκανὸν ἐργασάμενος τὴν νικῶσαν λαμβάνει λαμπρῶς. κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ’ ἤπειρον τὴν νικῶσαν ἐλάμβανεν. ὡς γὰρ αἱ βασιλικαὶ τριήρεις ἀνήγοντο καὶ εἰς χεῖρας συνέρχεσθαι ἔμελλον, ἄρτι δὴ πόλεμον συγκροτοῦντος καὶ λίθους ἐπαφιέντος τοῦ ἀποστατικοῦ πλοΐμου, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι παθόντος καὶ τίσι δείμασι καὶ θορύβοις περικτυπηθέντος, πρύμναν κροῦσαν κατήγετο πρὸς τὴν χέρσον· καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς βασιλέα αὐτομολοῦντες ἐθάρρουν μετατιθέμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον τὸ κατὰ γῆν ἀπεδίδρασκον, τὸ κατὰ θάλατταν εἶναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι ἀπαρνησάμενοι παντελῶς. οὕτως μὲν οὖν διελύθη τὸ ναυτικόν, καὶ τελέως ἐχώρησεν εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιον, οὔτε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεῶν οὔτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς ἀναβεβηκότων ἀνδρῶν, διαπραξάμενον.

16. Ὅθεν καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ δηλωθεὶς συνεωρακὼς αὐτόν τε τοῦτον τὸν ἀποστάτην εὐκαταφρόνητον ὄντα τε καὶ πλέον προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου γενησόμενον, ἅτε δὴ καὶ πότοις σχολάζοντα καὶ φρονήσεως ἀμοιροῦντα κατὰ πολύ, δι’ ἧς πεφύκασι μᾶλλον ἤ | ποθεν ἄλλοθεν αἱ νῖκαι προσγίνε- B 63 σθαι, μοῖράν τινα τοῦ ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν τάγματος συλλαβόμενος, καὶ πρότερον δὲ κοινολογησάμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ μοναχοῦ τινος [τοῦ] ἀπὸ τῶν Στουδίου <παρὰ> τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντος, ῥῆξιν ἐννοεῖ καὶ τοῦ

|| 12 Xenophon Oecon. 7.40 etc., Zenobius Paroemiae cent. II, sect. 6, Suda EI no 315 et 321, εἰς τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν, cf. tamen Mantissa proverbiorum, cent. I sect. 48 εἰς τετρυπημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν Cap. 16: Gen 29.70–86; Log A 215.20–23 | PsSym 621.11–13; Scyl 36.37–37.70

8 πολεμικρὸν V 8 τὸ add. Kamb 10 ἀμνηστείαν V 10 ὑπισχνούμενος δώσειν ἀγαθὰ πολλά edd e Scyl 35.21 12 πεῖθον V 12 τετρημένον Bekk Boor : τετριμμένον V Comb 13 ἐναπορράνας Boor : ἐν ἀπεράνας V : ἐναπεράνας edd : ἐναπεράσας Bekk in app. 15 ἑαυτόνδε V 15 σταθερόν edd 21 πλωΐμου edd 22 πρύμναν κροῦσαν Boor : πρύμναν κρούσαντος V : καὶ πρύμναν κρούσαντος edd 24 οἶκεῖον V 24 τὸ edd Boor e Scyl 36.35 : τοὺς V 25 θάλασσαν edd 26 οὕτω edd 26 ante διελύθη add. ἀπονητὶ edd e Scyl 36.35 26 τέως edd 27 εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιον οὔτε V edd Boor : εἰς φροῦδον, οὐδὲν ἄξιον οὔτε Comb in marg. coni. : εἰς οὐδέν, οὐδὲν ἄξιον οὔτε Beek in app. coni. **16.**3 καὶ om. edd 4 καταπολὺ V 4 νίκαι V 5 μοῖρᾶν V 6 τοῦ del. Kamb 7 <παρὰ> τοῦ βασιλέως nos : ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Bekk in app. : delendum τοῦ βασιλέως putavit Boor in app., ut e praecedente τῷ βασιλεῖ repetitum.

signal was given for battle and he was about to storm the wall of Blachernae, Michael spoke to some of those who were mid-way up the walls, proclaiming and promising them amnesty for evils done if only they would change sides and refuse to stain themselves with the blood of their relations and brothers. But he sprinkled his words, as the proverb has it, into a broken vessel, making the others all the bolder, because they were being entreated; but by the same token, though he rendered them free from their state of fear, he rendered himself more deliberate and firm. Thus he suddenly set upon them from many posterns, in such a way as they were not expecting; and engaging battle with some of them he wrought destruction upon them and took the victory in splendid wise. But he took the victory more by sea than by land. For as the imperial triremes drew up and were about to join the fray, the rebel fleet, which had come into action and hurled stones, somehow suffered and, stunned by some fear or confusion, collided at the stern and were carried onto the shore. Some of the men then made bold and went over to the side of the emperor, whilst others ran off to their own forces on the land, refusing completely to be at sea or to do battle there. Thus was the naval force dispersed and came to nothing whatsoever, having accomplished nothing worthy either of the multitude of ships or of the men who embarked in them.

16. For this reason did Gregory, whom we have mentioned, also realise that this rebel Thomas was contemptable and that he would become the more so as time went by, in as much as he occupied himself with drinks and was very deficient in judgement, whereby victories are gained more than by any other means. Taking a division of the troops under his command, and communicating beforehand with the emperor through a certain monk from the Stoudios monastery who had been sent by the emperor, Gregory took

ἀποστάτου γίνεται κατὰ νώτου, ὁμοῦ μὲν τοῦτον ἐκδειματῶν καὶ θορύβου πληρῶν, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰς βασιλέα ἑαυτῷ ἡμαρτημένων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ γαμετῇ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις – καὶ γὰρ ἐτηροῦντο ἐν φυλακῇ ἐκείνου τῷ Θωμᾷ προσθεμένου – διαλλαγὴν καὶ συγ|γνώμην πραγμα- f. 21 r τευόμενος. ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα ἔφθασε διακοῦσαι· εἰς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπεκέκλειστο τῶν [καὶ] ἔξωθεν, οὐδ᾽ εἰ τῶν ἐγγὺς μόνον τις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τῶν πορρωτέρω τὰ αὐτοῦ ἠρημένος ἐτύγχανε. καὶ ὁ Θωμᾶς τὸ μὴ πολὺν ἐξαίφνης τοῦτον γενέσθαι κατορρωδῶν, καὶ φόβον ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐμποιῆσαι βουλόμενος, τὴν μὲν στρατοπεδείαν τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐξεκίνησε, ταὐτὸ τοῦτο προμηθούμενος καὶ προνοῶν τὸ μὴ διωχθῆναι ἐξόπισθεν· ὀλίγους δέ τινας, καὶ ὅσους ᾔδει ἀξιοχρέους τῆς πρὸς τὸν Γρηγόριον μάχης ὄντας, παραλαβὼν ἐξῄει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ περιγίνεται τούτου, καὶ φεύγοντα καταλαβὼν ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ αὖθις διὰ ταχέων πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς προσεδρευούσας τῇ πόλει γίνεται, καὶ γράμμασιν ἐπιστέλλων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ περιαγγέλλει ἁπανταχοῦ, ὡς εἴη τε νενικηκώς, ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ τὸ προσχωριάζον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ναυτικὸν ταχέως κελεύων ἀναχθῆναι, ὡς αὖθις τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν προσβάλλοι | μετὰ στερροτέρας δυνάμεως B 64 μέρεσιν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖναι μὲν εἰς ἀριθμὸν τελοῦσαι πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις πολεμιστηρίοις ἅμα διήρεσι καὶ σιταγωγοῖς τῷ τῶν Βυρίδων κατὰ Θρᾴκην λιμένι ἐγκαθορμίζονται, ἐξ οὐρίας πλέουσαι. καὶ ὁ βασιλικὸς δὲ πυρφόρος στόλος τούτοις μηδὲν ἐγνωκόσιν ἐκεῖσε ἐπιτεθεὶς πολλὰς μὲν αὐτάνδρους αἱρεῖ τῶν νηῶν, τινας δὲ καὶ πυρπολεῖ δυνατωτάτῃ χειρί, ὀλίγων παντελῶς ἔξω γενομένων τοῦ πάθους καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν Βλαχερνῶν κόλπον καταίρειν λόγον ποιουμένων πολύν, ὡς ἂν εἶεν ὁμοῦ τῇ κατὰ γῆν στρατιᾷ· ὃ καὶ γέγονεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ θάλατταν τοῦτον ἐκυβερνᾶτο καὶ ηὐθύνετο τὸν τρόπον. κατὰ γῆν δὲ ἀεί πως ἀκροβολισμοί τινες ἐκ μέρους καὶ φόνοι ἐγίνοντο, νῦν μὲν τοῦ Μιχαὴλ νῦν δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοφίλου αὐτοῖς ἐπεξιόντος μετὰ τοῦ Ὀλβιανοῦ καὶ Κατάκυλα, καὶ πληγὰς ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε καιρίας διδόντος τε καὶ λαμβάνοντος· οὐ μὴν ἀγῶνές τινες λαμπροὶ καὶ νεανικοὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως καὶ τῆς ἰσορρόπου δυνάμεως ἔσχον τὸ κῦρος, ἅτε δὴ πολλῷ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἐλαττουμένου καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου εὔζωνόν | τε καὶ ἱππικὴν στρατιὰν ἀντιτάσσεσθαι δυ- f. 21v ναμένου.

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13 καὶ delendum Boor putavit in app. 13 οὐ δὴ V 13 μόνων V 13 οὐδ᾽ εἰ edd Boor 15 ἐν delendum Boor putavit in app. 16 ταυτὸ V : [τ]αὐτὸ coni. Kamb, cf. infra II.21.7 18 ἀξιοχρέους edd : ἀξιοχρέως V 20 διαταχέων V 24 θάλασσαν edd 26 Βηρίδων Scyl 36.55–56 (Βυρίδων B), cf. Gen 29.80 Βυρίδων 27 ἐξουρίας V 29 αὐτ᾽ ἄνδρους V 30 τὸν τὸν τῶν V 31 ποιουμένον V 32 καταγῆν V 32 τοῦτὸν V 33 ἠνθύνετο V 33 καταγῆν V 34 ἐγένοντο edd 35 τοῦ om. edd 36 τὲ V 37 ἀγῶνες τινὲς V 40 στρατι ἀντιτασσεσθαι (sic) δειναμένου V

thought for breaking away and placed himself at the rear of the rebel, both frightening and filling him with confusion, and also attempting to negotiate for himself as well as his wife and children – for they were kept in prison when he took sides with Thomas – reconciliation and forgiveness for his offences toward the emperor. But these things did not come to the ear of the emperor, to such an extent had he been shut off from external affairs, no matter whether someone close at hand or far off espoused his cause. Now Thomas, dreading lest this Gregory should suddenly become too strong and desiring to instill fear in his own men, did not move off from of the city, taking likewise care and precaution to avoid being pursued from behind. Choosing a few men whom he knew to be capable of fighting against Gregory, he went out against him and got the better of him; and capturing him as he fled, he slew him. Then in haste he again joined the forces besieging the city, and sending letters he announced his news everywhere, how he had gained the victory – which was not so –, and he ordered the fleet stationed in <the theme of> Hellas to be brought in haste, so that he might again attack places by the sea with stronger force. Now these, numbering three-hundred-and-fifty together with war- and provisioning ships sailed with a fair wind and came to anchor at the harbour of Byrides in Thrace. But there the imperial fire-bearing fleet attacked them unawares and captured many of the ships with their crews, and others were put to the flames with a harsh hand; only a very few got away completely unscathed, setting great importance on reaching the bay of Blachernae, in order that they might be together with the army on land; and so it came to pass. Whilst affairs at sea were guided and directed in this way, on land there was always some sort of discharge of weapons and killing by turns as now Michael, now his son Theophilus, went out together with Olbianos and Katakylas against the others, sometimes inflicting, sometimes receiving mortal blows; but no brilliant, high-spirited battles between lines or equal forces decided the outcome, in as much as Michael was greatly outnumbered and unable to stand up against the army of the other with its well equipped men and cavalry.

17. Ἐν τούτοις οὖν ὄντων αὐτῶν, Μορτάγων ὁ τῶν Βουλγάρων βα-
σιλεὺς – καὶ γὰρ ἔφθασεν ἡ φήμη κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην τὸν βασιλέα τῶν
Ῥωμαίων πολιορκούμενον διαγγέλλουσα – λάθρα τινὰς ἐς βασιλέα
πέμψας ἐπαποστεῖλαι αὐτομάτῳ γνώμῃ συμμαχίαν καθυπισχνεῖτο καὶ
βοήθειαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν διδόναι καθ|ωμολόγει. ἀλλ’ ὅ γε Μιχαήλ, B 65
εἴτε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πλῆθος καταιδούμενός τε καὶ ἐλεῶν,
εἴτε καὶ χρημάτων φειδόμενος – ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν
ἄλλων βασιλέων ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν ἔχων ἐκ φειδωλίας –, τὴν μὲν γνώμην ἠξίου
ἀποδοχῆς τούτου, παρῃτεῖτο δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν, καὶ οὐκ, εἴ τι
γένοιτο παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστάτου, βούλεσθαι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ κατ-
εμήνυεν. ἀλλ’ ὅ γε Μορτάγων καὶ ἄλλως πολέμοις χαίρων καὶ τὰς ἐκ
τούτων λείας καρποῦσθαι φιλῶν, καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν δὲ τριακοντούτεις
σπονδὰς γεγενημένας παρὰ τοῦ προκατασχόντος Λέοντος ἐπιβεβαιῶσαι
καὶ ἰσχυροτέρας ποιῆσαι ζητῶν, τὴν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου στρατιὰν
εὐτρέπιζεν, καὶ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅρων ἔντοσθε μετὰ παρρησίας γενό-
μενος κατὰ τὸν Κηδούκτου χῶρον οὕτω καλούμενον ἐστρατοπέδευσεν.
ἠκούοντο δέ, καὶ λαθεῖν ταῦτα τὸν ἀποστάτην οὐκ ἦν· περιεδονήθη μὲν
καὶ τὰς φρένας κατεκτυπήθη, ἐν αὑτῷ δὲ ὅμως πάλιν γενόμενος τὴν κατ’
αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐξώπλιζεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰς δύο καταμεριζόμενος ἐδόκει παν-
τελῶς ἀσθενής τε εἶναι καὶ εὔπτωτος – ἥ τε γὰρ τῶν πόλεων βασι-
λεύουσα οὐκ εὐαριθμήτου ἀλλὰ πλείστου ἀξιολόγου στρατοῦ ἐδέετο
πολιορκουμένη, ἤδη καὶ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ δυνάμεις συλλέγοντος καὶ κατὰ
πόδας ἵστασθαι δυναμένου, καὶ πολλάκις ὄλεθρον ἐπαγαγεῖν αὐτοῖς δυ-
νηθέντος· καὶ ἡ τῶν Βουλγάρων δὲ οὐ μικρᾶς τινος τάξεως καὶ στρατιᾶς,
πολλῆς δὲ καὶ οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἐδέετο ἀντιπαρατάξεως –, ἵν’ οὖν μὴ εἰς
δύο τινὰ διαιρούμενος κατά τινα λάβρον χειμάρρουν ἀσθενέστερος παρ’
ὃ ἦν δόξῃ τε τοῖς | ἐχθροῖς καὶ εὐχείρωτος γένηται, ἀπαίρει μὲν ὅλως B 66
τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς τὸν Βούλγαρον δὲ ἀξιόμαχον κρίνας αὐτὸν κα|τὰ τὸν f. 22r
εἰρημένον τόπον παρατάσσεται καὶ ἀνταγωνίζεται.

17.12–13 : foedus triginta annorum ad finem a. 816 conclusum est 15–16 : autumno 822 ineunte chaganus Bulgarorum fines imperii transiit et ad Ceductum profectus est

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Cap. 17: GeorgMon 796.24–797.1; Gen 29.87–7 | Scyl 37.71–38.95

17.2 φήμει V 3 τινὰ Scyl 37.73 4 ἐξαποστεῖλαι B edd 5 καθ’ ὡμολόγει V 6 κατ’ αἰδούμενος V 16 γενόμενος edd Boor, cf. Scyl 37.83 γεγονὼς : γενομένου ὡς V 17 ἠκούετο Scyl 37.84 17 ante καὶ τὰς φρένας add. ὡς εἰκός edd e Scyl 37.85 18 αὐτῷ V Comb 18 ὅμως om. edd 21 πλείστου καὶ ἀξιολόγου Scyl 38.89 22 post δυνάμεις add. οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς edd e Scyl 38.90 24 post Βουλγάρων δὲ add. δύναμις edd e Scyl 38.91 24 μιαρᾶς τινὸς V 25 παρατάξεως B edd 25 ἵν’ οὖν μὴ : μὴ οὖν edd 27 οὗ Comb 28 αὑτὸν V Comb

17. Now, whilst they had come to such a pass, Mortagon, king of the Bulgars – for report had gone round the world announcing that the emperor of the Romans was under siege – secretly sent certain men to the emperor promising on his own resolution to send him an auxilliary force and pledging to give sufficient aide. But Michael, either because he in truth felt shame and showed mercy on the army of his fellow race, or else because he was sparing money – for he far surpassed other emperors in thrift – deigned to accept the other's resolution, but refused his aide and informed him that he did not want aid, even if it came from the rebel. But Mortagon, who otherwise rejoiced in battles and loved reaping the spoils of these same, and who sought to confirm and make stronger the thirty-years truce concluded by the previous ruler Leo, prepared an expedition against the usurper; and entering within the Roman boarders with boldness he made camp near the place called Kedoukton. But report was made of them, and it was impossible for this to escape the notice of the usurper. Thomas was set reeling and was frenzied in mind; but coming to himself again he drew up his army against Mortagon. Now, Thomas felt himself divided in two and completly weak and vulnerable, for the siege of the queen of cities required no small but rather a numerous and considerable army, and Michael, already gathering forces, could march on his army's track, and had succeeded many times to bring harm upon them; and there were also the Bulgars, who comprised no small contingent and army, and resistence to them required no ordinary but rather great effort. In order, then, that he should not be divided in two parts as by some furious torrent and appear to the enemy weaker than he was and thus become easy prey, Thomas withdrew completely from the city and, judging himself to be sufficient in strength to fight the Bulgar, he drew up his lines and engaged battle.

18. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς χεῖρας ᾔεσαν κατ' ἀλλήλων, ἡττᾶται δὴ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ φόνον οὐ ποιεῖ μὲν πάσχει δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἄλλως ἦν τῆς σωτηρίας λαβέσθαι, φυγαδείᾳ ταύτην εὑρίσκουσι, καὶ ἔν τινι χώρῳ δυσβάτῳ σκεδαννύμενοί πως συνάγονται. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀρχηγὸς εὐθὺς τῶν τε σωμάτων ὧν ἐγένετο κύριος καὶ λείας δὲ πολλῆς γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπέστρεψε, τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ νίκῃ ἐπαιρόμενός τε καὶ γαυριῶν. τὸ δὲ καταλειφθὲν ναυτικὸν ὡς τοῦτο ἀκήκοεν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῇ πόλει προσεδρεῦον, προσχωρεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ γίνεται. ὁ δ' αὖ ἀποστάτης εἰς τοσοῦτον ἧκε θάρρους, παρὰ τῶν αὐτῷ συμμαχούντων, ὡς ἔοικε, <δαιμόνων> ἐγκρατὴς ὅτι πάντοθεν συντριβόμενος καὶ πληττόμενος καὶ ὀλίγος ἐκ πολλῶν γινόμενος, καθαρᾶς τε νίκης οὔ ποτε μετεσχηκὼς οὔτ' ἀπὸ παρατάξεως οὔτε μὴν ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν προσαγομένων διὰ πολυχειρίας μηχανημάτων κατὰ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς πόλεως, αὖθις ἐπισυναχθεὶς κατά τι πεδίον, Διάβασιν οὕτω καλούμενον, σταδίους ἀπέχον τῆς πόλεως ἱκανοὺς καὶ πρὸς στρατοπεδείαν εὐφυὲς ἔκ τε τῶν φυομένων καὶ ὑδάτων ἐπιρρύτων ὄν, συναθροίζεται. κἀκεῖθεν τὰς προνομὰς ποιῶν πάντα μὲν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως | ἔκειρε B 67 κόσμον καὶ ἐπυρπόλει, ἐνεφανίζετο δὲ τοῖς κατὰ <τὴν> πόλιν, ὡς τὸ πρότερον, οὐδαμῶς. ὃ καὶ συνεὶς ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἀξιόλογον συστήσας στρατόν, αὐτόν τε τὸν Ὀλβιανὸν καὶ Κατάκυλαν ἔχων μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀκμῆτας ταγμάτων καὶ ἀκεραίους, κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐκστρατεύει· καὶ τοῦτον οὐ κατορρωδοῦντα οὐδ' ἐκφοβούμενον ἀλλ' αὐτῷ προσυπαντῶντα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐφευρὼν συνῆλθεν εἰς χειρῶν δύναμιν, κρῖναι τὸ πᾶν βουληθείς. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ καταστρατηγῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα βουλόμενος αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καταστρατηγεῖται βουλῇ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνει σκοποῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἅμα τῷ συρραγῆναι τὸν πόλεμον νῶτα διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ

18.14–17 : hieme a. 822–823 Thomas Slavus ad Diabasin recessit

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Cap. 18: Ep. ad Ludovicum 477.13–24; GeorgMon 797.1–4; Gen 29.7–30.28; Log A 215.23–25 | PsSym 621.13–15; Scyl 38.95–39.37

18.1 καταλλήλων V 1 ἡττᾶσται V 1 post ἰσχυρῶς add. ὁ τύραννος edd e Scyl 38.1 3 εὑρίσκουσιν edd 4 σκεδαννύμενοι ἐσκόπουν πῶς edd e Scyl 38.3 4 συνάγονται Boor : συνάγωνται V edd 5 τά τε σώματα προσλαβόμενος ὧν edd e Scyl 38.3–4 6 τῇ B edd Boor : πῇ V 8 τὸ om. edd 9 τοσοῦτο edd 10 <δαιμόνων> ἐγκρατὴς edd e Scyl 38.7–9 ὁ δ' ἀποστάτης ἐς τοῦτο ἀφῖκτο μανίας παρὰ τῶν συμμαχούντον, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτῷ δαιμόνων, καὶ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας εἰσέτι ὠνειροπόλει κατάσχεσιν, ὅτι : post ἔοικε scripsit θαρους (sic) παρὰ τῶν αὐτῷ συμμαχούν et postea cancelavit V : post ἔοικε lacunam postulavit Boor 10 ὅτι : ὥστε edd 11 γενόμενος edd 16 supra στατοπεδείαν scripsit ρ V 16 inter φυομέν et ὢν (sic) duas litteras del. V 16 ὂν V 17 κἀκεῖθεν V 17 τὸν om. edd 18 κατὰ <τὴν> πόλιν Boor e Scyl 38.15–16 : καταπόλιν V : κατὰ πόλιν edd 20 τὸν om. edd 20 ἑαυτοῦ B edd 22 πρὸς ὑπαντῶντα V 23 ἐφ' εὑρῶν V 24 ἐνθαδῆ V 24 καὶ τα στρατηγῆται V

18. Now, when they had come together, Thomas was sorely defeated; he did not inflict slaughter, but suffered it from the enemy. And because there was no other way to obtain salvation, they found this in flight, and scattering themselves they joined up in a place difficult of access. But forthwith the ruler of the Bulgars, seizing the persons whose lord he had become, and much booty besides, returned to his own land, rejoicing and exulting. When the fleet that was left behind – the one besieging the city – heard this, it went over to the emperor and took his side. The usurper however came to such a pitch of boldness, possessed, as it seemed, by the demons with whom he was allied, that, although he was crushed down on every side and his once numerous host had become few, and he had never had part in a real victory, either in pitched battle or with siege engines brought to bear against the walls of the city by a multitude of hands, nevertheless, assembling anew, he mustered his army in a field called Passage [Diabasis] which was at a considerable number of stadia from the city and which was suitable for an encampment because of its abudant wildlife and water. Making forays from there he destroyed and burnt all the splendid buildings in front of the city, but in no wise did he show himself to the people of the city as before. When Michael learnt of this he raised a significant army and, together with Olbianos and Katakylas and the fresh troops of their divisions, he took the field against Thomas; and he found him not trembling with fear or frightened, but rather marching out to meet him with zeal. And so Michael joined battle, wishing to decide the entire matter. Whereupon, though wishing to outmanoeuvre the emperor, Thomas was by his own design outmanoeuvred and failed completely in his goal. For as the fighting broke out he gave the command to give way to the forces of

τὴν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεων γνώμην κατανοῶν, ἀνθρώπων ἔκπαλαι γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων στερουμένων τε δι’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας | τῷ ἀδελφικῷ f. 22v λύθρῳ καταμιαινόντων· οἳ ταχεῖαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἰς τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐκταθῆναι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις διατριβὴν προσδοκήσαντες πρὸς πᾶν μὲν ἦσαν κατ’ ἀρχὰς εὐπειθεῖς, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἤδη που ἐξετέτατο – τρίτος γὰρ ἐξηνύετο – καὶ ἀνηνύτοις ἐκ τῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν γινομένων ἐδόκουν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ δουλεύοντες, τηνικαῦτα τὸ κελευσθὲν ὡς ἕρμαιόν τι λαβόντες οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐβούλετο ἐξεπλήρουν, ἀλλ’ ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καλόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκλῖναι τούτοις εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπέτρεπεν ὅσον τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παράταξιν διαλῦσαι καὶ αὖθις ὑποστρέψαι στερρῶς φονεύοντας· οἱ δὲ κόσμῳ καὶ τακτικῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιὰν κατόπιν <ἐλ>θοῦσαν, | καὶ B 68 οὐχ ὡς ᾠήθη εὐδιαλύτως ἰδόντες ἀσχηματίστῳ χρῶνται φυγῇ, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐσκέδαστό τε καὶ διεφέρετο. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, νῦν μὲν ὀλίγοι καὶ αὖθις ἕτεροι, τῷ βασιλεῖ προσχωροῦσι καὶ καθομολογοῦσιν αὐτῷ· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀδριανούπολιν διασώζεται κἀκεῖσε τῆς φυγῆς ἵσταται. ὁ δέ γε τούτου νόθος τε καὶ παρέγγραπτος υἱὸς Ἀναστάσιος τοῦ τῆς Βύζης φεύγων ἐπιλαμβάνεται πτολίσματος. καὶ οὐ κατὰ τύχην, οἶμαι, κατὰ δὲ πρόνοιάν τινα, ἵν’ ἕκαστος τούτων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἑλκύων τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προσεδρείαν τῷ ἑτέρῳ διδοί<η> ἄνεσίν τε καὶ καιρὸν εἰς τὴν προνομήν.

19. Ἀλλ’ ὅ γε βασιλεὺς ἐκ ποδὸς τούτοις ἑπόμενος πρῶτον ἔγνω τὸν Θωμᾶν πολιορκεῖν καὶ τὴν προγεγενημένην εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι τούτῳ ποινήν. ὅθεν ἐπάγει αὐτῷ πολιορκίαν, οὐ διὰ μηχανημάτων ἤ τινων ἄλλων σπουδάζων αὐτὸν καθελεῖν, ἅμα μὲν τὸν ἐμφύλιον ἀποδιδράσκων πόλεμον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Σκυθίαν οἰκοῦντας τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαθήτους κατασκευῶν βουλόμενος διαμένειν, ἀλλὰ λιμοῦ τῶν ἀναγ-

18.41–42 : aestate 823 Thomas Slavus ad Adrianopolin sive Arcadiopolin recessit

Cap. 19: Ep. ad Ludovicum 477.26–32; GeorgMon 797.4–16; Gen 30.28–31.63; Log A 215.25–29 | PsSym 621.15–19; Scyl 39.38–40.76

28 τε om. edd 31 καταρχὰς V Comb 31 εὐ̓πειθείς V 32 ἐξετάττετο V 34 οὐχ᾽ ὥπερ V 35 ἀλλὰ edd 36 ἐπ ἐτρεπεν (sic) V 38 <ἐλ>θοῦσαν Boor : θούσαν V : θέουσαν edd 39 ἐνδιωλύτως Comb 39 ἰδόντες Bekk in app. Boor : εἰδότες V edd 39 ἄλλως V 40 διεσκέδαστό B edd 41 προσχωροῦσιν V 42 Ἀρκαδιούπολιν Gen 30.27 et GeorgMon 797.2, cf. Epist ad Ludovicum 477.23–24 Archadiopoli 44 φεύγειν coni. Kamb 45 τινὰ V 46 προσεδρίαν edd 46 διδοίη Kamb : διδοῖ V edd : διδῷ Boor **19.**1 ἐπόμενος V 4 τινῶν ἄλλων V : ἄλλων τινῶν edd : τινων ἄλλων <κατασκευῶν> coni. Kamb 5 κοῦντας V postea οἰ supra l. addito 6 ἅμα δὲ καὶ – βουλόμενος Boor, cf Scyl 39.41–42 ἅμα δὲ καὶ – ἐθέλων : ἅμα δὲ καὶ – βούλεσθαι V : ἅμα δὲ – βούλεσθαι Comb : ἅμα δὲ τῷ – βούλεσθαι Bekk

emperor. He did not understand the minds of his forces, men who had been separated from their wives and children for a long time and who on his account had defiled their hands with the blood of their brothers. Expecting that their activity in the field would be brief and would not extend for so much time they had been obedient in everything at the beginning. But since the time had drawn on – it was now the third year – and they seemed from daily experience to be attempting things impossible of achievement, serving the desire and madness of one man, they now took this command as a godsend and carried it out not as he wished but as seemed good to them. For he ordered them to retire so much as necessary from emperor's lines to break up their formation and then to turn again with fierce slaughter. But when they saw the emperor's army coming behind them with order and tactical experience and not, as Thomas had thought, in such a way as to be easily broken up, they took flight in most confused fashion, all scattering and going different ways. Some of them, now a few and now again others, went over to the emperor and pledged themselves to him; but Thomas himself sought safety in Adrianople and ended his flight there. His bastard and illegitimate son Anastasios, also fleeing, got to the city of Byze. Nor was this done by chance, I think, but by some design that each of them, drawing to himself the emperor's attacks, might afford the other a respite and time to advance.

19. Now the emperor, following on their track, resolved to lay siege to Thomas and requite him with the penalty which had earlier befallen him himself. Thus he brought a siege against him, striving to destroy him not with engines or other means – both so as to avoid civil war and also because he wished that the Scythians inhabitants should remain ignorant of such devices – but with famine of the necessaries of life, whereof the city proved to

καίων, οἷς ἐν σπάνει καὶ ἐνδείᾳ ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀποθησαυρίζουσα ἡ πόλις ἐδείκνυτο. ἔγνωστο γοῦν ταῦτα αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀρχὴν ἡ πρᾶξις ἐλάμβανεν. ὁ δέ γε πολιορκούμενος παντὸς μὲν ζῴου πρῶτον ἰδέαν ἄχρηστον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐξωθεῖ, οὐ παρακλητικοῖς, ὡσανεὶ πατήρ τις, λόγοις τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πράξεων διοικῶν, τυράννῳ δὲ | γνώμῃ B 69 καὶ αὐθεκάστῳ· ὃ καὶ τὸ κατ’ αὐτοῦ | ἀνεθυμίασέ τε μῖσος καὶ ἀνενέωσεν. f. 23r ἔπειτα ὡς ἤδη ἤκμαζεν ὁ λιμὸς καὶ σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς οὐδαμοῦ, ἠνάγκαζε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς φόρους ἀνελλιπεῖς ἀπῄτει δὴ ἡ γαστήρ, οἱ μὲν λάθρα διά τινων πυλίδων οἱ δὲ διὰ τειχῶν καθιμώμενοι, οἱ μὲν φέροντες τῷ βασιλεῖ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεδίδουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν κατὰ τὸ Βύζης πτολίεθρον ἀπεδίδρασκον. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀπευκτὰ καὶ λυπρὰ τούτοις κατεδήδοτο, ἄχρι δὲ καὶ τῶν σεσημμένων σκυτῶν τε καὶ καττυμάτων τὰ τῆς τροφῆς ἐχώρει, εἰς λόγους τινὲς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐλθόντες τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀμνηστίαν αἰτήσαντές τε καὶ λαβόντες, περισχόντες αὐτὸν λαμβάνουσί τε διὰ χειρῶν καὶ προσάγουσι τῷ ἐχθρῷ. ὁ δὲ τὸ δόξαν πάλαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ εἰς συνήθειαν ἤδη ἐλθὸν πρῶτον τελέσας καὶ ὑποκάτω θεὶς τῶν ποδῶν, ἀκρωτηριάζει τοῦτον καὶ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἀπαράσσει αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ κοντοῦ τε θεατρίζει πᾶσι τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιτραγῳδοῦντα “ἐλέησόν με, ἀληθῶς βασιλεῦ”. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως εἴ τινες τῶν αὐτῷ συνόντων φίλων καὶ ἕτεροι εἶεν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονοῦντες, τάχα ἂν πολλῶν κατεῖπεν, εἰ μή τις Ἰωάννης ἀνὴρ <πατρίκιος> ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἐξαβούλιον “οὐ δέον,” ἔφη, “εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄτοπον, ἐχθροῖς κατὰ φίλων πιστεύειν, ὦ βασιλεῦ”. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τούτῳ διέλυσε τῷ λόγῳ τὰς μείζονας τῶν ταλαιπώρων δὴ πολιτῶν καὶ φίλων αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀποστάτης κατέλυσε τὸν βίον, | τὴν ψυ- B 70 χὴν ἀπορρήξας ὥσπέρ τι ζῷον δυσθανατοῦν, μηνὸς μεσοῦντος Ὀκτωβρίου, κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς γεγονέναι δοκῶν μεγαλεπίβολος καὶ τολμηρὸς καὶ τοῦ προτεθέντος ἐξεργαστικός, προβαίνων δὲ φανεὶς πολὺ καταδεέστερος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς προσδοκίας. πότερον δὲ τοῦτ’

19.31–33 : die 15 Oct. a. 823 Thomas a Michaele occisus est

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7 λιμῷ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων edd e Scyl 39.43 : <διὰ> λιμοῦ τῶν ἀναγκαίων coni. Kamb 9 πολιορκού παντὸς παντὸς V, altero παντὸς postea expuncto 9 εἰδέαν V Comb 11 ὡσανεὶ πατήρ τις Boor : ὡς ἂν εἰπέ τις V : ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις edd 12 αὐτεκάστῳ V 13 καὶ om. edd 14 ἀνελλιπείς V 18 κατεδίδοτο V Comb 18 καὶ om. edd 21 αὑτὸν V 22 βασιλεῦσιν V 23 ἐλθὼν V Comb 24 ἐπὶ κοντοῦ V, cf. Gen 31.53 : ἐπὶ ὄνου edd, cf. Scyl 40.60 ὄνῳ 25 ὁ ante ἀληθῶς add. edd 28 <πατρίκιος> add. Boor e Gen 31.57 Ἰωάννης ἀνὴρ ἐπίκλησιν Ἐξαβούλιος ἐν πατρικίοις τελῶν et Scyl 40.63–64 ὁ πατρίκιος Ἰωάννης : τις ἀνὴρ Ἰωάννης edd 28 Ἐξαβούλλοιον V, sed cf. supra I.8.1 32 ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν ποιναῖς ante τὴν ψυχὴν add. edd e Scyl 40.68 33 μεγαλεπήβολος edd 34 προτεθέντος edd e Scyl 40.69–70 : τεθέντος V Boor 35 αὑτοῦ Boor e Scyl 40.71 ἑαυτοῦ 35 ἐκτὼς V 35 post προσδοκίας scripsit πότερος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς προσδοκίας et postea expunxit V 35 ante τοῦτ’ add. καὶ edd

be in shortage and want rather in provision. Now, Michael knew this beforehand, and the military action began. Under siege, Thomas first expelled from the city every living thing of no use, and then later all persons of every age, not with compassionate words like a father looking after the multitude of affairs, but with tyrannical and self-willed inclination; and this roused and renewed hatred against him. Later, as famine raged and there was no hope of salvation, the belly of necessity demanding its unceasing tribute, some men, be it secretly through posterns, or by letting themselves down by ropes from the walls, gave themselves up to the emperor, whilst others ran off to Thomas's son in the city of Byze. Since they were in want of not only the necessaries of life but even abominable and offensive things, and even rotten hides and shoes were used for nourishment, certain men came to an agreement with the emperor, seeking and receiving amnesty for their offences; and seizing Thomas they took him by force and brought him to the enemy. And Michael, performing first the ceremony which seemed fitting to emperors of old and has become custom, placed Thomas beneath his feet. Then he mutilated him, lopping off his feet and hands, and made a show of them on a pole before the eyes of all, whilst Thomas recited tragically only this: 'Have mercy upon me, O emperor indeed!' When the emperor asked him whether any of his – Michael's – friends there present or others had embraced his – Thomas's – cause, Thomas would have perhaps denounced many, if a certain <patrikios> John Exaboulios had not said 'It is not right, O emperor, but rather out of place, to believe the word of enemies against friends.' With these words, then, did this man deliver the unfortunate citizens and friends of Michael from most penalties; but the usurper thus left this life, casting off his soul like some animal put to a wretched death, in the middle of the month of October. At first he seemed hopeful of great things and bold and capable of accomplishing his project, but as he proceeded he was shown to be greatly inferior to both his own expectations and those of others besides. Whether

ἐγένετο παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου διαφορὰν καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἢ παρὰ τὴν τῶν πολεμούντων πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλλαγήν, οὐ πολὺν ἔχει λόγον. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πολέμου ἔνδοθεν, ὃν φθάσας ἀνερρίπισεν αὐθάδει γνώμῃ καὶ τολμηρᾷ, καὶ ἀμφίβολος πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων κραταίωσιν ἦν, ἔρρωντο τῶν λόγων αἱ πράξεις οὐκ ἔλαττον, καὶ | κατὰ ῥοῦν ἐχώρει τὰ πράγματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν μικροῦ πᾶσαν f. 23v ὑπέταξε, διεπεραιώθη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ τῷ φρονήματι μηδένα ἐμποδὼν εὑρηκώς, ἀνὴρ ἅτε δὴ οὐκ ἐκ λόγων καὶ παιδείας ὁρμώμενος, βαναύσου δέ τινος καὶ ἀγυρτικῆς ὁμιλίας, ἐξῆπτο ἤδη καὶ ἐπεφύσητο καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐξέπλει φρενῶν, πρὸς ἔρωτάς τινας καὶ γάμους οὐ σωφρονικοὺς διὰ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν μέθης καὶ βακχείας ἀγόμενος καὶ αὐξόμενος. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων συντελείας δίδομεν καὶ ἄλλοις ἄλλως ἐννοεῖν, ὅτε μὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις βούλωνται ἐξακολουθεῖν. πλὴν περὶ μὲν τούτων αὐτάρκως. καὶ οἱ ἐκ Βύζης δὲ ἐφ' ἑτέρας ταχέως ἐγένοντο γνώμης, ὑφορώμενοι τὸν προεστῶτα κίνδυνον· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἀτυχήματα, ἐφ' ὁμοίαις πράξεσι τὰ ὅμοια πεποιηκότες | τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἤγαγον δεδεμένον χεῖρας καὶ B 71 πόδας. ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ οὗτός γε πεπονθέναι βιαζόμενος τῷ πατρὶ τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν.

20. Οὐ μὴν ἐπαύοντο, τούτων οὕτω καθυπαντησάντων, αἱ κατὰ Θρᾴκην πόλεις παράλιοι, τό τε Πάνιον καὶ Ἡράκλεια, τὰ τοῦ τυράννου φρονοῦσαι· τοσοῦτον ἄρα μῖσος κατὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ πᾶσιν ἐνέφυ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων μὲν ἴσως, πολλῷ δὲ πλέον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν κατὰ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων ἀναρριπισθέντα καταλῦσαι <πόλεμον>. πλὴν ταύταις πλησιάσας, τὸ μὲν σεισμοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τε καὶ τοῦ τείχους καταβληθέντος ἡ εἰς αὐτὸ πάροδος ἀκμητὶ γέγονε τῷ Μιχαήλ· ἡ δ' Ἡράκλεια καὶ ὣς ἀντέχουσα, ὅμως ἐκ τῶν τῆς θαλάττης μερῶν κατακυριευθεῖσα, ἁλίσκεται καὶ αὕτη ἀναιμωτί, καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν τὰ τοῦ τυράννου

20.5–6 : primo vere a. 824 expugnatio Panii et Heracleiae accidit

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Cap. 20: Epist ad Ludovicum 477.24–25, 477.36–478.8; Gen 31.64–32.80 | Scyl 40.76–41.95

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38 πόλεμος edd 41 ῥοῦν : νοῦν B edd Boor 42 ἀγγενεῖ V 45 ἐξέπλει: ἐξέβη B in marg. 45 τινὰς V 47 αὐξανόμενος edd 49 μετὰ V Comb 49 Βύζεις V 53 ταὐτὰ Bekk : ταῦτα V Comb 53 γε Boor : τε V : δέ τε Comb : delendum putavit Bekk **20.**1 καθ' ὑπαντησάντων V 1 αἱ om. edd 3 φρονοῦσαι nos e Scyl 40.78 : φρονῆσαι V edd Boor 3 ἆρα V 5 πόλεμον vel διωγμόν coni. Comb in marg. : apud V deest 6 τὸ μὲν V : τοῦ μὲν edd : τῇ μὲν coni. Bekk in app. : τῷ μὲν Boor 6 ἐπιγινομένου B edd 6 τε καὶ τοῦ τ. nos, cf. Gen 31.68 τό τε τεῖχος : καί τι τοῦ τ. V : καίτοι τοῦ B : καὶ τοῦ τ. edd Boor 7 ante καταβληθέντος add. τοῦ Πανίου edd e Scyl 41.80 τὸ μὲν Πάνιον 8 ἐκ τῶν Boor e Scyl 41.81 ἀπὸ τῶν – μερῶν et Gen 32.73 ἐκ τοῦ – μέρους : τῶν ἐκ V edd

this occurred through a difference and change within himself for the worse, or with the change in the position of those waging war against him, is of little importance. For so long as he was in the midst of his war, which he had kindled with bold and stubborn will, and he was in doubt of the strength of his affairs, his actions were no less sound than his words, and his affairs proceeded apace. But after he had subdued nearly all Asia and he crossed over into Europe with no ignoble intention, finding no one to oppose him, because he was a man with origins not in reason and culture but in rude and rustic company, he was inflamed and puffed up, and he went out of his mind, he contracted and multiplied love affairs and intemperate marriages through daily drunkenness and revelry. However, concerning the contributing factors of these matters we leave others to think otherwise if they do not want to follow our opinions. But enough about this. As for the men from Byze, they quickly changed their minds, being wary of the impending danger. For no sooner had they learnt of Thomas's misfortunes than they did likewise under like circumstances, delivering Anastasius bound hand and foot; and being forced to suffer the same punishment as his father, he too left this life.

20. Now, although these things had come to pass, the maritime cities of Thrace Panion and Heracleia did not cease in their allegiance to the cause of the usurper. Such was the hatred that all had conceived for Michael, perhaps for other reasons as well, but much more because he was unwilling to end the war which had been kindled against the holy images. However, upon approaching these cities, Michael entered the first without toil after an earthquake occurred and the wall was thrown down. Heracleia, however, resisted; but being overpowered from the side of the sea it too fell captive without blood and switched from the side of the usurper, pledging faith to the em-

ἀπαλλάττεται, πίστιν δεδωκυῖα τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Θωμᾶν συμβεβηκότα τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος ἐκ τῆς εἰρημένης ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὕτως τροπαιοφόρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν κατ᾽ ἤπειρον ἔρχεται πόλεων, οὐδὲν ἕτερον κατὰ τῶν ἀποστασιωτῶν ἐννοήσας ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμιλλητηρίου θέας ἐπὶ τούτῳ γεγενημένης ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δεδεμένους ποιῆσαι διελθεῖν καὶ ὑπερορίους τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους γενέσθαι.

Αὐτίκα γοῦν καὶ πρὸς Χοιρέαν, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ πρὸς Γαζαρηνὸν τὸν Κολωνιάτην, ἀνθρώπους μὲν ὄντας καὶ πιστὰ φυλάττοντας τῷ Θωμᾷ, | f. 24r κατέχοντος δὲ τοῦ μὲν τὴν Καβάλαν τοῦ | Χοιρέα, τοῦ Γαζαρηνοῦ δὲ τὴν B 72 Σανιάναν, καὶ πολλὰς ἐκεῖθεν ποιούντων καταδρομάς, καὶ λῃστρικῶς ζῶντάς τε καὶ τυραννικῶς, χρυσοβούλλιον ἐκπέμπει ὁ Μιχαήλ, τιμὰς μεγάλας τὰς τῶν μαγίστρων καθυπισχνούμενος καὶ ἀμνηστίαν κακῶν, καὶ δῆλον τὸν τοῦ Θωμᾶ θάνατον τούτοις ποιῶν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισεν ὁ ἀποσταλείς, ἀλαζόνας ὄντας τε καὶ ἀτίθασσον κεκτημένους ψυχήν· ἑτέρους δέ τινας τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων κλέψας καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πίστιν μεταθεὶς ἔπεισεν ἐξελθόντας πρὸς τὰς συνήθεις λῃστείας ἀποκλεῖσαι τούτοις τὰς τῶν τειχῶν πύλας καὶ λόγου καταλελοιπέναι χωρίς. ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὡς εὗρον κεκλεισμένας τὰς πύλας, τὴν ἐπὶ Συρίαν ἔσπευδον διανύσαι ὁδόν, τῷ φόβῳ βαλλόμενοι. ζῶντες δὲ ὅμως ἁλόντες τῷ ξύλῳ ἀνήρτηνται καὶ τοῦ βίου ἔξωθεν γίνονται. ἄξιον δὲ μὴ δὲ τοῦτο παραδραμεῖν, ὅπως ὁ Γαζαρηνὸς προδέδοτο καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀποκέκλειστο. ἄνδρα τινὰ ἀγροῖκον ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς δεξιωσάμενος φωνῆς ἐπιμελούμενον καὶ ταῖς ᾠδαῖς τερπόμενον ἐμμελῶς ταῖς ἀνειμέναις ταύταις καὶ ἀγροικικαῖς, μέλος τι ἔπλεξεν πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου οἰκονόμον ἔχον τὴν ἀναφοράν. ἦν δὲ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν οὕτω· "ἄκουσον, κῦρι οἰκονόμε, τί λαλεῖ τὸ γυβέριν· ἐάν μοι δῷς τὴν Σανιάναν, μητροπολίτην σε ποιήσω καὶ Νεοκαισάρειάν σοι δώσω." τοῦτο πολλάκις ᾀδόμενον ἐν αἰσθήσει τούτου γενέσθαι τὸν οἰκονόμον πεποίηκεν. ὅθεν ὡς ἔγνω τὸν νοῦν τε καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνα|φοράν, ἐξελθόντος ποτὲ τοῦ Γαζαρηνοῦ ἔκλεισε B 73 κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοῦτον ἔξωθεν ἐγκατέλιπεν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπερνεφῶν τούτων πολιχνίων, καὶ οὕτω τούτων ἡ πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ κατάληψις.

20.27–28 : aestate a. 824 expugnatio Cabalae et Sanianae accidit

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10 πίστιν nos : πίστις V : πίστεις B edd Boor 11 οὕτω edd 12 κατήπειρον V 13 κατὰ τῶν ἀποστασιωτῶν Boor e Scyl 41.84 : ἐκ τῶν ἀποστασιωτῶν V : ἀπὸ στασιωτῶν edd 17 τὰ πιστὰ coni. Boor in app., cf supra II.11.31 18 κατέχοντος nos : κατέχοντας V edd : κατεχόντων Boor : 18 τοῦ μὲν : τὸν μὲν edd 20 τὲ V 20 χρυσοβούλλοιον V 25 ἐξελθόντων coni. Bekk in app. 28 ἔσπευσαν edd 29 ἀνήρτηνται : ἐξήρτηνται edd 30 ὅπω V 31 ἀπεκέκλειστο edd 31 ἄνδρά τινα V 31 ἄγροικον edd 34 κύρι V 35 λέγει Γυβέριν edd 36 ἄκουσε κὺρ οἰκόνομε / τὸν Γυβέριν, τί σου λέγει · / ἂν μου δῷς τὴν Σανιάναν, / μητροπολίτην σε ποίσω / Νεοκεαισάρειαν σου δώσω restituit Krumbacher, Gesch. d. byz. Lit. 793 37 τούτου : τοῦτον edd 37 τὲ V 38 ἔκλεισεν edd 40 ὑπὲρ νεφῶν V

peror. Thus did the events surrounding Thomas, having begun as has been recounted, come to an end, and the emperor thus returned victorious from the cities on the mainland; nor did he devise anything else against the rebels other than to make them progress with hands tied behind their back at the races which were held on this occasion in the Hippodrome, and to exile the most guilty of them.

Forthwith he sent a chrysobull to Choireas as well as to Gazarenos Koloniates, who had been Thomas's men and kept faith and possessions for him, Choireas holding Kavala and Gazarenos Saniana, making many incursions from thence and living as thieves and usurpers. Michael promised them great rank as magistroi and amnesty for their wrongs, announcing to them Thomas's death. But the man dispatched did not convince them, they who were scoundrels possessed of wild souls; however, he won over some of their subordinates and, bringing them to the side of the emperor, persuaded them that, as they were going out of the city on their habitual raids, they should shut the gates of the walls against these two and abandon them without saying anything. And so it came to pass. When they found the gates shut they hastened to make their way on the road to Syria, overwhelmed by fear. But captured alive they were hung on the furca and departed from this life. Nor would it be right to omit this account of how Gazarenos was betrayed and shut out outside the walls. The man dispatched by Michael paid honour to a rustic fellow who cultivated his voice and delighted melodiously in relaxed and rustic strains, and he composed a song with allusion to Gazarenos's steward. It went thus, word for word: 'Listen here, Lord Steward, to what the guv'nor says: "If you give me Saniana, I'll make you metropolitan and give you Neocesarea".' Having sung this many times, he made the steward conscious of it. Thus, after the other had understood the sense and allusion to affairs, when Gazarenos once went out of the city, he shut the gates against him and left him outside. – So much for these towns above the clouds, and thus was their re-capture by Michael.

20bis. Οὐκ ἔμελλε δὲ ἄχρι τούτων ἡ φορά πως <στήσεσθαι τῶν κα-
κῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν δύο ἠπείρων, Ἀσίας φαμὲν καὶ Εὐρώπης>, οἷόν τινος κε-
φαλῆς καὶ οὐρᾶς, εἰ καὶ μὴ συνίεσαν, παιδευθέντων φόνοις, ἐμπρησμοῖς,
σεισμοῖς, ἁρπαγαῖς, ἐμφυλίοις καταδρομαῖς, πόλεων ἀνελπίστοις μεταβο-
λαῖς, σημείοις ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, τέλος καὶ τὰς ταλαιπώρους νήσους οἷόν τινα
μέσην, ἵν’ ὁλόσωμος εἴη ἡ πληγή, ἐπέ|δραμε τὰ δεινά. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦν παι- f. 24v
δεῦσαι τοὺς τὴν θεάνθρωπον ἐξηρνημένους μορφὴν προσκυνεῖν.

21. Ὅθεν ἄρτι δὴ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἄρξαντος νεωτερισμοῦ, ἐπεὶ
ταῦτα ἤκουστο πανταχοῦ, οἱ τὸν ἑσπέριον κόλπον τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ
Ὠκεανῷ γειτονοῦντα Ἀγαρηνοὶ κατοικοῦντες – Ἰσπάνους τούτους ὁ
πολὺς ῥεύσας χρόνος μετωνόμασεν –, εἰς πλῆθος σωμάτων καὶ εὐθηνίαν
τοῦ γένους ἐληλακότος, τὴν κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἑσπέριον πλευρὰν λυπρὰν οὖ-
σαν καὶ μετρίως εὐδαίμονα ὁρῶντες, καὶ λειπομένην μὲν τῆς πρὸς γῆν
ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀφθονίας κατὰ πολύ, ἐνδέουσαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο <τὸ>
ἑῷον τῆς Ἰβηρίας καὶ νότιον – οὐ γὰρ ἅπασα πρὸς πᾶσαν γῆς ἀρετὴν
ἐπιτηδεία καὶ εὔφορος, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἑσπερίου πλευρᾶς, ὡς εἴρηται, | B 74
αὐχμηρόν τε καὶ λυπρότερον τῆς λοιπῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ τρέφειν δυ-
ναμένης αὐτοὺς καὶ διοικεῖν ἄνδρας σώμασιν εὐμεγέθεσι χρωμένους καὶ
ἀγαθῶν εὐφορίᾳ ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐνδείᾳ αὔξαν<ο>μένους –, οὗτοι γοῦν προσ-
ελθόντες Ἀπόχαψ τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἀμερμουμνῇ ἀποικίαν τινὰ καὶ γῆς μετανά-
στασιν ᾔτουν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, πλήθει τε στενοχωρουμένοις καὶ ἀναγ-
καίων σπάνει πιεζομένοις. ὁ δὲ πλοῖά τινα ἐπισκευάσας μακρά, καὶ
δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτοις ἐμβιβάσας, ἐπὶ ληστείαν, τέως λαν-
θάνουσαν ἔχων τὴν ἔννοιαν, τῶν πρὸς τῇ ἕῳ κειμένων νήσων καὶ
ἡμετέρων τυγχανόντων ἐτράπετο, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὸ αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμούμενον

Cap. 20bis: | Scyl 41.1–42.9 Cap. 21: GeorgMon 798.1–3; Vita Theodorae 263.9–11; DAI 94.1–96.48; Gen 32.81–33.11; Log A 215.29–35 | PsSym 621.20–23, 622.8–20; Scyl 42.1–43.52

20bis.1 πως om. edd 2 <στήσεσθαι – Εὐρώπης> nos e Scyl. 41.2–3 : om. V propter homoeoteleuton inter φορά πως et Εὐρώπης : <στήσεσθαι – Εὐρώπης, ἐν θυμῷ κυρίου> add. edd Boor itidem e Scyl. 41.2–3, sed verba ἐν θυμῷ κυρίου additionem Scylitzae putamus 3 παιδευθεισῶν Scyl 41.4 4 ἐμφυλίων edd Boor 5 post σημείοις ἐξ οὐρανοῦ add. σημείοις ἐξ ἀέρος edd e Scyl 41.6 5 τὰς ταλαιπώρους νήσους propter concordantiam cum τινα μέσην coniecimus, cf. Scyl 41.6–7 (E) : ταῖς ταλαιπώροις νήσοις V edd Boor, cf. Scyl (ACOVBMNU) **21.**1 νεωτεροισμοῦ V 2 ἠκούετο in marg. corr. B, edd, cf. Scyl 42.10 3 γειτονοῦντα (–τα manus prima corr. ex –τι) V : γειτονοῦντι B : γειτονοῦντες edd 3 Ἱσ-πάνους Bekk 4 μετ ὠνόμασεν V 5 ἐξηλακότες edd 7 ἀυτὸ τοῦτο <τὸ> coni. Kamb, cf. supra II.16.16 : αὐτὸ τοῦτο V edd Boor : αὐτὸ τὸ coni. Bekk in marg. 10 οὐδὲ : οὔτε edd 11 δυναμένην Boor e Scyl 42.14 12 αὐξανμένους (sic) V : αὐξαμένους Comb 13 ἀμερμουμνεὶ V 15 πλοῖα τινὰ V 16 τούτοις nos e Scyl 42.18 : τούτων V edd Boor 17 ληστείαν, τέως λανθάνουσαν nos : post ληστείαν τέως punxerunt V edd Boor 17 ἔχων edd Boor e Scyl 42.19 : ἔχον V 17 ἔνοιαν V 17 πρὸς τῇ : πρὸς τὴν Scyl 42.19–20 18 ἡμέτετερων V

20bis. But the onrush of woes was not in some wise <to stop with these things. After the two continents of Asia and Europe – the head and tail, as it were –> had been given instruction (even if they did not understand) by killings, fires, earthquakes, raids, civil wars, unexpected upheavals of cities and signs from heaven, the calamities finally also overran the wretched islands – the trunk, as it were – so that the plague might affect the whole body. But it was impossible to give instruction to those who had renounced the worship of the divine-human form.

21. On this account, no sooner had Thomas's rebellion begun than the news of it was heard everywhere, and the Hagarenes who inhabited the western gulf of Iberia bordering on the Ocean – over the long course of time they have received the name of Spaniards – and attained multitude of population and abundance of offspring, saw that their western side of the land was poor and but moderately prosperous, greatly lacking in productivity and plentitude of the earth, and inferior even to the east and south of Iberia in this respect. For none of Iberia is suited or conducive to productivity of the earth, but the nature of this western side, as has been said, is dry and poorer than the rest; and for this reason it could not sustain and nourish these Hagarenes, men who developed large bodies and grew strong through abundance, not want of goods. These men, therefore, went to their amermoumnes Apochaps and asked that they might migrate and settle in another land, since they were cramped in their multitude and oppressed by the shortage of necessities. The amermoumnes constructed a number of long ships and, fitting them out with no small contingent of these men, set out on a raid of the islands lying to the east which belonged to us. For the while he kept his intention secret: on the

ἐκπληρῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τούτους προσκορεννύς, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ κατασκεψόμενος εἴ τίς ἐστιν οὕτως εὔφορος τῶν νήσων καὶ λιπαρὰ ὡς <πρὸς> μετοικίαν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ γοῦν πολλαῖς τῶν νήσων πλησιάζων τὸν ἀντιπαραταττόμενον μικρῷ ἢ μεγάλῳ πλοίῳ οὐχ εὕρισκεν –ἐχηροῦντο γὰρ πᾶσαι τῆς αὐτῶν βοηθείας, ἄρτι κατὰ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκβοηθουσῶν τε καὶ πλεουσῶν μετὰ τοῦ Θωμᾶ–, μεγάλας δὲ ὠφελείας ἐκ πασῶν, αἷς καὶ προσώρμιζεν, ἐκαρποῦτό τε καὶ ἐλάμβανεν, ἧκε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κρηταιεῖς, καὶ τούτους καταδραμὼν καὶ λείαν ποιήσας καὶ ἀνδραποδισάμενος, ὡς ἐνῆν, καὶ πάντοθεν καταμαθὼν τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετήν, καὶ ὡς εἴη πρὸς πᾶσαν χάριν | καὶ ἀγαθῶν εὔφορος ἀφθονίαν, “τοῦτο”, ἔφη, “γῆ οὐκ f. 25r ἄλλη ἢ ἡ ῥέουσα μέλι καὶ γάλα”. καὶ τότε μὲν παντοίων γενόμενος <ἐγκρατὴς> ἀγαθῶν | ἀπῄει τὴν οἴκαδε, καὶ πάσῃ χειρὶ καὶ δυνάμει ναυτικὸν B 75 ἐξήρτυεν· ὡς δ’ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτετελείωτο καὶ τὸ ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπεν, τεσσαράκοντα πληρώσας ναῦς καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἄνεμον ἐπιτηρήσας τὴν ἐπὶ Κρήτην ἐστέλλετο εὐθυπορῶν, τὰς ἄλλας τῶν νήσων θέμενος εἰς οὐδέν. ἄρτι γοῦν ἐπλησίαζε, καὶ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῷ Χάρακι καλουμένῳ κατήγετό τε καὶ προσωρμίζετο. ὡς δ’ οὔτε κατὰ τὴν καταγωγὴν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐφάνη <τι> τούτοις τῶν ἀπευκτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς λείας χωροῦσι καὶ πρὸς ἁρπαγάς, εὐχερῶς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τε καὶ ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐπεραίνετο, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιτηδείους εἰς τὰς συνήθεις προνομὰς ἀπέστελλε δουλαγωγήσοντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔχων, ἄρτι δὴ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπακμάζοντος κἀκείνων ἅμα πορρωτέρω σταδίων δέκα ἢ καὶ δεκαπέντε γενομένων, πῦρ ἐμβαλὼν <ταῖς ναυσὶν> ἁπάσας ἐγκατέφλεξε, φεισάμενος τὸ παράπαν οὐδεμιᾶς. τέως μὲν οὖν τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος καταπλαγέντες ἅπας δὴ ὁ στρατός, καὶ γὰρ ἐπαλινόστουν εὐθέως ἐκδειματούμενοι, τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπυνθάνοντο καὶ εἰς λόγους ἦλθον νεωτερικούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατήκουσαν ἃ πάλαι ὠδίνοντο, ὡς “αὐτοί τε τούτων ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, ἀποικίαν ζητοῦντες καὶ γῆν ἀγαθήν, ἐμοί

21.22–24 : ca. a. 821 Creta propter expugnationem Constantinopolis a Thoma a classe Byzantina desserta est, cf. Signes 2014, 200–208 34–35 : ca. a. 822 Andalusiae Arabes in Creta apud Characem naves applicaverunt

||28–29 Ex 3.8

19 καὶ om. edd 20 κατασκεψάμενος Comb 20 εἴ τις ἐστὶν V : εἴ τις ἔστιν edd 20 πρὸς coni. Kamb, cf. infra II.23.5 : ὡς V : εἰς edd : Boor locum corruptum putavit et ὡς ἐπιτηδείαν εἶναι πρὸς in app. coni. e Scyl 42.22 πρὸς μετοικίαν ἐπιτήδεια 22 ἀντιἀντιπαραταττόμενον (ἀντι prius expunctum) 24 τε om. edd 25 ἐκ καρποῦτό V 25 ἧκε V 27 ὡς : πῶς edd 28 ἔφῆ V 30 <ἐγκρατὴς> addidimus, cf. supra II.18.10 : fortasse κύριος sive πλήρης supplendum putavit Boor 31 ἐτελείωτο V 32 post ναῦς add. ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων edd e Scyl 42.32–33 33 εὐθυπορῶν edd Boor : εὐθυπρρῶν (sic) V: εὐθυπορρῶν B 35 ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν οὔτε edd e Scyl 42.35 36 ἀπόφασιν V 36 τι add. Boor 37 ἀρπαγὰς V 41 καὶ om. edd 41 ταῖς ναυσὶν suppl. edd Boor e Scyl 43.40, cf. Gen 32.1 ταύταις 42 κατέφλεξε edd 45 ὠδύνοντο Comb, sed cf. Scyl 43.43 ὤδινον 46 ἡμεῖς edd Boor : ὑμεῖς V 46 αἴτιοι om. edd

one hand he was fulfilling the men's desire and satiating them at the expense of foreigners, but he would also observe whether any of the islands was fertile and rich enough for their migration. Coming, then, to many islands and finding neither small nor great ship to oppose him – for all the islands were deprived of the aid of ships, which were now sailing with Thomas and aiding the campaign against Constantinople –, Apochaps reaped and took away great spoils from all on which he set anchor. He came also to the Cretans, and pillaged them and took booty and slaves to the extent possible; and seeing everywhere the goodness of the land, and that it was generous in every grace and abundance of all good things, he said, 'This is none other than the *land flowing with of honey and milk*!'. Then taking his fill [?] of all manner of good things he returned home and fitted out a fleet with all his men and forces; and when winter had ended and the light of spring began to shine, he filled forty ships and, waiting for a suitable wind, sailed to Crete with ease, scorning all the other islands. Straightway on arriving he approached the promontory called Charax and set anchor. Since nothing on disembarking and landing seemed to them untoward but, rather, they went off to pillage and plunder, Apochaps easily effected his design and purpose. He dispatched those who were fit on the usual plundering expedition to make captives of the enemy, whilst retaining the rest with him; and when the others, with keen spirit, had proceeded more than ten or even fifteen stadia, he set fire to the ships and burnt them all, sparing not a one. At first the whole army was struck by this unexpected thing, and in trepidation they returned at once, asking the reason and using rough speech; but then they heard the things that they had bewailed formerly: 'You yourselves are to blame for these things, you who sought migration and good land, and none seemed to me better than this. I have come

τε ταύτης οὐδετέρα κρείττων νενόμισται· εἰς ταύτην ἦλθον ὁδὸν ὑμῖν τε ἀγαθὰ προξενῶν καὶ ἐμὲ τῆς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀπαλλάττων ὀχλήσεως", ὡς δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐμέμνηντο καὶ παίδων οὐκ ὠλιγώρουν, "καὶ γυναῖκες", ἔφη, "ὧδε ὑμέτεραι αἱ αἰχμα|λωτιζόμεναι, καὶ παῖδες οὐ μετὰ μακρὸν ἐξ B 76 αὐτῶν"· ὅθεν τοῖς τοιούτοις κατασιγασθέντες λόγοις, καὶ ἀποδοχῆς κρίναντες τὰ λεγόμενα, τάφρον μὲν ἤγειραν πρῶτον βαθεῖαν, καὶ χάρακας ἐν ταύτῃ καταπήξαντες – ἔνθα καὶ νῦν λαβὼν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν <ὁ τόπος> σώζει τὴν προσηγορίαν –, ἐκεῖσε διενυκτέρευον, φυλακάς τε τὰς προσηκούσας ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας αὐτῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀποθησαυρίζοντες.

22. Χρόνος δὲ ἐρρύη πολὺς οὐδαμῶς, καὶ πάντα τὸν βασιλέα ἡ φήμη ἐδίδαξε. καὶ δὴ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Φωτεινόν, πρόπαππον μὲν Ζωῆς τῆς ἐν μα|καρίᾳ τῇ λήξει θεοστέπτου αὐγούστης τυγχάνοντα, στρατη- f. 25v γοῦντα δὲ τηνικαῦτα τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, τὰ τῆς Κρήτης ἅπαντα διοικεῖν προεβάλλετο· ὃς ἐκεῖσε παραγενόμενος, καὶ τῶν μὲν γενόμενος θεατὴς τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀκροατής, τρανότερον ἀνεδίδασκε τὸν Μιχαὴλ τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ δύναμίν τινα ἠξίου ἐκπέμπειν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποσοβήσουσαν τοὺς Ἀγαρηνούς. Δαμιανὸν γοῦν κόμητα ὄντα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἱπποστασίου καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παρασκευῆς ὁ βασιλεύων ἀπέστειλεν εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Φωτεινοῦ· οἳ καὶ ἑνωθέντες τὸν μὲν κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν πόλεμον ἔστησαν, εἰς οὐδὲν δὲ χρήσιμον τὸ τέλος ἐνέσκηψεν. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ προρρηθεὶς Δαμιανὸς κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς τραυματίας πεσὼν καὶ σφαγῇ παραδοθεὶς τοὺς λοιποὺς οὐ νικᾶν καὶ μένειν ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἐποίησεν ἡττημένους· καθ' ἣν τροπὴν καὶ ὁ Φωτεινὸς ἐν μονερίῳ μόλις διασώζεται πρὸς τὴν | Δίαν καὶ τῷ βα- B 77 σιλεῖ τῶν πραχθέντων αὐτάγγελος γίνεται.

23. Ἀλλ'οὗτος μέν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἦγετο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀεί, τὴν τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγίδα αὖθις τῆς Κρήτης ἀλλάσσεται· τοῖς δ' Ἰσπανίοις ἔτι πως ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ μερίμνῃ διάγουσιν ἀνήρ τις ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τῆς νήσου ἐπικαταβὰς μοναστὴς ἄλλον ἔφησεν εἶναι τόπον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδειό-

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22.5 : ca. 823 Photeinus in Cretam cum classe perrexit

Cap. 22: Scyl 43.53–65 Cap. 23: Gen 33.11–21, 33.28–34.35 | PsSym 622.20–623.8, 624.5–8; Scyl 43.65–44.76

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47 οὐδ' ἑτέρα V 47 ὥστε εἰς coni. Bekk in app. 50 οὐ μετὰ μικρὸν edd Boor cf. Scyl 43.48 : οὐ μετὰ μικρῶν V : οὐ μετὰ μακρὸν coni. Bekk in app. 51 ἀποδοχῆς ἄξια edd e Scyl 43.49 52 χάρακα edd 53 ὁ τόπος add. edd Boor e Gen 33.11 et Scyl 43.51 54 σώζει edd : σώζειν V 54 post προσηγορίαν add. Χάνδαξ ὀνομαζόμενος edd Boor e Scyl 43.52 54 φυλακὰς τὲ V **22.**5 προεβάλετο Bekk Boor 7 δύναμιν τινὰ V 8 Ἀγαρηνοὺς coni. Boor : ἀγροὺς V : ἐχθρούς edd e Scyl 43.57 9 πρωτοσπαθαρίου V 11 τὸν edd Boor : τῶν V 13 τοὺς λοιποὺς edd Boor : τοῖς λοιποῖς V 15 μονηρίῳ Bekk Boor 16 πραθέντων V 16 αὐτ' ἄγγελος V **23.**1 διατιμῆς V 2 στρατηγῖδα V 2 Ἱσπανίοις Bekk 3 ἀνὴρ τίς V

this way both in order to provide you with bounties and to relieve myself of your distress.' And when they mentioned their wives and made no small account of their children, he said, 'Are the captives of war not your wives here, and will there not be children soon from them?' Thereupon, silenced by such speech and considering what had been said as an agreement, they first constructed a deep trench, and then fixing a palisade in it – from whence <the place> preserves the name even now – they passed the night there; and there they also set the appropriate guards and stored up their spoils of war.

22. No long time had gone by before rumour had informed the emperor of everything. At length he gave the charge of administering Crete to the protospatharios Photeinos, great-grandfather of the God-crowned augusta Zoe of pious memory, who was then general of the Anatolics. Arriving there, he observed certain things and heard of others; and informing Michael more clearly of what was going on, he asked him to dispatch some sort of force which would scare the Hagarenes away. The emperor then sent Damian, comes of the imperial stable, with a great force and equipment to the aid of the general Photeinos. And joining forces these latter made war on the Hagarenes, but it came to no useful end. For the aforementioned Damian fell wounded at the outset of the battle and was given over to slaughter, causing the rest not to conquer and remain, but to flee defeated. Upon this turn of events Photeinos also barely escaped in a boat to Dia, and he reported to the emperor in person what had happened.

23. Now, as for Photeinos, because he was always held in honour by the emperor, he exchanged the generalship in Crete for that in Sicily. But the Spaniards, still somehow in confusion and turmoil, were told by a certain monk who had came down from the mountains of the island that there was

τερον πρός τε πολίσματος κτίσιν καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς διαρκείας καὶ ἐπικρατείας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἅμα λέγων τὸν Χάνδακα τούτοις ἐπέδειξεν, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔκτισται ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡγεμὼν [ταύτης] ὁ Ἀπόχαψ τότε ἐγεγόνει αὐτῆς. ἐκ ταύτης οὖν οἱόν τινος ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως ὁρμώμενοι πᾶσάν τε ταύτην τὴν νῆσον κατέτρεχον καί τινας τῶν παρακειμένων οὐκ ἔλαττον, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκατοικῆσαι αὐτούς, τοὺς οἰκήτορας καὶ αὐτόχθονας δουλωσάμενοι. καὶ πόλεις δὲ Κρήσσας ἐννέα πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσιν εὔζωνοί τε καὶ πεζοὶ ᾐχμαλώτευσαν, μιᾶς ἔκτοτε μόνης παραμεινάσης ἀναλώτου καὶ ἀπαθοῦς, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν ὑποταγείσης, τὰ ἑαυτῶν δὲ ἔθιμα καὶ τὸν χριστιανισμὸν φυλαττούσης ἀλώβητον. τότε δὴ τότε καὶ Κύριλλος ὁ Γορτύνης πρόεδρος, ἐπεὶ μὴ τούτοις εἰς ἄρ|νησιν ἐχώρει Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἱερεῖον f. 26r ἄμωμον ἐσφαγίαστο· οὗ καὶ τὸ αἷμα βοᾷ μένον ὡς τοῦ Ἄβελ ἢ καὶ Ζαχαρίου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναλλοίωτον· καὶ μύρον μὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἔστιν ἀρύσασθαι τοῖς πιστοῖς σπόγγοις τισὶν ἐναποματτόμενον, τὴν δὲ βαφὴν τοῦ αἵματος ἀλλοιῶσαι οὐ πρόσεστιν. προσέτι μὴν αὐτόθι σοροί, καὶ τάφος ἀνεγήγερται ἄλλων τε πολλῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τότε μαρτυρησάντων καὶ τῶν | δέκα περιωνύμων μαρτύρων. τοιούτῳ γοῦν τρόπῳ καὶ B 78 κατὰ τοῦτον ἀνηρπάσθησαν τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ μέσου τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἱ Κρηταιεῖς.

24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις τοὺς περικυκλοῦντας τοῦτον ἐχθροὺς καὶ περικτυποῦντας ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἀπεσείσατο, δέον πρὸς θεὸν τραπέσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἐξευμενίσασθαι, ἵλεω διὰ τῶν ἔργων ποιῶν, ὁ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἢ ὡς οἱ πολιτικοὶ θεσμοὶ βούλονται, ὡς οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ δὲ σωθείς, ἔπραττέ τε καὶ πεπολίτευτο. τῆς γαμετῆς γοῦν τελευτησάσης αὐτοῦ, καὶ δόξαν θέλοντος κατασχεῖν τῶν πολλῶν ὡς πένθος ἄληστον ἔχει αὐτῆς, τὴν σύγκλητον ἐποίει διά τινων μηνυμάτων κρυφίων καὶ μυστικῶν αἱρήσασθαι τοῦτον πεῖσαι γυναικὶ αὖθις ζευχθῆναι, καὶ οὐ παρακαλέσαι μόνον πρὸς τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ βιάσασθαι, καὶ εἰς ἐπανάστασιν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, χωρῆσαι αὐτούς· "οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οἷον ἄνευ γυναικός", φάσκειν, "βασιλέα τε ζῆν καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας στερεῖσθαι γαμετὰς δεσποίνης καὶ βασιλίδος". ἐπέπειστο γοῦν ὀψὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπιπλάστων λόγων, οὓς τῷ χρόνῳ

23.7–8 : usque ad a. 854 Apochaps in Creta regnavit

|| 16–17 Matt 23.35–36, Luc 11.50–51 Cap. 24: Theod Stud Epist 514; Gen 35.70–73; Log A 214.11–12 | PsSym 620.9–11; Scyl 44.77–1

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6 λέγων Boor e Scyl 44.69 : λαβὼν V edd 6 ὑπέδειξε Scyl 44.70 7 ταύτης seclusimus, ut e sequente anticipatum : αὐτῆς edd 8 πᾶσαν τὲ V 11 Κρήσσας Boor e Gen 33.17 : Κρήσας V : Κρήτης edd 13 ἔθημα V 14 τότε δὴ τότε V : τότε edd 14 Κύρι ἄλλος V 17 ἐστὶν V 18 ἀρρύσασθαι V Comb 19 πρόσεστιν errorem librarii propter similitudinem cum seq. προσέτι putavit Boor 19 πρὸς ἔτι V 19 τάφοι edd **24.**4 βούλονται edd Boor : βούλωνται V 5 τε edd : το V 5 ἐπεπολίτευτο edd 6 κατασχεὶν V 10 γένοιτο : γένηται edd 10 γυναικὸς ἄνευ edd

another place more suited to them for the foundation of a city and their further continuance and dominion. And whilst he talked he directed them to Chandax, where their city is built still now; and Apochaps then became its ruler. Starting from this city then, as from some acropolis, they overran the whole island and several of those lying nearby no less, so that they settled to live on them, enslaving the inhabitants and natives. In light armour and on foot they captured twenty-nine Cretan cities. One alone remained from that time impregnable and unscathed; even if subjected in word, it nevertheless preserved its customs and Christian religion intact. It was at this same time that Cyril, bishop of Gortyne, because he would not yield to them by renouncing Christ, was slaughtered as a blameless victim. His blood cries out to God, remaining unchangeable, as that of Abel and Zachariah. It is possible for the faithful to draw off from there sweet oil soaked up in sponges, but it is impossible to change the tinge of the blood. Moreover, there were graves there, and a tomb was erected for the many others who died at that time as martyrs for the sake of Christ and the far-famed Ten Martyrs. It was in such wise and at this time that the Cretans were snatched away from the midst of the Christians.

24. Now, when Michael had at length rid himself of the enemies who surrounded him with furious clamour, he ought to have turned to God and propitiated Him, making Him merciful through good deeds. But instead, as if he had been preserved not by Him, but by himself, he acted and administered the state in a manner contrary to that which the rules of statecraft require. When his wife died, because he wanted it to be the opinion of the many that he was stricken with inconsolable grief for her, he induced the Senate, through secret and private messages, to persuade him to choose again to marry a woman – and not only to bid, but also to constrain him to do this; and unless this was done, they would proceed to rebellion. 'For it is impossible,' he had them say, 'to live as emperor without a wife, and to deprive our spouses of a mistress and empress.' Thus at length he was persuaded by these

λαθεῖν οὐκ ἦν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν χειρόγραφα ὑπὲρ τῶν μήτε ὄντων μήτε ἐσομένων πᾶσαν ἀπῄτει χεῖρα, ὡς αὐτήν τε τὴν ἐσομένην αὐτῷ γαμετὴν καὶ τὰ ἐκ ταύτης ἔκγονα ὑπερασπίζειν καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖν μετὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ μὴ παύσαιντο θάνατον, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνην τε καὶ ἐκείνους βασιλέας ἔχοιεν καὶ δέσποιναν, ὡς εἰκός. οὕτως οὐ τοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ | καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν B 79 ᾤετο κατακρατήσειν αἰῶνος, δέον πάντα ἐκ θεοῦ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων ἀναρτῆσαι χειρί, δι' ὃν βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι καὶ τύραννοι κρατοῦσι γῆς. πλὴν ὑπέκυπτεν ὁ πάσης κυριεύων γῆς προστάγματι τῷ συγκλητικῷ, καὶ συνάπτεσθαι ἄκων ἠνείχετο ὁ σώφρονα βίον ἀνῃρημένος. ἤγετο οὖν πρὸς γάμον οὐ τήνδε ἢ τήνδε, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκά τινα πάλαι τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀπο|στέρξασαν, Χριστῷ δὲ νυμφευθεῖσαν καὶ ἀσκήσεσιν ἐκ παιδὸς f. 26v κατὰ τὴν ἐν Πριγκίπῳ νήσῳ μονὴν σχολάσασαν καὶ προσανέχουσαν τῷ θεῷ· Εὐφροσύνη ταύτης ἡ κλῆσις, καὶ πατρὸς ἐσεμνύνετο Κωνσταντίνου εἶναι, τοῦ δικαίᾳ κρίσει τὴν τύφλωσιν ὑπομεμενηκότος παρὰ μητρός. ταῦτα μὲν ἐξεπέραινεν, καὶ ἵλεω δι' αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο ἀλλὰ καὶ παρώργιζε τὸν θεόν.

25. Καὶ κατὰ τῶν τὴν Κρήτην δὲ καταλαβόντων καὶ λυμαινομένων αὖθις ἐπαποστέλλει στρατόν· Κρατερὸς ὄνομα τῷ στρατηγέτῃ, ὃς τηνικαῦτα τὴν τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν διέπων στρατηγίδα, ἑβδομήκοντα ναῦς διήρεις τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ πάντων τῶν θεματικῶν λαβών, βρέμων ἅμα καὶ πολλῷ φρονήματι παρενέβαλεν. καὶ ἐπείπερ οὐδ' ἐκείνοις ἐδόκει ὑποστέλλεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην χωρεῖν τὴν τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις καὶ γενναιότητας ἐπιδειξομένην – καὶ γάρ εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀγαρηνῶν οὗτοι δὴ εὐφυεῖς –, συνέβαλον δὲ τολμηρῶς ἑκάτεροι κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωρήσαντες ἄρτι δὴ τοῦ ἡλίου τὰς ἀκτῖνας ὑπὲρ γῆς ἐφαπλοῦντος, οὐδέτεροι | μὲν B 80 ἄχρι μεσούσης ἡμέρας ἐνέκλιναν, ἀλλὰ γενναίως μαχόμενοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐδείκνυον ἐμπειρίαν καὶ δύναμιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πονήσαντες οἱ Κρηταιεῖς ἤδη τοῦ ἡλίου κλίναντος ἐνέδωκαν πρὸς φυγήν, τότε δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, πλείους δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντας αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, ἐκ ποδὸς ἑπόμενοι. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ σπουδάσαντες ἔλαβον τὴν πόλιν αὐθημερόν, εἰ

24.21–25 : ca. 824 Michael Euphrosynem uxorem duxit **25**.1–2 : ca. 825–826 Crateri expeditio in Cretam accidit

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||19 Prov 8.15–16 Cap. 25: Gen 34.36–60 | Scyl 45.2–27

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16 τε καὶ ἐκείνους coni. Bekk in app. : τε μετ' ἐκείνους V edd Boor : τε μετ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ αὐτοὺς coni. Boor in app. 21 συνάπτεσθαι Boor : συνθάπτεσθαι V : συνάψεσθαι edd 22 τῆνδε καὶ τῆνδε V 22 γυναῖκα τινὰ V 24 κὰ τὰ V 26 τοῦ om. edd 26 ὑπομενηκότος V 28 παρώργισε edd **25**.2 ἐπ' ἀποστέλλει V 5 παρενέλαβεν Comb 7 ἐπιδειξομένην edd : ἐπιδειξαμένην V 7 γὰρ εἰσι (sic) V 8 συνέβαλλον edd 9 ὑφαπλοῦντος V Comb 9 οὐδ' ἕτεροι V 10 ἐνέκλινον edd 14 καὶ om. edd 14 αὐθ' ἡμερὸν V

false words which in time could not escape being discovered as such. First he demanded notes in writing from every hand, on behalf of those who neither existed nor would ever exist, to the effect that even after his death they would not cease protecting and fighting for his future spouse and the children born from her, but would have her as mistress and them as emperors after him, as was fitting. Thus did he think to prevail not only over his own age but also that after him, whereas he ought to have referred everything to God and not the hands of the others; for it is *through Him that kings reign and monarchs rule the earth*. But he who was lord over all the earth bowed to the order of the Senate, and unwillingly did he who had chosen a temperate life consent to be joined in matrimony. Now, he did not marry just anyone or another, but a certain woman who had formerly renounced the world and its things, and had espoused Christ, practising asceticism from childhood and devoting herself to God in the monastery on the island of Prinkipos. Her name was Euphrosyne, and she prided herself on having as her father that Constantine who had suffered blinding by the just decree of his mother. These things did Michael accomplish; and through them did he not only not render God propitious, but brought Him to wrath.

25. Again Michael dispatched an army against those who had invaded and were causing harm on Crete. The name of the general was Krateros, who was then administrator of the theme of the Kibyrraiotes. He took seventy biremes with the men under his command and all the thematic soldiers, and clamouring he drew them up in battle order with great thought. Nor did the other side think fit to give way, but rather to engage battle, displaying their capabilities and virtues, for of all Hagarenes these are the noblest. Both sides came together, boldly rushing into the fight, just as the sun was spreading its rays over the earth; and neither side yielded until mid-day, but fighting nobly they showed their experience and strength. When however, at the setting of the sun, the Cretans were exhausted and gave way to flight, then did the Romans kill many of them; and they took even more as captives, following them on foot after they had thrown down their arms. Had they made haste, they would probably also have taken the city the same day, if night had not come and

μὴ νὺξ ἤδη φαινομένη ἀντέστρεψεν τελέως τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἀνάπαυλαν τούτοις ζητοῦσι φόνον ἀλλ’ οὐ σωτηρίαν ἀπέτεκεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἤδη νενικηκότες, καὶ πάντας αὔριον ἐν βραχεῖ βραχεῖς ὄντας ἐλπίσαντες συλλαβεῖν, πρὸς πότους καὶ τρυφάς, ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ διάγοντες, ἐξεβάκχευον, μήτε τινὸς φυλακῆς μήτ’ ἄλλης σωτηρίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν πολεμικὸν νόμον γινομένης φροντίσαντες, ὕπνου δὲ μόνου καὶ τῆς πάντα ῥᾳδίως ἀνατρεπούσης καὶ ἀπολυούσης ἀμελείας τε καὶ ῥᾳστώνης. ὅθεν περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἐπεὶ διὰ τῶν ἑαυτῶν φυλάκων ὡς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἀγρυπνοῦντες οἱ Κρηταιεῖς ὕπνῳ καὶ οἴνῳ καθῃρῆσθαι τοὺς τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς παρεμβολῆς ἀνέμαθον, αὐθωρὸν ἐξελθόν|τες μαχαίρᾳ πάντας f. 27r ἀπώλεσαν, ὡς μὴ δ’ ἄγγελον, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ὑποστρέψαι καὶ ἐκεῖθεν διασωθῆναι, ἢ μόνον τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐμπορικοῦ ἐπιβάντα πλοίου καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ζητοῦντα. πλὴν καὶ τοῦτον ἐπεὶ πανταχοῦ ὁ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἡγεμὼν ἀναζητῶν μὲν οὐχ εὕρισκε, φεύγειν δὲ διήκουεν, ὁλκάσι τοῦτον μεθ’ ἡγεμόνων ἀναζητῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν· οἳ καὶ καταλαβόντες τοῦτον ἐν Κῷ ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμάσαντες διαφθαρῆναι ἐποίησαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν | κατὰ τὴν B 81 μάχην ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα συμβεβηκότα τοιαῦτα, πολλὴν ἐνεγκόντα Ῥωμαίοις συμφοράν, οὐ τὴν ἐξ ἥττης μόνον ἐκείνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἔκτοτε ἐπικρατήσασαν καὶ διαμείνασαν πολυκέφαλον ὕδραν, ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν ἀποτεμνομένην ἀεί, ἀναθάλλουσαν δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ.

26. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνήρ τις στρατιωτικῆς πείρας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀγχινοίας οὐκ ἄμοιρος, ᾧ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ὡορύφας, στρατόν τινα ἀθροίσας τὸν τεσσαρακοντάριον τότε καλούμενον βασιλικῆς ἐκ προστάξεως, ἐκ τοῦ διανεμηθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ τεσσαράκοντα χρυσίνων, τάς τε ἄλλας νήσους, αἷς ὀλίγιστοι ἐφέροντο, κατατρέχων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν λόχους ἐπάγων τοῖς δὲ καὶ φανερῶς πολεμῶν, ἐξωλόθρευσέ τε καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ παρέδωκεν· ταύτην δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, παρέπεμψεν εἰς ἡμᾶς. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς θεῷ πάντως μελήσει, μελήσει δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν τὴν ψυχὴν δαπανῶσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς.

26.1–7 : multo post a. 853 Ooryphae expeditio in Cretam fortasse accidit, cf. Signes 1995, 330–334 et mentiones Ooryphae Basilio regnante in DAI 29.97–98, VBas 53.31–32 et 55.12–13

||25–26 Flavius Iosephus Ant. Iud. 2.344 ὡς μηδ’ ἄγγελον… ὑποστρέψαι, Diodorus Siculus 11.23.3 τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον μηδὲ ἄγγελον… διασωθῆναι Cap. 26: Gen 35.61–67 | Scyl 46.28–34

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15 ἀντέστρεψεν τελέως Boor e Scyl 45.13 ἀνέτρεψε (ἀνέστρεψε ms. B) τελέως : ἀντέστρεψέως V B : ἀντέστρεψεν ὡς in marg. B Comb : ἀνέστρεψεν ὡς Bekk 19 μήτέ τινος V 21 τὰ ante πάντα add. edd 21 ἀπολλυούσης V 22 διὰ : δεὶ ἀ V 25 λεγόμεγόμενον (μεγό expunctum) V 30 κρεμασαμασαντες (σαμα expunctum) V 33 κρατήσασαν edd **26.**2 ᾧ : οὗ edd 2 Ὠορύφας edd Boor, cf. Scyl 46.29 4 ἀνατεσσαράκοντα V 5 χρυσίνους Scyl 46.31

changed matters completely, bringing to them, who now sought rest, slaughter instead of safety. For, as if they had already conquered and expected to capture all of the few remaining enemy quickly on the morrow, they now gave themselves over to drinking and excesses in Bachic frenzy, as though in their own and not a foreign land. Nor did they take care for a watch or any other safeguard according to the rules of war, but only for sleep and the indifference and lassitude which diverts and releases one from all things. Whereupon, around midnight, when the Cretans, keeping awake out of distress, learned from their guards that the men in the Roman encampment had been overpowered by sleep and wine, they made a sally forthwith and put them all to the sword, so that not even a messenger, as the saying goes, was saved to return thither. The only exception was the general, who boarded a commercial ship seeking safety. But when the leader of the Hagarenes, after searching for him everywhere and not finding him, heard that he had fled, he commanded ships together with his commanders to search for him. They found him on Cos, and hanging him on the furca they put him to death. Such were the events surrounding that battle and struggle which brought great calamity upon the Romans – not only the one of this defeat, but also the many-headed Hydra which prevailed and persisted thenceforth, its heads being forever severed here and there, but then sprouting forth again elsewhere.

26. After these events, a certain man of military experience who, in addition, was not without judgement and intelligence and whose name was Ooryphas, assembled by imperial decree an army called 'the Forties', from the distribution to each of them of forty gold coins. He invaded the other islands which the Hagarenes occupied with very few men, laying ambushes against some and waging open war with others, and destroyed and gave them over to utter perdition; and, so it appears, he also conveyed to us this island [Crete]. God will surely look after its affairs, and we shall also look after it, we who night and day consume our soul on its behalf.

27. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Εὐφήμιός τις κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τουρμάρχης τελῶν, παρθένου τινὸς ἤρα ἀσκητηρίοις ἐνδιαιτωμένης καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν ἔκπαλαι ἀναλαβούσης σχῆμα· καὶ διὰ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα ἐκπληρῶσαι τὴν παρθένον λαβών πως εἰς γαμετήν. ἐπεὶ γοῦν τὸ παράδειγμα οὐ πόρρωθεν εἶχεν κωλῦον οὐδ’ ἀποτρέπον – τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Μιχαήλ, καὶ γάρ, | ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτόν τι δρᾶσαι B 82 ἐτόλμησεν –, ἀφαρπάζει τὴν παρθένον τοῦ ἀσκητηρίου καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄκουσαν ὑπηγάγετο. ταύτης οὖν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τῷ Μιχαὴλ προσίασι, τὰ τοῦ δράματος διηγούμενοι. ὁ δὲ κελεύει τῷ στρατηγῷ, εἰ οὕτως φωράσοι ἔχουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὴν ῥῖνα τοῦ τετολμηκότος Εὐφημίου ἀποτεμεῖν κατὰ | τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἀκρίβειαν. καὶ ὁ Εὐφήμιος μαθὼν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν f. 27v εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου τήρησιν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀπειλήν, συνωμότας λαβὼν τούτους τε τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καί τινας τῶν συντουρμαρχῶν, τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ παραγινόμενον ἀπελαύνει ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἀποδιδράσκει ἀμεραμνουνῆ, πᾶσαν τὴν Σικελίαν ὑπ’ ἐκείνῳ ποιῆσαι καθυποσχόμενος καὶ διδόναι φόρους πολλούς, εἰ μόνον δὴ ἀναγορεύσει τοῦτον βασιλέα καί τινα παράσχοι βοήθειαν. ἀναγορεύει γοῦν τοῦτον βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων, καὶ χεῖρα δίδωσι πολλήν, καὶ τῆς Σικελίας <γίνεται> ἐγκρατής, παρ’ αὐτοῦ τούτου λαβὼν αὐτήν, οὐ τούτου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρων συνδρόμων γενομένων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπωλείᾳ τόπων. δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα σαφέστατα καὶ πλατικώτερον ἡ τότε γραφεῖσα ἱστορία Θεογνώστῳ τῷ καὶ περὶ ὀρθογραφίας γεγραφότι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθοῦσα ἡμῶν, ἣν ὁ βουλόμενος μεταχειριζόμενος τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἀναδιδαχθήσεται. πλὴν ὁ μὲν Εὐφήμιος [οὐ] μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἆθλον τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνομίας λαμβάνει τὴν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στέρησιν κεφαλῆς. σχῆμα γὰρ ἔχων βασιλικὸν ἀπῄει καὶ κατὰ τὴν Συράκουσαν, καὶ δὴ ἄποθεν γενόμενος τῆς | ἑαυτοῦ τάξεως καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ὡς ἀπὸ B 83 τόξου βολῆς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὁμιλῶν αὐτοῖς τυραννικῶς τε καὶ βασιλικῶς. τοῦτον ὡς προσερχόμενον ἔγνωσαν δύο τινὲς ἀδελφοί, γενό-

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27.1 : ca. 826 Euphemius in Sicilia contra imperatorem insurrexit 18–19 : aestate 827 emirus Africae Siciliam cepit

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Cap. 27: Chron Min 45; Log A 215.31 | PsSym 622.1–3; Scyl 46.35–47.68

27.3 ἐκ πάλαι V : ἐκ παιδὸς Scyl 46.37 4 πῶς V 5 τὸ om. edd 5 ante κωλῦον add. οὐ edd Boor 6 δρᾶσαι om. edd 8 πρὸς ἴασιν V 9 διηγούμενοι edd Boor e Scyl 46.42 : διηγούμενη (sic) V 14 παρελαύνει edd 15 τῆς om. edd 15 ἀμεραμνουνὴ V 16 καθ’ ὑποσκόμενος V 17 δὴ om. edd 19 γίνεται ante ἐγκρατής add. Boor e Scyl 46.51 cf. II. 28.2, 5 : ἐγκρατὴς V : ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται edd 20 ἑτέρον V 20 τῶν om. edd 21 δῆλοῖ V 22 ἱστορία om. edd 22 καὶ om. edd 24 μετ’ οὐ πολὺ edd Boor : οὐ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ V 28 ὁμιλον (sic) V 29 προσερχόμενον : μεμονωμένον in app. coni. e Scyl 47.59 Boor, qui putavit ut librarii oculus ad sequens προσέρχονται aberravit.

27. Around this same time a certain Euphemios who served as turmarch in Sicily was seized with desire for a virgin woman who lived in a monastery and had long before taken the monastic habit; and after trying for a long time to fulfil his desire he succeeded somehow in taking the virgin to wife. For, having the the example which hardly hindered nor forbade – this very Michael, who, as we have said, had also dared commit such an act –, he stole the virgin from the monastery and carried her off against her will. Her brothers then went to Michael and told him of the affair. In strict accordance with the law Michael commanded the general [of Sicily], if he found this to be the truth, to cut off the nose of Euphemios who had dared this. When Euphemios learnt of these things, the observance of the law in his regard and the emperor's threat, he took as confederates those under his command and also some of his fellow turmarchs and drove away the general as he was coming to him on this matter; then he fled to the ameramnounes of Africa, promising him to place all of Sicily under his rule and to pay many taxes, if only he would proclaim him emperor and provide certain aid. The ameramnounes then proclaimed Euphemios emperor of the Romans and gave him a great force; and he gained control of Sicily, receiving it from this Euphemios after not only he but also others had concurred in the destruction of these places. The history written by Theognostos – the one who has also written about Orthography –, which has come into our hands, relates these things most clearly and in great detail; and whoever desires to make use of it will be informed on each and every matter. But as for Euphemios, not long afterwards he received as the reward of his revolt and his lawless conduct the loss of his head. For wearing imperial attire he set off for Syracuse; and going off from his soldiers and guards the distance of an arrow shot, he came to the city, addressing them both as usurper and emperor. Now, two brothers, when they learnt that Eu-

μενοι σύμπνοι καὶ ταὐτὸν φρονήσαντες προσέρχονται τούτῳ εἰρηνικῶς, τὴν προσήκουσαν βασιλεῖ τιμὴν ἀπονέμοντες. ὡς δ’ ὁ Εὐφήμιος τήν τε παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀναγόρευσιν ἀσπαστῶς ἐδέξατο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατήκουεν αὐτῶν, προσεκαλεῖτο τούτους φιλοφρόνως ἀποδώσων τὸν ἀσπασμόν· καὶ δὴ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα προσερείσας τῷ στόματι ταῖς θριξὶ μὲν κατέχεται ἰσχυρῶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν κεφαλήν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εὐφήμιος τοιούτῳ τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο.

28. Οἱ δ’ Ἀγαρηνοὶ οὐ τῆς Σικελίας μόνον ἔκτοτε ἀλλὰ καὶ Καλαβρίας καὶ Λαγοβαρδίας ἐγένοντο ἐγκρατεῖς, πᾶσαν κατατρέχοντες καὶ διαπορθοῦντες καὶ ἐνσκηνοῦντες ἄχρι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει Βασι|λείου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐκείνου δηλώσει ἱστορία· f 28r

Ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἔτη τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς ἐννέα τὸν βίον κατέλυσε, τῷ δυσουρίας νοσήματι ἁλούς, ἐκ τῶν νεφρῶν λαβούσης τὴν ἀρχήν, μήτε τὴν πρὸς θεὸν καταλύσας δυσμένειαν, οἷς οὐκ ἤθελε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μορφὴν δι’ ἡμᾶς ἀναλαβόμενον σάρκα προσκυνεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας καθαιρῶν Μεθόδιόν τε καὶ Εὐθύμιον, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐπαυξήσας ἀκατάλλακτον πόλεμον, τά τε κατὰ Θωμᾶν καὶ τῶν Κρη|ταιέων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν B 84 εἰρημένων Ἀφρικῶν διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν ἀποστείλαντος τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Δαλματία τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστη τότε βασιλείας, καὶ γεγόνασιν ἅπαντες ἰδιόρυθμοί τε καὶ αὐτοκέφαλοι μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλείας· τότε γὰρ πάλιν οὗτοι Ῥωμαίοις καθυπετάγησαν. πεπλήρωτο δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χρησμός, λέγων οὕτω·

ἀρχὴ κακῶν γε προσπεσεῖται τῇ χθονί,
ὅταν κατάρξῃ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος δράκων
δύσγλωττος ἄρδην καὶ φιλόχρυσος λίαν.

Ἐτέθη δὲ ὁ τούτου νεκρὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, ἐν τῷ ἡρῴῳ Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἐν λάρνακι πρασίνῳ Θετταλικῇ.

28.1–4 : de rebus in Italia Basilio Macedone regnante cf. VBas 52.1–6, 53.40–45, 55.19–58.39 5–6 : Oct., fortasse die 2, a. 829 Michael obiit 11 : de bello civili cf. supra II.9–20 11 : de rebus in Creta cf. supra II.20–23, 25–26 11–12 : de Siciliae invasione ab emiro Africae cf. supra II.27 13–16 : de rebus in Dalmatia Basilio Macedone regnante cf. VBas 52.6–55.19 et DAI 29.84–112.

Cap. 28: De Cer 645.17–18; VBas 52–58; Gen 35.78–79; Log A 214.2, 215.29–216.37 | PsSym 620.8–9, 622.1–7, 624.9–11; Scyl 47.69–48.82

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30 σύμπνοοι edd e Scyl 47.60 30 εἰρωνικῶς Boor e Scyl 47.61 31 ὁ om. edd 35 τοῦ om. edd **28**.2 Λαγγοβαρδίας Bekk 2 πάσας fortasse coniiciendum, cf. Scyl 47.70 πάντα 6 μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἔτη … ἐννέα V edd Boor, cf. Scyl 47.72 (VBMN) ἐπὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἔτη ἐννέα : ἔτη η′ πρὸς ἐννέα μησίν Gen 35.78 : ἐπὶ χρόνους (ἔτη A) ὀκτὼ καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα Scyl 47.72 (ACE), cf. infra III.1.1–2 6 ἀλοὺς V 12 ἠρημένων V 14 ἰδιορυθμοί edd 14 αὐτοικέφαλοι V 19 δύσγλωστος Comb : δύσγλωσσος Bekk

phemios was coming, made an agreement and, with the same intention, went up to him in a peaceful manner, rendering honour as befitted an emperor. Then Euphemios, after he had gladly accepted the acclamation from them and heard the others as well, summoned these two in friendly wise to return their greeting. And inclining his head and pressing mouth to mouth he was held by the hair with force by one of the brothers whilst he was deprived of his head by the other. Such was the end of Euphemios's life.

28. The Hagarenes not only took possession of Sicily, but also Calabria and Lagobardia, overrunning and pillaging and occupying all the land until the reign of Basil of blessed memory. But the history concerning him will relate these things.

As for Michael, having held the imperial power for nine years and eight months, he left this life, stricken with a urinary illness which had begun in the kidneys; nor did he desist in his enmity toward God, for he was unwilling to worship him who on our behalf had assumed flesh with respect to his form. Instead, he condemned Methodius and Euthymius, whose story we have related, and increased the relentless war with the Hagarenes whereupon God, on account of his wickedness, brought forth the events surrounding Thomas and the Cretans as well as those of the Africans, as has been recounted. All of Dalmatia then also revolted from the empire of the Romans, and they all became self-governed and independent until the reign of the glorious Basil; for then they were all again brought under subjection to the Romans. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy concerning Michael which said:

'A realm of evils shall befall the earth,
When Babylon's dragon, sore ineloquent
And exceeding fond of gold, shall reign'.

His remains were laid in the church of the Holy Apostles, in the mausoleum of Justinian, in a sarcophagus of green Thessalian marble.

|Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Θεοφίλου υἱοῦ Μιχαήλ. Λόγος γ´ f. 28r

1. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πραχθέντα Μιχαὴλ τῷ τραυλῷ βασιλεύσαντι ἐννέα ἔτεσι πρὸς μησὶν ὀκτὼ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου βιβλίῳ δεδήλωται· ὁ δ᾽ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Θεόφιλος ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ἔχων ἡλικίαν τὴν πατρικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον μῆνα τῆς ὀγδόης ἰνδικτιῶνος | διεδέξατο. B 85 λόγῳ μὲν οὖν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὥσπερ ἔμπυρος ἐραστὴς καλεῖσθαι βουλόμενος καὶ νόμων εἶναι φύλαξ πολιτικῶν ἀκριβής, τῇ δ᾽ ἀληθείᾳ ἔξωθεν ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων διατηρῶν, ὡς ἂν μή τις κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τι νεανιεύσηται, τὸν ἐπηρτημένον κίνδυνον ἐφορῶν, τοὺς τῷ πατρὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐκ συνωμοσίας τὴν βασιλείαν παρεσχηκότας, κατὰ τοῦ Λέοντος δὲ ἐπαναστάντας, ἅπαντας ἔγνω ὀλέθρῳ παραδοῦναί τε καὶ σφαγῇ. ὅθεν δόγμα ἐξέθετο ἅπαντας τοὺς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀπολαύοντας φιλοτιμιῶν, προσέτι δὲ καὶ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς μετασχόντας τῆς οἱασοῦν, κατὰ τὴν | Μαγναύραν συναθροισθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγε|γόνει f. 28v καὶ τοῦ προστάγματος οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα καταφρονεῖν, τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς τέως ὡς ἐν σκότῳ κρύψας θηριωδίαν, ἠρέμα πως καὶ πραείᾳ φωνῇ οὕτω πως ἔλεξεν ἐν βραχεῖ, ὡς "ἐβούλετο μὲν καὶ δι᾽ ἐπιθυμίας εἶχεν, ὦ λαὸς καὶ κλῆρος ἐμός, τοὺς ἀντιλαβομένους καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπερμαχήσαντας νεανικῶς ὁ ἐμὸς ἄγαν πατὴρ πολλῶν μὲν τιμῶν πολλῶν δὲ τούτους ἀγαθῶν ἑτέρων καταξιῶσαί τε καὶ γερῶν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἔφθασεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι θᾶττον ἢ εἶχε βουλῆς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔξω γέγονε τοῦ καιροῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἀχάριστος δόξῃ πολλοῖς, ἐμὲ οὐ τῆς βασιλείας μόνον διάδοχον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου καλοῦ τούτοις ὑπόχρεων ἐγκατέλιπεν. διὸ ἕκαστος ἐκ μέσου ἀγόμενος δεικνύτω ἡμῖν ἑαυτόν". τούτοις παρακλαπέντες τοῖς λόγοις καὶ συλαγωγηθέντες τὸν νοῦν ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἀπεγύμνου καὶ πᾶσιν ὡρᾶτο

1.2–4 : 2 Oct. a. 829 Theophilus post obitum patris eius Michaelis imperator solus regnauit

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Cap. 1: Gen 35.78–79, 36.82–93; Log A 217.20–218.36 | PsSym 625.12–21; Scyl 47.72–73, 49.84–50.22

1.1 ἐννέα Comb in marg. Bekk, cf. supra II.28.6 μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἔτη … ἐννέα, quod pro lapso calami Continuatoris habemus, cui Scyl 47.72 (VBMN) ἐπὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἔτη ἐννέα itidem secutus est, sed apud Gen 35.78–79 et Scyl 47.72 (ACE) tempus regni ut 8 annorum et 9 mensium recte constat: ἑπτὰ V Boor 1 ἔτεσιν edd 2 δὲ edd 3 Θεόφιλος ἤδη ἀνδρὸς Boor, cf. Scyl 49.84–85 Θεόφιλος ἀνδρὸς ἤδη : ἤδη Θεόφιλος ἀνδρὸς V edd 4 ἰνδικτικτιῶνος V 7 νεανιεύσηται, ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνετο edd e Scyl 49.89 νεανικόν τι τολμήσειε, ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνετο 8 ἐπηρτημένον οὖν edd 8 ὑφορῶν edd 10 ἅπαντας B in marg. edd Boor : ἅπαν V B 10 σκαφῇ Comb 13 πράγματος Comb 16 διεπιθυμίας V 16 ὦ : ὁ B edd 20 αὐτοῦ edd 21 βασιλεῖας V 23 ὑποκλαπέντες edd

Concerning the Reign of Theophilus, Son of Michael. Book 3.

1. The things done by Michael the Stammerer who was emperor for nine years and eight months have been related in the previous Book. His son Theophilus, who had already reached the age of manhood, succeeded to the empire in October of the eighth indiction. Now, Theophilus wanted to be known as a fervent lover of justice and rigorous guardian of the laws of the state, but in truth, preserving himself from those who were forming conspiracies, lest anyone should carry out a revolution against him, and observing the danger which impended, he decided upon the destruction and slaughter of all those who through conspiracy had procured the empire for his father and had revolted against Leo. Therefore he issued a decree that all those who derived benefit from imperial honours, and moreover those who had received any imperial reward whatsoever, should assemble in the Magnaura. When this had been done, no one daring disregard the command, he concealed for a while, in the dark as it were, the brutality of his soul and softly, in a gentle voice, he spoke briefly in such wise: 'My father greatly desired and was eager, O my people and clergy, to reward with many honours and other bounties and prizes those who had helped and fought vigorously on behalf of his reign, but he disappeared from men before his wish, and he disappeared from time before the time of his disposing. However, lest he should appear ungrateful in the eyes of the many, he left me not only as successor to his empire but also as debtor to these men for this noble deed. Therefore, let each one come forth and shew himself to us.' Astounded and taken aback by these words each revealed himself and was seen clearly by all. Straightway, then, he

κατάδηλος. εὐθὺς | οὖν νόμῳ τῷ πολιτικῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν ὕπαρχον ἐγκελεύεται, B 86 καί, “ἄγε δή”, φησίν, “ὦ οὗτος, τούτους κατ’ ἀξίαν τῶν βεβιωμένων ἀμείβου, οὐ μόνον οἷς οὐκ ἔδεισαν τὸ θεῖον, αἵματι ἀνθρωπίνῳ μιάναντες δεξιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χριστὸν κυρίου βασιλέα ἀνελόντες οἱ ἄθλιοι”. τούτοις διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον ἐκεῖνον τὸν πρῶτον δή πως καὶ θαυμαστόν· ὃς εἴπέρ τις κατὰ νόμους ἔχοι τὸ ἐπαινετόν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἶδ’ εἰ στήσεται ἐγγὺς ἡμερωτάτης τε καὶ πραείας ψυχῆς. καὶ τούτους μὲν οὕτως πως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν, προσεπιθεὶς τούτοις τὸ ἐπαινετὸν ἐκεῖνό γε καὶ καλόν, τὸ ἀπελάσαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν ᾗ τὸ πρότερον ἀπεκάρη μονὴν Εὐφροσύνην, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητρυιάν, ποιῆσαι παλιννοστῆσαι, ἣν ἡ ἱστορία δευτέραν γαμετὴν παρέδωκε τοῦ Μιχαήλ, ἐκείνων γε τῶν ἡμῖν εἰρημένων ἐκεῖσε χειρογράφων καὶ ὅρκων πολλῶν, οὐχ ὁσίως πραχθέντων τε καὶ γενομένων, ὠφελησάντων οὐδέν. τί δήποτε; ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ κύριον πεποιθὼς ἠγάγετο δὴ γαμετὴν – ἦ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἔννομόν τινα, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν ἤδη συνταξαμένην ἠγάγετο τῷ Χριστῷ –, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ θρασύτητι καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐκείνοις τοῖς εὐμεγέθεσί τε καὶ θεοῦ πάντας πόρρωθεν ἀποπέμψασι.

2. Καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τούτου τοιαῦτα· τὰ δ’ ἑξῆς ἀντεποιεῖτο τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἦν φοβερός τε πᾶσι τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ θαυμαστὸς ἀγαθοῖς, τοῖς μὲν | ὅτι μισοπόνηρός τε καὶ δίκαιος, τοῖς δ’ ὅτι ἐμβριθής τε f. 29r καὶ αὐστηρός. πλὴν οὐκ ἦν τοῦτον πάν|των καθαρεύειν τῶν πονηρῶν, B 87 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἴχετο μὲν τῆς ἐπὶ θεὸν καὶ τὴν τούτου πάναγνον μητέρα, ὡς ἔλεγε, πίστεως, εἴχετο δὲ <πλέον> τῆς πατροπαραδότου μιαρᾶς τῶν εἰκονομάχων αἱρέσεως. καὶ ταύτῃ γε δὴ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ πανάγιον λαὸν ἐτάραττέ τε καὶ πολυειδέσιν ἐδίδου κακώσεσι, πάντα τὸν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ χρόνον ἠρεμῆσαι μὴ συγχωρήσας, οἷς οὐδὲ τὰς ἐν πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίας καταλλήλως ἐλάμβανεν, ἀλλ’ ἥττητό τε ἀεὶ καὶ οὐ κατὰ βασιλέα ὑπέστρεφεν.

3. Τοιγαροῦν ἐχόμενος τῆς δικαιοσύνης, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μητέρα πίστεώς τε καὶ προθυμίας, ἀπῄει ἔφιππος διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μέσην πλατείας καὶ λεωφόρου πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις θεῖον ναὸν

Cap. 2: De Theophili benefactis 40.3–6, 43.5–19 | Scyl 50.23–32 Cap. 3: De Theophili benefactis 40.3–6, 43.5–19; Log A 218.53–54, 220.86, 225.204–205 | PsSym 627.20; Scyl 50.32–51.45

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26 φησί V 26 καταξίαν V 30 ὃς nos : ὃν V edd Boor 30 ἔχοιτο edd Boor : ἕλοιτο Bekk in app. : ἔχοι Boor in app. 30 ἐπαινεῖν V edd Boor : fortasse ἐπαινετόν scribendum 31 πραείασας V (ασ in ras.) 32 πῶς V 32 πρὸς ἐπιθεὶς V 34 μητρυὰν V 34 παλινοστῆσαι edd 35 τοῦ : τῷ edd 36 χειρογραφος V 37 τε : γε edd 38 κύριον Boor : κ̅ν̅ V : κυρίου edd 38 δὴ om. edd 38 καὶ om. edd **2.**1 τῆς om. edd 5 διατοῦτο V 6 δὲ <πλέον> Boor in app. e Scyl 50.28 : δὲ V : δὲ καὶ edd 8 παρὰ πάντα Boor in app. e Scyl 50.29 10 κατ’ ἀλλήλλως V **3.**1 τοιγαρ οὖν V

commanded the prefect to apply the law of the state: 'Act at once, O Prefect,' he says, 'give these men the worthy recompense for their deeds: not only did they have no fear of the divinity, staining their hands with human blood, but the wretches even slew the emperor, the annointed of the Lord.' With these words he dismissed that first and otherwise extraordinary assembly. Now though in accordance with the laws this might count for Theophilus, as for anyone, as a praiseworthy deed, nevertheless, he will hardly find his place beside those of more gentle and mild soul. He put these men to death, and in addition to this he added another praiseworthy and noble deed of expelling his step-mother and forcing her to return to the monastery in which she had earlier been tonsured as the nun Euphrosyne. She was, as our history transmits, the second wife of Michael, and the signatures and many oaths mentioned there, not having been enacted and done in pious wise, were of no use. Why? Because it was not in the Lord that he put his trust when he took his wife – for he would have taken a lawful one instead of one joined to Christ – but rather in his own insolence and those grand oaths which drive all away from God.

2. Such were Theophilus's first deeds, and thereafter he exerted himself on behalf of justice and was fearful to all evildoers and admirable to the good: in the former case because he hated evil and was just, in the latter because he was grave and austere. But it was impossible for him to be free of all evils, and on this account he clung to his faith in God and, as he said, His all-holy Mother; but he clung even more to the foul heresy of the enemies of the images which he had inherited from his father. With this heresy he beset the pious and all-holy *people of God* with diverse afflictions, allowing no respite during the whole of his reign, and for this reason he carried off no fitting exploits in war, but was always defeated and returned in a manner unworthy of an emperor.

3. Thus clinging to justice as well as to his faith and longing for the Mother of God he went out every week on horse accompanied by the spear-bearers in the street and throroughfare along the Mese to the sacred church in

ἑκάστῃ ἑβδομάδι ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων παραπεμπόμενος. ἀπῄει δέ, πᾶσι μὲν πρὸ παντὸς τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις διδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἂν ἔχοιεν τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκτραγῳδεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ παρά τινων κακοποιῶν κωλύοιντο ὑφορωμένων τὴν ἔκτισιν, δεύτερον δὲ ἵνα κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν διερχόμενος θεατὴς γίνοιτο τῶν ὠνίων· ὅθεν <περὶ> ἑκάστου τῶν πιπρασκομένων ὅσου πωλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἠρώτα, οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐνεργῶς τε καὶ ἐπιμόνως, οὐδ’ ἑνὶ τοῦτο εἴδει ἀλλὰ παντὶ μὲν τῷ τρέφειν ἄνθρωπον δυναμένῳ, εἴτ’ οὖν ἐσθιομένῳ εἴτ’ οὖν καὶ πινομένῳ, παντὶ δὲ τῷ περιθάλπειν καὶ εἰς ἀμφίασιν τελοῦντι, καὶ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προκειμένοις τῶν βουλομένων ἐξωνήσειν. διά τοι τοῦτο οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίως ἂν εἶδέν τις αὐτὸν ἐξ|εληλυθότα εἰς πρόκενσον, πολλὴν B 88 ἐνδεικνύμενον σπουδὴν πρὸς τὰ κοινά τε καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν νῦν μὲν ἐν κριτηρίοις, νῦν δέ, ὡς εἴρηται, κατὰ τὰς προόδους τῆς ἑβδομάδος.

4. Ὅθεν ἐπεί τινα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἑστίασιν τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ἑαυτὰ καλοῦσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τὰ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ παλατίου τείχη τῶν ἀρχαίων θεμελίων οὗτος παρεκβαλών, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἡλιακά, ἔνθα πρότερον κινστέρνης οὔσης συνέβη βασιλικὸν ἀποπνιγῆναι υἱόν, παραδείσους ἐργασάμενος, ἐκεῖθεν τὸ λεῖπον ἀνεπλήρου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔτερπε τούτοις καὶ ἐψυχαγώγει, ὡς τὸ εἰκός. | καί f. 29v ποτε τούτου ἐκεῖσε ἐνδιατρίβοντος, εἴτε δὴ καὶ δειπνοῦντος, ὡς λόγος, συνέβη ναῦν τινα μυριοφόρον ἐξ οὐρίας πλέουσαν ἀναπεπταμένοις δὴ τοῖς ἱστίοις τῷ μεγέθει τὸν λειμῶνα κατασκιάσαι καὶ τὸν βασιλέα εἰς θάμβος ἐπαγαγεῖν. ἐπύθετο οὖν αὐτίκα τίνος τε ἡ ὁλκὰς εἴη καὶ ὅ τι φέροι τῶν ἐδωδίμων. ὡς δὲ τῆς αὐγούστης εἶναι διήκουσεν καὶ λαθεῖν τοῦτο οὐκ ἦν, τότε μὲν ἐφησυχάσαι λέγεται καὶ διαπέμψαι τὸν καιρὸν μέχρι τῆς ἧς εἰώθει ἡμέρας κατὰ τὰς Βλαχέρνας ἰέναι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἥ τε ἡμέρα παρῆν καὶ ὁ τούτου ὅρμος δῆλος ὑπῆρχε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναμαθόντι διά τινος, τῆς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον φερούσης ἀπήρχετο ὁδοῦ· ἦν δὲ κατὰ τὸν Βόσπορον. καὶ ἐπείπερ παραγενόμενος παρὰ τὴν πρύμναν ἔστη τῆς νεώς, ἀκολουθούσης τῆς τάξεως, ἠρώτα τὴν σύγκλητον οὐχ ἅπαξ δὴ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δίς τε καὶ τρίς, ὅτου | δή τις ἔχοι χρείαν τῶν ἐδωδίμων, σίτου <ἢ οἴνου> ἤ τινος B 89

Cap. 4: Gen 53.87–4 | PsSym 628.3–7; Scyl 51.46–66

5 παντὸς δὲ edd 6 ἀεὶ : ἀδικήματα edd e Scyl 50.37 6 παρὰ τινῶν edd 6 ὑφ’ ὁρωμένων V 7 ἔκκτησιν a. corr. V, ut vid. (primum κ ad finem lineae in ras.) 7 κατὰ : διὰ edd 8 <περὶ> ἑκάστου nos e Scyl 51.39 : ἕκαστον V Bekk in app. Boor : ἑκάστου edd 10 ἐν ἑνὶ Boor in app. e Scyl 51.41 (ACMN) 11 ἐσθιομένῳ nos, cf. Scyl 51.41 τοῖς βρωτοῖς εἴδεσι : ἐσθιόμενον V edd Boor 11 πινομένῳ nos, cf. Scyl 51.41 καὶ τοῖς ποτοῖς : πινόμενον V edd Boor 13 ἐξωνήσειν nos : ἐξωνησιν V : ἐξωνήσει edd Boor **4.**1 ἔπ εἴ V 3 θεμελείων V 5 ἀπὸ πνιγῆναι V 8 ναῦ V 8 τινὰ V 8 ἐξουρίας V 9 λιμένα Comb. in marg. Bekk 11 εἶναι διήκουσεν : ἤκουσεν edd 12 ἐφ ἡσυχάσαι V 13 εἰώθη V Comb 13 παρ’ ἦν V 14 τούτου : τοῦ πλοίου edd e Scyl 51.53 17 δίς τε καὶ : δὶς καὶ edd 18 <ἢ οἴνου> edd e Scyl 51.56 : om. V Boor

Blachernae. He went out above all to present himsef to everyone who had suffered injustice, so that they might always be able to declaim their complaints and might not be hindered by any wicked men fearing punishment, and secondly in order that, whilst going through the market-place he might observe the wares. Thus he would ask concerning each of the goods for sale how much they were selling for on the market-place, doing this not in an incidental way, but quite vigorously and with persistence; and this not only with regard to one ware, but all that might nourish men, whether to be eaten or to be drunk, and all that served to keep warm or for clothing, in sum, everything that was set out on the market-place for those wishing to buy. For this very reason one hardly saw him going out in imperial procession, shewing as he did great zeal and attention for public affairs, now in courts of justice and now, as we have said, on his weekly rounds.

4. Now since emperors are most often attracted to places outside the city which provide, as it were, a feast for the eyes, Theophilus removed from their ancient foundations the walls of the Palace near the sea and, alongside the terraces, made gardens on the spot where there was earlier a cistern in which an imperial heir had drowned; having filled in the gap of the cistern he delighted in these gardens and was gratified as was fitting. But once when he was dallying there, dining, as the story goes, it happened that a large cargo ship passing by with a fair wind cast a shadow with its unfurled sails over the the meadow because of its great size and brought the emperor to consternation. He enquired forthwith whose vessel this was and what provisions it carried. As he heard that it was the empress's and it was impossible to conceal this, it is reported that he regained his calm and postponed the opportunity to act until the day he went as usual to Blachernae. When this day came and the emperor had been informed by someone concerning the place of this vessel's mooring, he set off on the road thither; it was on the Bosphorus. When he arrived, stopping together with his cortège at the poop of the ship, he asked the Senate, not merely once but twice and even thrice, whether anyone had need of

ἄλλου τῶν κατ᾽ οἶκον ἀναλισκομένων. ὡς δὲ πολλάκις ἐρωτηθέντες μόλις ἅπαξ ἀπεκρίθησαν μηδενὸς λείπεσθαι "ἄχρι τῆς σῆς εὐμοιροῦμεν δεσποτείας τε καὶ βασιλείας", καὶ προστιθέντων μηδὲν εἰδέναι "τῶν ὧν ἐρωτώμεθα", "ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἴστε δή", ἔφησεν, "ὅτι με ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλέα γενόμενον ἡ αὐγούστά μου καὶ σύμβιος ναύκληρόν [με] εἰργάσατο; καὶ τίς πώποτε", μετὰ πικρίας λέγοντος ψυχῆς, "βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἢ τὴν αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν ἔμπορον ἐθεάσατο;" καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀναπολογήτων μενόντων, ἐκέλευσεν αὐθωρὸν μόνους ἐξιόντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὴν ναῦν ἐκείνην παραδοῦναι πυρὶ αὐταῖς ἀγκύραις καὶ ἱστίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἀγωγίμοις, πολλὰ κατειπὼν ὕστερον καὶ παντοίαις ὕβρεσι τὴν δέσποιναν περιβαλών, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς ἐπαπειλῆσαι <ἐξαγαγεῖν> τῆς ζωῆς, εἴγε δὴ ἔκτοτε τοιοῦτόν τι ποιοῦσα φωραθείη.

5. Ἀλλὰ πατρίδα μὲν ἡ Θεοδώρα – τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα τῇ αὐγούστῃ – Παφλαγονίαν ἐσέμνυνεν, καὶ χωρίον Ἔβισσαν, γεννήτορα δὲ Μαρῖνον οὐκ ἄσημόν τινα ἢ ἰδιώτην τὴν τύχην, δρουγγάριον δὲ ἢ τουρμάρχην κατά τινας, καὶ μητέρα Θεοκτίστην τὴν οὕτω Φλωρίναν κατονομαζομένην, ἀμφοτέρους εὐσεβείᾳ ἐκτεθραμμένους καὶ τὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων προσκύνησιν οὐκ ἐξαρνουμένους μέν, ὡς οἱ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο πάντες καιροῦ, ἀσπαζομέ|νους δὲ καὶ ἐνστερνιζομένους ὑπερφυῶς. ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν Θεοδώρα f. 30r διαδήματι βασιλείας πάλαι | δὴ κατεστέφετο, καὶ ἡ ταύτης μήτηρ ζωστή B 90 τε καὶ πατρικία τετίμητο. αὕτη δὴ οὖν ἡ Θεοκτίστη κατὰ τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶκον, ἔνθα δὴ ἡ τῶν Γαστρίων μονὴ τὴν πῆξιν ἔχει τὰ νῦν καὶ ἵδρυσιν – ἣν δὲ τοῦτον ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ πατρικίου ἐξωνησαμένη Νικήτα –, τὰς τῆς Θεοδώρας θυγατέρας μετακαλουμένη – πέντε δὲ ἦσαν τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἥ τε Θέκλα καὶ Ἄννα, Ἀναστασία τε καὶ Πουλχερία καὶ ἡ Μαρία – ἄλλαις τε δωρεαῖς αἷς ὑπάγεσθαι τὸ θῆλυ πέφυκεν ἐδεξιοῦτο, καὶ ἰδίᾳ παραλαμβάνουσα οὐ μαλακίζεσθαι οὐδὲ μένειν θηλείας ὅπερ ἦσαν ἐξελιπάρει καὶ καθικέτευεν, ἀνδρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρῴας θηλῆς ἄξια διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πρέποντα, τὴν πατρῴαν μὲν αἵρεσιν ἀπορραπιζομένας, καταφιλούσας δὲ καὶ κατασπαζομένας τὰς τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων μορφάς. καὶ ἅμα ταύτας εἰς χεῖρας ἐμβάλλουσα – ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ αὐτῇ ἔν τινι κιβωτίῳ –,

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5.7–8 : a. 821 Theodora Theophilo nubet et inde imperium accepit

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Cap. 5: Vita Theodorae §2.1–8, §4.1–6; Log A 216.11–12, 217.20–22 | PsSym 625.4–5, 628.8–629.3; Scyl 52.67–53.5

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20 ἄχρι : μέχρι edd 22 δή om. edd 23 μου om. B edd 23 με del. Boor in app. cum Scyl 51.60 24 λέγοντος : λέγων τοῦτο edd 28 κατ᾽ εἰπὼν V 29 <ἐξαγαγεῖν> add. edd Boor e Scyl 51.65 : fortasse ἐπαπειλῆσαι τὴν ζωὴν 29 ἔκτοτε edd e Scyl 51.66 : ἔκ τε V **5**.3 τουρμάχην V 5 ἐκτεθραμμένους V Comb Boor Scyl 52.69–70 : ἐντεθραμμένους Bekk Scyl (B) 6 ἐξ ἀρνουμένους V 6 οἱ om. edd 8 κατέστεφετο (sic) Comb : κατέστεπτο Bekk 8 ταύτης : αὐτῆς edd 8 μήτηρ Θεοκτίστη edd e Scyl 52.73 17 ἀπορριπιζομένας edd.

provisions, either of corn <or wine> or anything else used in the household. After being asked so many times, the others scarcely replied but once that nothing was lacking 'So long as we enjoy your rule and empire,' adding also that they knew nothing 'of what we are being asked.' 'But are you not aware,' said Theophilus, 'that my augusta and consort has turned me, whom God made emperor, into a shipowner? Who,' he continued with bitterness of soul, 'has ever seen an emperor of the Romans or his wife as merchant?' When they gave no reply, he commanded that only the men should come out and that the ship should forthwith be given over to the flames together with the very anchors and sails and all other wares; and later he made many accusations and treated the empress with all manner of insults, threatening <to deprive her of> her very life if she should ever again be caught doing such a thing.

5. Now Theodora – for that was the augusta's name – exalted as her homeland Paphlagonia and the village Ebissa, and also her father Marinus, by no means obscure or common of station, but a drungarius or, according to others, a turmarch, and her mother Theoktiste, who was called Florina; both of whom had been brought up in piety, nor did they reject worship of the holy images as all at that time <did>, but they embraced them and clung to them exceedingly. Theodora had long ago been crowned with the diadem of empire and her mother honoured with the dignity of girdled patrikia. This Theoktiste <sometimes> called Theodora's daughters to her house, in the place where the monastery of Gastria is now fixed and established – she had bought it from the patrikios Nicetas. The daughters were five in number: Thecla, Anna, Anastasia, Pulcheria and Maria, and whilst greeting them with other gifts whereby the female sex is wont to be attracted, Theoktiste would take each aside privately and beg and entreat them not to show weakness nor remain feminine as they were, but to be manly and to have intentions fitting and worthy of their mother's breast, rejecting their father's heresy and kissing and embracing the traits of the venerable images. Putting these in their hands –

τῷ τε προσώπῳ καὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἐπιτιθεμένη ἡγίαζέν τε αὐτὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων φίλτρον διήγειρεν. τοῦτο οὖν ἐνδελεχῶς ποιοῦσα καὶ ταῖς ἐγγόνοις τὸ περὶ τὰς εἰκόνας φίλτρον ἀναζωπυροῦσα οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Θεόφιλον, πυνθανόμενον "ὅ τι τε αὐταῖς παρὰ τῆς μάμμης δεδώρηται καὶ ὅ τι χάριτος ἐξείργασται ἄξιον". αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι τούτου τὰς πεύσεις ἀγαθὰ φρονοῦσαι ὥσπέρ τινας λαβὰς ἐρρωμένως παρέτρεχον· ἡ δὲ Πουλχερία ἅτε δὴ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς δὲ καὶ νῷ νηπιάζουσα τάς τε φιλοφροσύνας ἔλεγε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀπωρῶν, συναπηρίθμει δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων προσκύνησιν, οὕτω δὴ ἁπαλὰ φρονοῦσα καὶ λέγουσα ὡς *νινία* πολλὰ εἴη αὐτῇ κατὰ τὸ | κιβώτιον καὶ "ταῦτα τῇ κεφαλῇ τε καὶ τοῖς B 91 προσώποις ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθησι μετὰ τὰ φιλήματα". ταῦτα γοῦν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς μανίαν ἦγεν ὑπολαλούμενα. ἀλλὰ πρᾶξαι μέν τι τῶν δριμυτέρων καὶ πικροτέρων εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκώλυε τοῦτον τό τε τῆς γυναικὸς αἰδῆμον καὶ ἡ εὐλάβεια, καὶ ἡ παρρησία δὲ πρὸς τούτοις οὐκ ἔλαττον – καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτον ἀριδήλως σκώπτουσα καὶ διελέγχουσα ἐπί τε τοῖς κα|θ' ἡμέραν τῶν f. 30v ὁμολογητῶν διωγμοῖς καὶ τῇ δηλωθείσῃ αἱρέσει, καὶ μόνη μικροῦ φανερὰν ποιοῦσα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν πάντων ἀπέχθειαν –, ἀπέτεμνεν δὲ μόνον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν τούτου θυγατέρων ἄφιξιν, καὶ διεκώλυε γίνεσθαι συνεχῆ.

6. Τούτοις ἀδελφὰ καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδώρᾳ συμβέβηκεν. ὑπῆρχέ τι τῷ βασιλεῖ παρακεκομμένον ἀνδράριον, τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ Θερσίτου διενηνοχὸς κατ' οὐδέν· Δένδερις ὄνομα τούτῳ, ἄσημά τε φθεγγόμενος καὶ γέλωτας κινῶν καὶ θυμηδίας ἕνεκεν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνδιαιτώμενος. οὗτος γοῦν εἰσπηδήσας ποτὲ κατὰ τὸν τῆς αὐγούστης κοιτωνίσκον κατέλαβεν αὐτὴν θείας εἰκόνας ἐμπεριειλημμένην καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῆς ὄμμασιν μετὰ σπουδῆς προσάγουσαν. ταύτας ὑπ' ὄψιν ἰδὼν οὗτος ὁ παραπαίων "τί τε εἰσὶν" ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ πλησιαίστερον διέβαινεν. ἡ δὲ "τὰ καλά μου", ἔφησεν οὕτως ἀγροικικῶς, "*νινία*, καὶ ἀγαπῶ ταῦτα πολλά". κατὰ τὴν τράπεζαν τηνικαῦτα εἱστιᾶτο ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐθὺς διαβάντος εἴρετο αὐτὸν ὅποι ποτὲ ἐτύγχανεν ὤν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν *μάνναν* ἔφησεν εἶναι, τὴν Θεοδώραν οὕτω λέγων, καὶ θεάσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ καλὰ *νινία* τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ἐξαίρουσαν. συνῆκεν | οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ B 92 πλήρης ὀργῆς γεγονώς, ὡς ἐξανέστη τῆς τραπέζης, πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπῄει,

Cap. 6: | PsSym 629.4–630.10; Scyl 53.5–54.31

20 τε om. edd 22 ἀναζωπυροῦσαν V 25 ἐρρωμένως edd e Scyl 52.88 et PsSym 628.17 : ἐρρωμένας V 26 ἅτε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ νῷ edd 27 τὸ : τῷ V 27 συνηρίθμει edd 30 ἡμῶν om. edd 31 καὶ : ἢ edd 32 αἰδαίσιμον Comb : αἰδέσιμον Bekk 34 τούτων V **6.**1 τῇ : τι V 3 Δένδερις edd Boor Scyl 53.7 PsSym 629.6 et hic infra : Δέρδερις V 4 φθεγγόμενον … κινοῦν … ἐνδιαιτώμενον PsSym 629.7–8 5 αὐγούστης : βασιλίσσης edd 6 περιειλημμένην edd 8 πλησιέστερον edd 11 διαβάντα Scyl 53.14 PsSym 629.14 11 ἤρετο edd 11 μάναν edd

she kept them in a certain chest – and pressing them to their faces and lips, she sanctified the girls and brought forth in them love for the images. But it did not escape Theophilus's notice that she was doing this persistently and kindling in her granddaughters love for the images, and he would ask what had been given to them by their grandmother and what had been done to render thanks. With good understanding the others deftly got round his questions as if they were traps; but Pulcheria, in as much as she was a child, both in age and in mind, told of her kindnesses and the multitude of fruits, and she recounted also the worship of the images, thinking and saying in her innocent way that Theoktiste had many dolls in a chest 'and she pressed these upon our heads and faces after giving kisses.' Expressed in a whispering tone these things roused the emperor to rage. However, the woman's modesty and piety, no less than her outspokenness toward all, prevented him from doing anything sharp or harsh – for she openly mocked and accused him on account of his daily persecution of confessors and his patent heresy, and she was almost alone in telling him of everyone's hatred of him –; instead, he only curtailed his daughters' visits to her, preventing them from becoming continual.

6. Something similar to this happened also to the empress Theodora. Now, the emperor had a certain eunuch manikin who differed in no wise from the Homeric Thersites. His name was Denderis. He spoke inarticulately, rousing laughter, and was maintained in the palace for the sake of good cheer. One day he burst into the augusta's chamber and caught her embracing holy images, holding them before her eyes with earnestness. Upon catching sight of them, this Denderis, playing the fool, asked 'What are these?' and came closer. 'My pretty dolls,' she said gruffly, 'and I love them very much!' The emperor was at that moment dining at table, and when Denderis went to him he asked him straightway where he had been. He said that he had been with Mummy, calling Theodora thus, and that in her rooms he saw her taking pretty dolls from under the pillow. The emperor understood and was filled with rage, so that he rose from table and went to her; and heaping many other

ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς ὕβρεσι ταύτην ἐπαντλῶν καὶ εἰδώλων λάτριν ἀκολάστῳ γλώττῃ ταύτην ἀποκαλῶν, καὶ ἅμα διεξῄει τοὺς λόγους τοῦ παραπαίοντος. ἡ δὲ τέως μὲν τὸν θυμὸν καταστορεννύουσα “οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν”, ἐξ ἑτοίμου ἔλεγεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ τοῦτο, ὡς ὑπείληφας σύ· τῷ δὲ κατόπτρῳ μου ἤμην ἀτενίζουσα μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων, καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖσε τικτομένας ἰδὼν ὁ Δένδερις μορφὰς ἐλθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν ἀφρόνως τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ βασιλεῖ”. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐκείνου τέως κατέσβεσε τὸν θυμόν, τὸν Δένδεριν δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας παιδείᾳ καθυποβαλοῦσα πέπεικε σωφρονεῖν, οὕτω πως ἐπιλέγουσα καὶ διδάσκουσα ὡς μήποτε λέγειν περὶ τῶν καλῶν *νινίων* τινί. καί ποτε παρὰ πότον ἐγκαυχώμενος καὶ τῆς δεσποίνης κατεπαιρόμενος ὁ Θεό|φιλος ἠρώτα τοῦτον περὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ f. 31r πάλιν ἄρα τὰ καλὰ *νινία* ἡ μάννα ἀσπάζεται. ὁ δὲ τοῖς χείλεσι τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐπιθεὶς καὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ τῶν ὄπισθεν μερῶν ἐπιλαβόμενος “σίγα, σίγα περὶ τῶν *νινίων*”, ἀντέφησεν, “βασιλεῦ”. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω.

7. Καί τινος δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀνδραγαθιζομένου, χεῖρά τε νεανικὴν καὶ ἵππον ἔχοντος δεξιόν, συνέβη τούτου δὴ τὸν στρατηγόν, ὑφ’ ὃν ἐτέλει ὁ στρατιώτης, ἔρωτι κατασχεθῆναι τοῦ ἵππου, ὑφ’ οὗ ὁ ἄνθρωπος σέσωστο καὶ πολλάκις ἐκ θανάτου ἐρρύετο. ἐπεὶ γοῦν τοῦτον πολλάκις ἐξαιτησάμενος πᾶσί τε τρόποις καὶ χάρισι – καὶ γὰρ ὑπισχνεῖτο πολλὰ διδόναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ – ἀπέτυχε τῆς αἰτήσεως, ἦγε δὲ καὶ βίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὐδ’ οὕτως εἶχε | αὐτὸν ὑπακούοντα, διεδέξατο τοῦτον B 93 τῆς ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεόφιλον κατειπὼν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἦν οὖν ὁ στρατιώτης ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἔχων ἐντρύφημα. παρῴχετο δὲ καὶ χρόνος ἱκανός, ὁ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς πόλεμον ἐκ φιλονεικίας καλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταδαπανῶν αὐτόν, οἷα φιλεῖ τοῖς δυστυχοῦσι, δεινῶς. ἐγένετο οὖν ἵππου ἀγαθοῦ ζήτησις παρὰ Θεοφίλου κατὰ τὸν τῆς δυστυχίας καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνδρός· διὸ καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων πάντας τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιώμασιν ἀνερευνᾶν ἐκέλευε τοιόνδε καὶ τοιόνδε καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτῷ. ὅθεν λαβόμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀφορμῆς ἀφείλετο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἄκοντος, καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ὡς οἰκεῖον ἀπέστειλεν. αὕτη ἡ αἰτία, καὶ τοῦ ἵππου δὲ ἡ στέρησις, ἐπεὶ κατά τινα περιπέτειαν πάντας ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοὺς οἱᾳδήποτε αἰτίᾳ πεπαυμένους ἐξιέναι πρὸς πόλε-

Cap. 7: Log A 225.204–226.225 | PsSym 637.19–638.11; Scyl 54.32–55.69; PsKod 170.6–171.7

15 ὑβρισίαις ταύτην B: ὑβρισίαις αὐτὴν edd 16 ταύτην : αὐτὴν edd 22 καθυποβάλλουσα edd 23 λέγουσα edd 23 καὶ διδάσκουσα : om. edd 26 μάνα edd 27 λαβόμενος edd 28 βασιλεὺς V **7.**2 ἵππος V 2 τοῦτον V 3 οὗ V 4 ἐρύετο B edd 4 γοῦν V 7 αὐτὸν coni. Boor in app. : τὸν V edd 8 κατ’ εἰπὼν V 10 ὅ τῶν V 13 τοὺς om edd 14 ἀνερευνᾶν Boor, cf. Scyl εὑρεθῆναι 54.39 : ἀνερευνῶν V edd 14 καὶ om. edd 16 ἀπέστειλεν Kamb, cf. ἀφείλετο supra : ἀπέστελλεν V : ἀπέσταλκεν edd 17 στέρρησις V 17 ἐπεὶ δὲ edd

insults upon her and calling her with unbridled tongue a worshipper of idols he recounted the fool's words. Theodora, repressing her anger, said without hesitation, 'It is not so, O emperor, not so as you have assumed. I was looking in the mirror with my handmaids, and it was upon seeing the forms that appeared there that Denderis came and reported foolishly to his master the emperor.' Thus she quelled his anger; and subjecting Denderis to punishment after a few days she convinced him to be reasonable, instructing and teaching him in such a wise that he should no longer speak to anyone about the pretty dolls. But once, when Theophilus was emboldened with drink and grew arrogant toward the empress, he asked this Denderis about her, whether Mummy still embraced her pretty dolls. And the other, putting his right hand on his lips and touching his hind quarters with his left, replied, 'Hush, hush, emperor, concerning the dolls!' Such were these matters.

7. There was a man distinguished for his bravery in battle who had a strong arm and able horse. Now it happened that the general under whom this soldier served was smitten with desire for the horse by which the man had been saved and often rescued from death. But the general, after asking him for it many times in every manner and with every favour – for he promised to give the man many things – when he failed in his demand, though he even tried force but could not succeed in making the man obey, dismissed him from the office he held whilst denouncing him on many counts to Theophilus. The soldier then stayed at home keeping the horse as his delight. A long time passed which saw the man called out to battle with eagerness for victory but which also exhausted him terribly, as is wont to occur to those who have suffered misfortune. Now, a search was made by Theophilus for a good horse at the time of this man's misfortune, and on this account the emperor commanded all those in authority and in office to seek such and such a horse and to send it to him. Whereupon the general seized this opportunity and took the horse away against the man's will, sending it to the emperor as his own. This was the ground; and when on account of some urgency the emperor commanded that even those who had ceased from service on what-

μον, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐξεληλυθότα ἵππου στερούμενον ἀγαθοῦ ἀπήγαγε τῆς ζωῆς, γυναῖκα καταλελοιπότα καὶ τέκνα πτωχά. τί οὖν ἡ γυνή; καὶ τὸ φιλήκοον ἀκούουσα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φιλοδίκαιον, καὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φίλτρῳ ἐκκαιομένη, καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὅπως καὶ χορηγοίη οὐκ ἔχουσα τὰ πρὸς ζωήν, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαμβάνει, καὶ τὸν Θεόφιλον, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ εἴθιστο πρὸς Βλαχέρνας ἀπιέναι, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἵππον ἀναβαίνοντα κατιδοῦσα, γονυπετοῦσα καὶ κατολοφυρομένη ἐδέετο τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου κατέχουσα, καὶ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς αὐτῆς τε | εἴη ὁ ἵππος | καὶ “οὐκ ἄλλος τις, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς f. 31v αἴτιος τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός μου σφαγῆς”. ἐκπλαγὴς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος B 94 ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ περιθαμβής, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων εἰδὼς οὐδέν, τέως μὲν αὐτὴν ταμιευθῆναι διωρίσατο τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄχρι ἐπανόδου πρὸς τὰ ἀνάκτορα, καὶ “κάλει ταύτην δή”, ἔφησε, “τὴν γυναῖκα”, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπαναδραμών. καὶ ἥδε παρέστη εὐθέως διδάσκουσά τε πάντα καὶ διεξιοῦσα σαφῶς. κελεύει οὖν τοῦτόν τε ἀφικέσθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἵππου ζήτησιν ποιεῖται νεανικήν. ὡς δ’ οἴκοθεν ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς τὸν ἵππον ἀποσταλῆναι διεβεβαίου τὸν βασιλέα, παρίστησι κατὰ πρόσωπον τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἔλεγχον τῶν λεγομένων τε καὶ κατήγορον. οὐκ ἔφερεν οὖν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῷ ψεύδει κατελλαμπρύνεσθαι, τὴν ὄψιν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐνορῶν, καὶ ἅμα ἱκέτης γίνεται ἐλεεινὸς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς πόδας λαμβάνει μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ. τί οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς; ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτῆς παίδων ἀδελφοὺς ἐξ ἴσου καὶ κληρονόμους τῆς ἐκείνου δείκνυσιν ὑποστάσεως, μεθίστησί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτόν, καὶ πᾶσι κατάδηλος γίνεται ἡ δικαία κρίσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἅρπαγας φιλαπέχθημον.

8. Οὐχ ἧττον δέ γε καὶ ταῖς οἰκοδομαῖς ἐγκείμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐδείκνυτο ἐπιμέλειαν. τείχη τε γὰρ τὰ χθαμαλώτερα ἐκ βάθρων ἀναδειμάμενος, τὸ γῆρας ὥσπερ ἀποξύσας, καὶ πρὸς ὕψος μετὰ κάλλους ἐπάρας, ἄβατα πάντῃ πεποίηκεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οἷς | καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὴν τούτου B 95 προσηγορίαν ἐμφαίνουσιν ἐγγεγραμμένην ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Cap. 8: De Theophili benefactis 40.6–9; Gen 83.85–87; Log A 230.299–231.314 | Patria Const II 185.15–187.10; PsSym 627.16–17, 645.16–646.8; Scyl 55.70–56.85

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19 πρὸσλεμον V 24 κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ V Boor : ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ edd 24 ἤθιστο V 24 Βλαχέρναις B Comb 24 τὸν om. edd 27 ὡς : πῶς edd 27 τίς V 28 μου om. B edd 28 ἐκπλαγεὶς Comb cum Scyl 55.52 29 ἐν V edd 30 ταμιεὺθῆναι V 31 καλεῖν edd 31 ταύτην : ταύτην καὶ edd : ταύτην τότε coni. Bekk in app. 31 ἔφησεν edd Boor 32 μετασπουδῆς V 32 ἦδε V 32 ἐκδιδάσκουσά edd 33 τοῦτόν : τόν edd : αὐτόν coni. Bekk in app. 34 ποιεῖ edd 36 τὸν βασιλέα om. edd 37 τε om. edd 38 καταλαμπρύνεσθαι edd 40 αὐτῆς edd **8.**3 ἀναδημάμενος V 3 ἐπάρας Boor cum VBas 89.59 : ἀπάρας V edd : ἐξάρας coni. Bekk in app. 4 οἷς V Boor : ἃ edd 5 ἔχοντες V

soever ground should go out to battle, it was the confiscation of the horse that took the man's life, since he went out to battle deprived of his good horse. And thus he left behind his wife and poor children. Now what did the wife do? Hearing about the emperor's eagerness to listen and to do justice, and burning with love for her husband, and not having the means to provide her children with a living, she came to the imperial city. On the day when Theophilus was accustomed to go to Blachernae she saw him riding on her husband's horse; and taking hold of the horse's bridle, kneeling and wailing, she made entreaty to the emperor, telling him that the horse was hers and that 'There is no other reason than this horse for the slaughter of my husband.' Astounded and amazed by the woman's boldness of speech and knowing nothing of what she said, for the moment he ordered that she should be kept until his return to the palace; and after coming back he said with eagerness, 'Summon that woman!' And she came at once and told and recounted everything clearly. Thus the emperor commanded that this general should come and he enquired with vehemence concerning the horse. When the general assured the emperor that it was from his own house and not elsewhere, nor as a result of theft, that the horse was sent, Theophilus confronted him with the living refutation and accusation of his words. The general, seeing the woman's face, could not bear being shewn up for his falsehood, and forthwith became a pitiful suppliant and embraced the emperor's feet with lamentation. What did the emperor then do? He declared the woman and her children equal heirs of the other's property and dismissed him from office; and his righteous judgement and hatred of robbery was made manifest to all.

8. No less, furthermore, was he devoted to the care of buildings. For reconstructing the lower walls from the foundations, as if scraping off their old age and raising them on high with beauty, he made them in all ways inaccessible to enemies; and to these latter until the present day do they display his name written upon them.

Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρνας ἀπελάσας ἐξ οἰκημάτων, καὶ καθάρας ὅλον ἐκεῖνον τὸν χῶρον, ξενῶνα τὴν ἐκείνου φέροντα προσηγορίαν, κάλλει τε κάλλιστον καὶ μεγέθει μέγιστον, εὔπνουν τε καὶ εὔοπτον, δι᾽ ὧν τὰ φθοροποιὰ μὲν παθήματα ἀποκλύζονται, τὰ σωτηριώδη δὲ ἐπιγίνονται ἀλεξήματα, κατεσκεύασεν. οὕτως εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος πρὸς πόρνας. πλὴν ὅτι γέ φασιν αὐτόν ποτε κάλλει θεραπαινίδος τῆς Θεοδώρας ἁλόντα συμφθαρῆναι αὐτῇ, ῥᾳθύμως τότε βιοῦντα· ἐπεὶ γοῦν ᾔσθετο τῆς ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ διαμαρτίας, καὶ ἄλλως οὐδὲ τὴν Θεοδώραν τοῦτο λαθοῦσαν, κατηφιῶσαν δὲ καὶ αὐχμῶσαν καὶ στυγνάζουσαν, ἔκτοτε ἐξειπεῖν αὐτῇ, ἐπομνύμενον καὶ φρικ|τῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαίροντα πρὸς θεόν, ἦ μὴν τότε καὶ μόνον διολι- f. 32r
σθεῖν, καὶ συγγνώμην ἐπιζητεῖν παρὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός.

Πρὸς τούτοις οἶκόν τινα καὶ ἀνάκτορα ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατράσιν παρὰ τὸν οὕτω καλούμενον χῶρον τὰ Καριανοῦ πλουσίᾳ χειρὶ ἐξανέστησέν τε καὶ ἤγειρεν, ὧν λείψανά τινα καὶ κολωνοὶ τῆς ἐκείνων μνήμης μέχρις ἡμῶν διασῴζονται.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παλαιῷ ἔθει ἑπόμενος ἐβούλετο τοῖς τῆς Ἄγαρ τὰ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ποιῆσαι κατάδηλα, εἴτε δὴ κοινωνοὺς εὐφροσύνης λαμβάνων εἴτε μᾶλλον τῷ φοβερὸς μέλλειν ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἄξιον διακονίαν κρίνει Ἰωάννην τὸν τότε μὲν σύγκελλον, αὐτοῦ δὲ πρότερον, ὡς ἔφθημεν εἰπόντες, | διδάσκαλον. πολιτικῆς γὰρ εὐταξίας τοῦτον πλήρη B 96
τυγχάνοντα, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ τῇ αἱρέσει τούτου συμπαραμένοντα, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιρρητικοὺς λόγους κεκτημένον δραστήριον, ἠγάπα οὗτος καὶ διαφερόντως τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ἐσέμνυνεν· οὗ δὴ χάριν καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντα ἐξαπέστειλεν, ἄλλα τε δοὺς αὐτῷ πολλὰ οἷς θαυμάζεται βασιλεία Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων γένος ἐκπλήττεται, προσεπιδοὺς δὲ καὶ χρυσίον κεντηναρίων τεσσάρων ὑπερβαῖνον ποσότητα. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῷ ἀμεραμνουνῇ ὡς δῶρα ἀπέστελλεν, τὸ χρυσίον δέ, ὡς εἴη τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰς φιλοτιμίας ἐπίδοσιν, ἐπιδείξεώς τε χάριν ἅμα καὶ αὐξήσεως· εἰ γὰρ ἄμμου δίκην ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς τὸ χρυσίον ἔχει σπείρειν ὡς βούλεται, πολλῷ δή που μᾶλλον τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ἐπὶ πλούτου θημῶνας θαυμάζεσθαι χρή. διὸ καὶ σκεύη πρὸς τούτοις δύο ἐκ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν τὴν σύστασιν ἔχοντα, ἃ ἡ κοινὴ γλῶττα

9.9 : ca. a. 829–830 legatio Ioannis Grammatici apud chalipham, cf. etiam infra III.26

Cap. 9: Gen 44.28–38; Log A 221.122–123, 222.127–130 | PsSym 632.21–23, 633.4–6; Scyl 56.86–58.48

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9 σωτηριῶδη V 11 γε φασὶν V Comb 11 αὐτὸν ποτὲ V Comb 13 δἰ ἁμαρτίας V 14 ἐξ εἰπεῖν V 19 λείψανα τινὰ V **9**.4 σύγγελλον V 5 διδάσκαλων V 9 ἐξαπέστειλλεν V 9 ἄλλά τε V 10 καὶ τῶν : καὶ τὸ τῶν Scyl 56.92–93 11 ἐκπλήττεται : ἐπτόηται edd 11 πρὸς ἐπιδοὺς V 11 χρυσίον κεντηνάρια τεσσαράκοντα Scyl 56.93–94 12 ἀπέσταλκεν edd : cf. Scyl 56.95 πέπομφε 14 τε καὶ χάριν ἅμα αὐξ. V

Moreover, he expelled the prostitutes from their dwellings and cleared all that place, and he constructed a hospice bearing his name most beauteous in beauty, most great in size, airy and open to view, whereby pestilential passions are purified and salubrious remedies are brought about. Thus did he act with regard to prostitutes. But it is said that he was once taken by the beauty of one of Theodora's handmaids and, living frivolously at the time, had illicit relations with her. Now, when he perceived his straying from the good path, and above all that this had not escaped Theodora's notice but that she was downcast and had a dull, gloomy look, he thereupon declared everything to her, swearing an oath and raising his hands to God in awful wise that he had erred only this one time and asking forgiveness from his wife.

In addition, he raised up and constructed with munificent hand the house and palace for his daughters in the quarter named after Karianos; of which some ruins and mounds preserve the memory down to our day.

9. Now since in accordance with ancient custom he desired to make his sovereignty manifest to the Hagarenes, whether to share with them his good cheer or rather to appear formidable to them, he chose as worthy for this service John, then Syncellus, who, as we have said, was formerly his teacher. For because he was full of political aptitude and remained faithful to Theophilus in his heresy and, moreover, was vigorous in disputation, the latter loved him and esteemed him above all others around him. He therefore dispatched him to the ruler of Syria, giving him many of the things for which the empire of the Romans is admired and whereby the race of foreigners is astounded, adding also a sum of gold exceeding four hundredweights. He sent the other things as gifts for the ameramnounes, but the gold was for John to distribute with munificence, for the sake of display and increase. For if the envoy could scatter the gold as he desired, as if it were sand, then he who dispatched him would be all the more marvelled at for his heaps of gold. On this same account, in addition to these things, Theophilus also gave him two vessels consisting of gold and precious stones which the common, vulgar tongue calls

καὶ μὴ καθαρὰ καλεῖ χερνιβόξεστα, αὐτῷ ἐπιδέδωκεν, πάντοθεν ἐξαίρων
τὸν ἀπόστολον αὐτοῦ καὶ κοσμῶν. ὃς δὴ ἀφικόμενος καὶ τὸ Βαγδὰ ἄρτι
καταλαβὼν πολὺς μὲν ἐφαίνετο ἐκ τῆς ἔνδον περινοίας καὶ λόγου τοῦ
προφορικοῦ, πολὺς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἐπανθοῦντος πλούτου αὐτῷ καὶ
σεμνότητος, οὐ μικρά τινα τοῖς ἀποστελλομένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν φοιτῶσι
διδούς, μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μόνῳ κατάλληλα. ἐκ
τούτου δὴ ἐθαυμάζετό | τε καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ διαπρύσιον ἐγίγνετο ὄνομα. B 97
ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἄρτι τοῖς | ὁρίοις τῶν βαρβάρων προβὰς ἐξέπληξέ τε f. 32v
πάντας καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτήσεως χάριν αὐτῷ ὑπηντηκόσιν καὶ ὅπως ἔχοι πυ-
θομένοις μόνον ὁ βασιλεύς τῇ δαψιλείᾳ τῶν δώρων καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου θαυ-
μάσαι τούτους ἐποίησεν. τότε δὴ πλησιάσας τῷ Ἰσμαὴλ καὶ κατὰ
πρόσωπον στάς, καὶ ἀπαγγείλας τοὺς ἐκ βασιλέως λόγους αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ
ἀπηγγέλκει, ἄπεισι πρὸς τὸ <τῆς> ἀναπαύσεως καταγώγιον. μᾶλλον δὲ
καὶ μᾶλλον βουλόμενος ἐξᾶραι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, τοὺς ἐφ᾽ οἱᾳδηπο-
τοῦν αἰτίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν φοιτῶντας, μεγάλῃ τε καὶ μικρᾷ, σκεῦός τι
ἀργύρεον χρυσίου πληρῶν ἑκάστῳ ἐπεδίδου φιλοτιμούμενος. καί ποτε δὲ
τοῖς βαρβάροις συνεστιώμενος τῶν εἰρημένων δύο χειρονίπτρων τοῖς
ὑπηρετοῦσι παρήγγειλεν ἀπολέσαι τούτων ἑκουσίως τὸ ἕτερον, ὃ εἰς
ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκέκτητο. ὡς δὲ θροῦς τις οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ἐπὶ τῇ τούτου ἀπωλείᾳ
ἐγένετο, καὶ πάντες οἱ βάρβαροι τῷ κάλλει τούτου καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι ἔτι
γε μὴν καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ βεβλημένοι τὴν ψυχήν, πολλὴν συζήτησιν
ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἔρευναν, καὶ πάντα κάλων, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἔσειον, ὡς ἂν
εἰς φῶς ἀχθῇ τὸ κλαπέν, τηνικαῦτα οὗτος τὸ ἕτερον ἐκβαλεῖν κελεύσας,
“καὶ τοῦτο ἔα φθείρεσθαι” ἐπειπών, εἰς θάμβος ἦγε τοὺς Σαρακηνούς, τὴν
τοιαύτην ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ καταπαύσαντος. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἀμεραμνουνὴς
ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος, καὶ τούτου δεύτερος ὀφθῆναι μὴ βουλόμενος, | B 98
ἄλλοις τε δώροις αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευεν, οἷσπερ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἡλίσκετο ἀλλ᾽ ὡς
χοῦν αὐτοῦ κατενώπιον ἔρριπτεν, ἐπεδίδου <δὲ> καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἑκα-
τόν, ἄρτι τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφιάσεσι κοσμήσας εὐπρεπέσι, τὰ
τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας περιελόμενος ῥάκια. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἐπῄνει μὲν πάνυ καὶ
ἀπεδέχετο τοῦ διδόντος τὸ μεγαλόδωρον, ἐλάμβανεν δὲ οὐδαμῶς, εἰπὼν

||39 Pausanias, Synagoge Π no. 5, Hesychius Π no. 388, Photius Lexicon Π no. 165, Suda Π no. 221, cf. Anonymus professor epist. 109, ln. 12 et Photius, Bibliotheca cod. 242, 339a

19 τὸ: τὰ edd 21 προφορικοῦ V Bekk in app. Boor : προφητικοῦ edd 23 μόνον B edd 24 δὴ om. edd 25 προσβὰς coni. in marg. Comb Bekk Boor 26 τοῖς V Bekk in app. Boor : τῆς edd 28 θαυμᾶσαι V 30 <τῆς> suppl. Boor e Scyl 57.12 31 ἐξάραι V 32 οἷα δηποτοῦν ante corr. V 33 ἑκάστῳ B in marg. edd Boor : ἑκαστου V 34 χειρονίπτων V 36 ἀπωλείᾳ τούτου B edd 38 μὴν om. edd 41 ἐπεἰπὼν V 42 ἀμεραμνουνῆς edd 45 <δὲ> suppl. Boor e Scyl 57.27 ἐδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ : ἐπεδίδου καὶ V : ἐπεδίδου Comb : καὶ ἐπεδίδου Bekk 47 οὕτως V cum Scyl 57.30 : οὗτος edd

wash-basins, in every wise exalting and honouring his envoy. And when the latter arrived, he had hardly reached Bagdad before he shewed himself important, internally for his intelligence and fluent expression, and externally for the wealth and dignity which adorned him, and he granted no small sums to those who were dispatched to him and frequented him but rather great ones as befits only the emperor of the Romans. Because of this he was admired and his name was made thrilling. At first, no sooner had he approached the borders of the barbarians than he astonished everyone and, by his liberality with gifts and gold to those who came up to meet him with questions, merely enquiring how the emperor was, he made them marvel. Then, after he came to Ismael and stood in his presence, he reported the emperor's words to him; and when he had made the report, he went off to his resting-place. But desirous as he was to promote yet further the affairs of the Romans, he shewed munificence to those who frequented him for whatever reason, be it important or not, filling a silver vessel with gold for each of them. Once, when he was dining with the barbarians he instructed those serving purposely to lose one of the two aforementioned hand-basins which had been brought into service. Now, when no inconsiderable murmur arose on account of the basin's loss, and all the barbarians, struck in their souls by its beauty and majesty no less than by its magnificence, made an enquiry and search, moving every rope, as the saying goes, in order to bring to light that which had been stolen, then John commanded them to bring out the other basin, adding 'Let this one be lost too!' and thus causing the Saracens to marvel because he had stoppped the search. Whereupon the ameramnounes shewed munificence in return, wishing not to appear in second place, and he honoured him with many other gifts. But John was not won over by these latter and cast them like dust before him. The other granted also one hundred captives, taking them straightway from the prison and adorning them in seemly clothes, having removed the rags of their captivity. But John, though he greatly praised and acknowledged the generosity of the donor, in no wise accepted, saying that they

τούτους ἐν ἀνέσει μένειν τέως καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, μέχρις ἂν τὴν ἀντισήκωσιν ἐξεργάσεται καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Σαρακηνοὺς ἐπιδοὺς ἐκείνοις τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐκλήψεται. τοῦτο γοῦν γενόμενον ἐξέπληξε τὸν Σαρακηνόν· καὶ οὐκέτι ὡς ξένον, ὡς οἰκεῖον δὲ ἡγούμενος τοῦτον συνεχῶς μετεκαλεῖτο, καὶ θησαυροὺς ἐδείκνυ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων κάλλη καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σεμνοπρέπειαν. καὶ οὕτως δὴ τιμῶν γε τοῦτον ἐφαίνετο, | ἄχρις οὗ μεγαλοπρεπῶς πάλιν πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν f. 33r ἐξαπέστελλεν. ὃς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεόφιλον ἄρτι ἐληλυθώς, καὶ τὰ τῆς Συρίας πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξερχόμενος, ἔπεισε τὰ τοῦ Βρύου ἀνάκτορα πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σαρακηνικῶν οἰκημάτων κατασκευασθῆναι ὁμοίωσιν, ἔν τε σχήματι καὶ ποικιλίᾳ μηδὲν ἐκείνων τὸ σύνολον παραλλάττοντα, ἐκείνοις τούτου παρισταμένου καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωάννου ἐξήγησιν τὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐκπερατοῦντος, ὃς ὄνομα μὲν Πατρίκης οὕτω καλούμενος ὠνομάζετο, τῇ τῶν πατρικίων δὲ τιμῇ ἐσεμνύνετο, τοῦτο μόνον περιττότερον ἐργασάμενος, τὸ κατὰ τὸν κοιτῶνα μὲν ἀνεγεῖραι ναὸν εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου, κατὰ δὲ τὸ προαύλιον τῶν τοιούτων παλα|τίων τρίκογχον ναὸν κάλλει τε κάλλιστον καὶ μεγέθει πολλῶν B 99 διαφέροντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ, τὰ δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν τούτου εἰς μαρτύρων γυναικῶν ἁγίων ὀνόματα.

10. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς πιστοὺς ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τὰς θείας καὶ ἀχράντους εἰκόνας προσκυνοῦντας, οἷος; ὡς βάρβαρός τις καὶ αὐστηρὸς καὶ πάντας παρελάσαι φιλονεικῶν <τοὺς> ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεινούς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ – Λέων δὲ ἦσαν καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ τούτου πατὴρ – ὁ μὲν ἐθέσπισεν μή τινι τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰκόνων, κἂν εἴ που γραφόμεναι τύχοιεν, τὴν 'ἅγιος' φωνὴν ἐγχαράττεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ταύτην ἁρμόζει ἐπιγράφεσθαι ἢ τῷ θείῳ, οὐκ εὐστόχως βαλὼν τῷ νῷ· πῶς γὰρ ὅ γε καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς 'θεὸς' φωνῆς ὑψηλοτέρας οὔσης μεταδοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τοῖς οὐ φύσει, θέσει δέ φημι, εἴγε αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἦν ὁ φθεγξάμενος, τῆς 'ἅγιος' ἀποστερήσοι ταπεινοτέρας οὔσης κατὰ πολύ; πλὴν ὁ μὲν τοῦτο, φησί,

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Cap. 10: Scyl 58.59–59.80 || 7–10 Ps 81.6

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49 ἐνανέσει (sic) μένειν τέως καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ V cum Scyl 57.31 : ἐν ἀνέσει μὲν τέως καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ μένειν edd 51 γοῦν V 52 οὐκ ἔτι V 53 ἐδείκνει B : ἐδεικνύει Comb : ἐδείκνυε Bekk 56 ἐξαπέσταλκεν edd 56 ἐξεληλυθώς edd, cf. Scyl 57.37–38 ἐπανελθὼν 57 ἀνακτορὰ V 58 Σαρακηνικῶν οἰκημάτων V cum Scyl 57.39–40.40 : Σαρακηνῶν οἰκημάτων B : Σαρακηνῶν edd 58 σχήμασι edd 61 ὀνομάζετο V 62 τιμὴ V 63 τῆς om. edd 65 παλατίων τὸν edd 66 Μιχαήλ om. edd **10.**1 ὀνόματα. Περὶ δὲ : ὀνόματα. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐδόκει τε καὶ ἐνομίζετο μεγαλοπρεπὴς ὁ Θεόφιλος καὶ θαυμαστός· Περὶ δὲ suppl. edd e Scyl 58.48–50 1 τὰς θείας καὶ ἀχράντους V : τὰς σεπτὰς καὶ θείας edd 2 οἷος; Boor : οἷος. V : οἷος! edd 2 βάρβαρος : βαρύς Scyl 58.51 2 καὶ om. edd 3 <τοὺς> suppl. Boor in app. 7 εἴγε edd 8 μεταδοὺς ὁ θεὸς edd 8 τῆς οὐ φύσει, θέσει δὲ V Boor : τοῖς οὐ φύσει, θεοῖς δέ edd : τοῖς οὐ φύσει θεοῖς, θέσει δέ Bekk in app. 10 ἀποστερήσει B edd

should remain in ease and freedom at home until he could make compensation by adding more Saracen captives to these in order to receive ours in full. The Saracen was astonished by this, and he no longer held John as a foreigner but as one of his own, and he invited him continually and shewed him his treaures and the beauties of his abodes and his majestic state. And thus he manifestly honoured him until he dispatched him again with magnificence to Constantinople. Now, as soon as John returned to Theophilus, he recounted everything about Syria and convinced him to construct the palace of Bryas in resemblance to Saracen abodes, in no wise differing from them in form or variety; and this was overseen by him and the work carried out according to John's description by a man whose name was Patrikes and who was distinguished by the dignity of patrikios. The only additional thing he wrought was to erect in the private chambers a church in the name of our supremely holy Lady the Mother of God, and, in the forecourt of the palace, a church with three apses most beauteous in beauty and surpassing many others in size, the middle in the name of the Commander-in-chief Michael and each of the two sides in the names of women martyrs.

10. But in regard to the faithful amongst us and those who worshipped the divine and undefiled images, what was he like? Like someone barbarous and harsh who strove to surpass all who excelled in these qualities. For of those who preceeded him – that is, Leo and Michael, Theophilus's father – the one decreed that on no drawn image, if any ever be drawn, should the word 'holy' be inscribed, as it was not fitting that this word be attributed to anyone other than the Divinity; but his reasoning was faulty. For how, after having bestowed upon men the more sublime term *God*, with regard to their position, of course, not nature – how would He then, if indeed He is the same who thus spoke through the prophet, begrudge them the term 'holy', which is by far more humble? It was Michael who decreed this, says Theo-

θεσπίσας ἦν, ἅτερος δὲ ὁ Λέων τὸ μὴ δὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι· “ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὴ δὲ χρώμασι ταύτας τυποῦσθαί τε καὶ μορφάζεσθαι, καθὸ χαμαιπετῆ ὄντα οὐ χρὴ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπτοῆσθαι, πρὸς μόνην δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν”. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν καθῃροῦντο μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν αἱ θεῖαι μορφαί, θηρία δὲ καὶ ὄρνιθες ἀνεστηλοῦντο καὶ ἐνεγρά|φοντο, τὴν ἀνδραποδώδη τούτου B 100 διάνοιαν ἐξελέγχοντα. ἐντεῦθεν βεβήλοις χερσὶ δι’ ἀγορᾶς τὰ ἱερὰ κειμήλια ἐφυβρίζοντο καὶ ἄλλως | ἐρριπτοῦντο κατὰ τῆς γῆς πυρὶ f. 33v διδόμενα, καὶ κοινὰ τὰ τίμια ἐλογίζοντο ὅσα τὰς θείας ἔφερον ἐγκεκολαμμένας μορφάς. ἐντεῦθεν πλήρη μὲν τὰ πολιτικὰ δεσμωτήρια τῶν διὰ τιμῆς ἀγόντων αὐτάς, τῶν γραφόντων, τῶν μοναζόντων, τῶν ἐπισκόπων, τῶν ποιμένων, τῶν ποιμαινομένων, πλήρη δὲ τὰ ὄρη τε καὶ τὰ σπήλαια τῶν ὡς κακούργων ἀναιρεθέντων λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψει καὶ τῶν ἐκ πολιορκίας δεινῆς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἔλαττον. ἄρτι γὰρ ἀβάτους τηρεῖσθαι τοῖς μοναχοῖς τὰς πόλεις ἐγκελευσάμενος καὶ πάντῃ τούτους ὡς ἀποτρόπαιον ἀπελαύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ κατὰ χώραν ὁρᾶσθαι τολμᾶν, ἦν τούτων τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ ἡσυχαστήρια περιφανῶς πολυάνδρια. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν προδοῦναι τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔνδυμα οὐμενοῦν θέλοντες λιμῷ τακέντες καὶ κακουχίαις ἐξέλιπον· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοσοῦτον μὴ δ’ ἀντοφθαλμεῖν ἀγῶνα δυνάμενοι τῶν ἐνδυμάτων μὲν κατωλιγώρησαν, τὴν ἑαυτῶν δὲ σωτηρίαν πως ᾠκονόμησαν· ἕτεροι δὲ ῥᾳθυμότερον διαζῶντες τὸν ἄνετον καὶ ἐκλελυμένον ἠσπάσαντο βίον, τῶν θείων ὕμνων καὶ ᾠδῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> ἐσθήματος ἀφειδήσαντες, τῷ μὴ δὲ τούτους τελεῖσθαι τοὺς συλλόγους τὸν τύραννον βούλεσθαι, οἳ πολλάκις καὶ μόνοι δύνανται τηρεῖν καὶ οἷον χαλινός τις εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς τὰ πάθη ἀτάκτως κατολισθαίνουσιν.

|**11.** Πλὴν οὐκ ἦν πάντῃ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἰδεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων B 101 ἀποφοιτήσασαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν θερμοτέρων τινὲς μὲν καθ’ εἷς τινες δὲ συστάδην, ὥσπερ οἱ τῆς τῶν Ἀβρααμιτῶν μονῆς ὁρμώμενοι, ὀφθέντες αὐτῷ λογικῶς ἔκ τε τῶν εἰρημένων τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν Διονυσίῳ τε τῷ θείῳ καὶ Ἱεροθέῳ καὶ Εἰρηναίῳ ἀπεδείκνυον ὡς οὐ χθὲς καὶ πρῴην ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν πολιτεία τε καὶ κατάστασις ἐπινενόηται, παλαιὰ δέ τις καὶ ἀρχέγονος καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπέραστος. οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν

Cap. 11: | Scyl 59.81–60.6 || 3–7 cf. Theod Stud epist. no. 489, ln. 12–38

11 ἅτερος V 12 καθ’ ὃ V Comb 13 ταύτα V 13 ἀλήθειαν σκοπεῖν edd e Scyl 58.62 15 ὄρνιθες ἀντὶ τούτων edd e Scyl 58.63 15 τὴν θηριώδη καὶ ἀνδραποδώδη edd e Scyl 59.64 17 ἐφ’ ὑβρίζοντο V 20 μωναζόντων V 22 καὶ ante τῶν del. Boor 23 ἐπέλαττον V Comb 25 ἀπελαύνεσθαι θεσπίσας edd e Scyl 59.71 25 καταχώραν V 25 ἦν : εἰργάσατο edd e Scyl 59.72 25 τοῦτων V 26 πολυάνδρια καὶ κοσμικὰ καταγώγια edd 27 οὔ μεν οὖν V : οὔμενουν Comb 28 κακουχίαις edd Boor e Scyl 59.74 : κακουχίας V 29 ἀγῶνα μηδ’ ἀντοφθαλμεῖν edd 30 πῶς V 32 αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> Boor in app. e Scyl 59.77 : αὐτοῦ V: om. edd 32 τῷ Boor : τὸ V edd 33 τυρράννον V 33 οἳ … μόνοι Boor e Scyl : ἃ … μόνα V edd **11.**2 τινὲς V 3 ὥσπερ: ὡς edd 3 ὀφθέντες om. edd : μετὰ παρρησίας ὀφθέντες Scyl 59.84 6 δε τίς V 7 τὴν om. edd

philus, and the other, Leo, <decreed> the forbidding of worship: 'And I, <Theophilus, decree> that these <images> should not be modelled or styled with paints, in as much as one ought not, in grovelling fashion, feel awe before these things but before the truth alone.' Therefore the divine forms were taken down in all the churches, and beasts and birds were put up and drawn on, exposing the servile nature of his thought. Therefore sacred treasures were defiled by profane hands in the market place and elsewhere thrown upon the ground to be given over to the flames, and all venerable objects bearing engraved divine images were treated as ordinary. Therefore the city prisons were filled with those who honoured the images, those who painted them, those who practised monasticism, bishops, shepherds and their flocks; and filled were also the mountains and the caves with those who were wasted by hunger and thirst even as criminals, in no wise less than of those enduring dire siege. For just after Theophilus had commanded that cities should be kept inaccessible to monks and that these latter should be driven away as an object of ill omen nor dare be seen in the country, it was notorious that their monasteries and hermitages were cemetaries. For certain of the monks, who were indeed unwilling to betray virtue and their holy garment, worn down by famine and maltreatments, perished; others, unable to withstand such a struggle, neglected their garments and somehow arranged for their own deliverance; whereas yet others, living in a more careless manner, pursued an easy and relaxed way of life, recklessly dispensing with the divine hymns and songs and even their very habit through the tyrant's desire that they should not form assemblies which often in themselves are able to protect and serve as a bridle to those who in disorder slide down toward passions.

11. However, boldness of speech and freedom did not depart altogether from the company of men, but certain more zealous men, appearing before him one by one or in groups – such as those coming from the monastery of the Abrahamites –, shewed him in dialectical wise through the writings of our fathers the divine Dionysius and Hierotheus and Irenaeus that the constitution and condition of the monks was not contrived just now or yesterday, but was something ancient and primeval and beloved by men. Moreover, they

θείων εἰκόνων ἐκτύπωσιν σύντροφόν τε τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁμοδίαιτον ἀπεδείκνυον, εἴγε Λουκᾶς μὲν ὁ θεῖος τὴν τῆς θεοτόκου μορφὴν ἐνετύπωσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπί τινος ὀθόνης ἀπομαξάμενος ἀχειρότευκτον ἡμῖν ἐγκατέλιπεν. οὗτοι γοῦν τὴν τοῦ τυράννου μανίαν καὶ θηριωδίαν εἰσκαλεσάμενοι | τῷ σφόδρα f. 34r παρρησιασθῆναι μετὰ πολλὰς ἑτέρας βασάνους τῆς πόλεως ἐξώσθησαν, πρὸς δὲ εὐκτήριον τοῦ Προδρόμου τὸ οὕτω καλούμενον τοῦ Φοβεροῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον πεφευγότες τῆς ἄνω <λή>ξεως ταῖς τῶν μαστίγων ἀφορήτοις φοραῖς ἠξιώθησαν· ὧν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ σώματα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἄλλως ἐρριμμένα πρὸς τοὔδαφος, μὴ δὲ τῆς ταφῆς εὐμοιρηκότα, σῶα διετηρήθησαν καὶ ἀλώβητα μέχρις ὅτου τοῖς πιστοῖς γενόμενα φανερὰ ἐκηδεύθησάν τε καὶ καταλλήλως τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρήσασιν ἐτιμήθησαν.

|**12.** Τούτοις ἐφάμιλλος καί τις γενόμενος μοναχός, ἄρτι πρὸς ἀρχὴν B 102 τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀναδραμὼν καὶ ζήλου πλησθείς, τὸν τύραννον ἐλέγξαι διέγνωκε καὶ περὶ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων πεῖσαι, εἰ δυνατόν. καὶ δὴ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ στὰς ἄλλα τε διεξῄει πολλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου ῥητόν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ φάσκον "εἴ τις ὑμῖν εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω". ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ πληγὰς ἐπιθείς, ἐπεὶ σοφώτερα λέγειν διέγνωκεν, ταὐτὸν δὲ εἶναι δυνατώτερα εἰπεῖν, πρὸς τὸν Ἰαννῆν ἐξαπέστελλεν, καθηγητὴν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα τε καὶ διδάσκαλον, διαλεκτικαῖς ἀποδείξεσι χρώμενον καταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον οὐ τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς, τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς δὲ καὶ εὐαγγελικοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀφωνότερον ἰχθύων ἀποδείξας τέως μὲν ἀπὸ τούτου ἐγένετο, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς τὸ Καλὸν οὕτω λεγόμενον ἀποδημήσας ὄρος, Ἰγνάτιόν τινα θεοφόρον ἄνδρα καταλαβὼν χειροτονίας τε ἠξίωσεν, καὶ περὶ τῶν

11.15–16 : Martyrologium Romanum (p. 165) Abrahamitorum monachorum mortem 8 Iul. sine anno adscribit.

Cap. 12: | Scyl 60.6–20 || 5–6 Galat. 1.9; 11 cf. GeorgMon 777.12–14, Photius Epist. no. 165, ln. 51.

9 Λουκάς V 10 ἀνετύπωσεν Scyl 59.90 10 Χριστὸς ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν edd e Scyl 59.90–91 11 οὗτοι γοῦν οἱ θειότατοι ἄνδρες edd e Scyl 59.92 12 ἐκκαλεσάμενοι edd e Scyl 60.94 14 τοῦ ante Προδρόμου om. edd 15 τῆς ἄνω <λή>ξεως Comb e Scyl 60.2–3 : τῆς ἄνωξεως V 16 πεφευγότες, καὶ ταῖς τῶν μαστίγων ἀφορήτοις φοραῖς τελείως καταπονηθέντες, τῆς ἄνω λήξεως ἠξιώθησαν edd e Scyl 60.2–3 17 ἐπιπολὺ V Comb 17 ἐρριμένα V 17 τούδαφος V **12.**1 τίς V Comb 1 ἄρτι δὲ edd 3 θείων : ἁγίων edd 6 ἐπιθεὶς οὐκ ὀλίγας edd e Scyl 60.11 7 ταυτὸν δὲ εἶναι V : αὐτοῦ τε edd : ταὐτὸν δὲ καὶ Boor 7 Ἰαννὴν V : Ἰωάννην edd 8 ἐξαπέσταλκεν edd 8 τὲ V 10 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον ὁ γενναῖος ἀγωνιστὴς οὐ ταῖς σοφιστικαῖς καὶ διαλεκτικαῖς ἀποδείξεσι edd e Scyl 60.14–15

shewed that the fashioning of the divine images was familiar and habitual to the Apostles, if indeed the divine Luke fashioned the form of the Mother of God, and our Christ God, pressing upon a cloth His own form, unmade by hands, Himself bequeathed it to us. Provoking the tyrant's madness and brutality by speaking with extreme boldness these monks, after many other tortures, were expelled from the city. Fleeing to the oratory of the Forerunner called Fearful (Phoberos) on the Euxine sea, they were then deemed worthy of a sublime death through unbearable blows of the whip; and their holy bodies, cast at random upon the ground, bereft of burial, were preserved for a long time safe and unharmed until they were revealed to the faithful and were buried and granted the honour befitting those who bore witness on behalf of Christ.

12. Eager to emulate these same a certain monk who had only just attained to the office of the priesthood and was filled with zeal decided to refute the tyrant and, if possible, to pursuade him in the matter of the divine images. Standing before him he mentioned amongst many other things also the words of the apostle Paul who said: 'If anyone *preach any other gospel unto you than that* which ye have received, *let him be accursed*.' But Theophilus imposed blows upon him and, because he recognised that the other spoke more wisely, that is to say, was more forceful, he dispatched him to Jannes (John)[1], who had been Theophilus's guide and teacher, commanding this latter to strike him down using dialectical arguments. But the monk, through words not of the sophists, but rather of the apostles and Gospel, rendered him more speechless than a fish; and being rid of him, he later went off to the mountain called Good (Kalon). There he came upon a certain Ignatios, a God-inspired man, whom he deemed worthy of ordination; and after he had imparted to

[1] Play on name of John with the Biblical sorcerer, cf. Infra IV. ch. 6.

μελλόντων πραγμάτων τε καὶ βασιλέων ἀναδιδάξας, ἄχρι καὶ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου Λέοντος καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ, πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν.

13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας τοὺς τὰς θείας ἐκτυποῦντας μορφὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖν ὁ τύραννος ἐνενόησεν ἢ τὸ ζῆν αἱρουμένους ἐμπτύειν τε καὶ ὡς βέβηλά τινα ἐπ' ἐδάφους ῥιπτεῖν καὶ καταπατεῖν καὶ οὕτω σώζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν μοναχὸν Λάζαρον – περιβόητος | δὲ τηνικαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ζῷα B 103 γράφουσαν ὑπῆρχε τέχνην – βιάζεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα διέγνωκεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον κρείττω μὲν τῶν θωπειῶν, κρείττω δὲ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης εὑρίσκων, οὐχ ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς | ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος, f. 34v τοσοῦτον ταῖς βασάνοις κατῄκισεν ὡς πρῶτον μὲν συναπορρέειν τὰς σάρκας τῷ αἵματι καὶ μὴ δὲ ζῆν ὅλως ὑπονοεῖσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοῦτον αὖθις ἐγκαθειργμένον μόλις τε ἀναρραΐσαντα διήκουσε, καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τέχνῃ ἐνασχολούμενον τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ἐν πίναξιν ἀναστηλοῦν μορφάς, πέταλα σιδηρᾶ ἀπανθρακωθέντα ταῖς παλάμαις αὐτοῦ τεθῆναι προσέταξεν. ἐβόσκετο οὖν τὸ πῦρ τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ καὶ κατενέμετο, ἄχρι ποτὲ ἀπαγορεύσας ἔκειτο ἡμιθνής. ἀλλ' ἔδει τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἔναυσμα· ὅθεν ἐπεὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πνεῖν τὸν ὅσιον ἀνεμάνθανεν, ἱκετείαις τῆς αὐγούστης καί τινων ἄλλων οἰκειοτέρων τῆς εἱρκτῆς μὲν ἀπέλυσεν, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ προδρόμου τὸν οὕτω καλούμενον τοῦ Φοβεροῦ ἐναπεκρύβη, ἔνθα καὶ τῶν πληγῶν συνουσῶν αὐτῷ εἰκόνα διέγραψε τοῦ προδρόμου τὴν καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν διασωζομένην τε καὶ ἰάσεις ἐπιτελοῦσαν πολλάς. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου ἀποβίωσιν, τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας λαμψάσης, τὴν ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ θεανθρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκείαις οὗτος χερσὶν ἀνεστήλωσεν. ὃς καὶ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς περιφανοῦς Θεοδώρας συγγνώμην δοῦναί τε καὶ αἰτήσασθαι τῷ ταύτης ἀνδρί, "οὐκ ἄδικος", ἔφη, "ὁ θεὸς ἐπι|λαθέσθαι τῆς ἡμῶν ἀγάπης καὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν κόπων, B 104 ἐκείνου δὲ τὸ μῖσος <προτιμῆσαι> καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μανίαν".

Cap. 13: | Scyl 60.20–61.45 || 24–25 Hebr. 6.10

15 ἐκγόνων : τέκνων edd 15 αὐτοῦ διαμείνας edd **13.**3 βέβηλα V 4 τηνικαῦτὰ V 12 ἀναστηλοῦν<τα> Boor in app. 16 ὅσιον ἀνεμάνθανεν edd e Scyl 61.34 θεσπέσιον ἀνεμάνθανεν : ὅσιον εμάνθανεν post corr. V, ante corr. ὅσιἀνεμάνθανεν 17 εἰρκτῆς V 18 ἐναπεκρύβη B edd Boor e Scyl 61.36 : ἀναπεκρύβη V 21 ἀναλαμψάσης edd e Scyl 61.39 23 περιφανοὺς V 24 οὐκάδικος V 25 ἔφη, "ὁ θεὸς : ὁ θεός", ἔφη, "ὦ βασίλισσα edd, cf. Scyl 61.43 ἔφη, "ὁ θεός, ὦ βασίλεια 26 <προτιμῆσαι> καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μανίαν Boor e Scyl 61.44 : καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μανίαν V : καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μανίαν καὶ προτιμῆσαι. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον edd, fortasse recte ultimam sententiam addentes e Scyl 61.45, cf. infra III.36.31–32 et VBas 19.35, et autem I.9.37, I.10.41–42, I.18.6 et II.7.26–27.

him knowledge of things and emperors that would follow, down to the Christ-loving Leo and his grandchildren, he departed to the Lord.

13. Now because the tyrant intended to eliminate from amongst men all those who painted the divine images or else, if they chose to live, that they should spit upon them and cast them on the ground and trample on them as profane things and thus save themselves, also in the case of the monk Lazarus – he was then renowned for his art in depicting living things – did he decide to use force against the man. But when he found the other beyond reach of his flatteries and also beyond reach of his understanding, having been not once or twice but many times worsted by him, he punished him with such tortures that at first his flesh ran off together with his blood and he was thought by many not to be alive at all. And after he had been confined again in prison, when Theophilus heard that, having scarcely recovered, he was employing his art to set out the forms of the saints on panels, he commanded that burning irons should be applied to his palms. The fire burned and consumed his flesh until he passed out and lay half-dead. But he was to be preserved by Grace as a stimulus to later men. Thus, when Theophilus learned that the holy one was breathing his last, by the supplications of the empress and some others of his closer relations, he released him from prison; and he went into hiding in the church of the Forerunner called Fearful (Phoberos). There, the wounds still upon him, he painted the image of the Forerunner which is preserved to our day and which works many healings. So were these things then. But after the tyrant's demise, when Orthodoxy shone forth, this Lazarus with his own hands set up on the Chalke the image of the God-man Jesus Christ; and being called upon by the illustrious Theodora to grant and beseech pardon for her husband he said, 'God is not so unjust as to forget our love and pains on His behalf and prefer his hatred and exceeding madness.'

14. Καί ποτε δὲ τὸν ὁμολογητὴν Θεοφάνην καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν αὐτοῦ
ἀδελφόν, ἐπείπερ λογιότητι διαφέροντας ἐγίνωσκε τῶν πολλῶν, κατὰ τὸν
τοῦ Λαυσιακοῦ τρίκλινον εἰσεκάλει δημοσίᾳ διαλεξομένους περὶ τῆς
πίστεως· καὶ "ἄγε δή", φησί, "ὑμεῖς, ὦ κατάρατοι, τίσι πειθόμενοι ῥήσεσι
τῆς γραφῆς καὶ τεθαρρηκότες τὰ εἴδωλα", ἀφέτῳ δὴ γλώττῃ καὶ μιαρᾷ
τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας οὕτω καλῶν, "προσκυνεῖτε, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀκε-
ραίους καλῶς ἔχειν διαβεβαιοῦσθε;" καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα προσετίθει βλάσφημα
καὶ ἀπηχῆ κατὰ τῆς εἰκόνος Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγωνοτέρᾳ φωνῇ. καὶ οὗ-
τοι δὴ οἱ μακάριοι, "ἐμφραχθείη τὸ στόμα", εἰπόντες, "κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ
λαλοῦν ἄνομα," καὶ | τούτῳ δὴ τὸ θράσος αὐτοῦ καταβαλόντες – οὐ φέρει f. 35r
γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἄδικος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐλεγχόμενος –, τὸν θῶπα τέως
ὑποκρίνεται, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐζήτει μαρτυρίας εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο
ἐναγούσας, τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι αὐτάς. τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους ῥῆσίν
τινα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἠσαΐου προσάγοντος προφητείας, οὐκ ἔχειν οὕτως
ταύτην ὁ Θεόφιλος ἀντέλεγεν, καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βίβλον ἀνελίττων
ἐδείκνυ τοὺς λόγους πιστούς. ὡς δὲ νενοθεῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐ ταύτην δὴ
μόνον ὁ ἅγιος ἐπεβόα ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας τὰς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα βίβλους | B 105
ἐληλακυίας, ἐκείνην ἔλεγε προστεθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν κατὰ τὴν πατρι-
αρχικὴν ἐν τῷ Θωμαΐτῃ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν θέσιν κειμένην βιβλιοθήκην εἰς
τῶν λεγομένων βεβαίωσιν. ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἀπέσταλτό τις καὶ θᾶττον ἢ λόγος
ἤγαγεν, ἑκὼν μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥητοῦ εὕρεσιν ἡμάρτανεν καὶ
ἀλλαχοῦ ἀνείλιττεν αἰσχυνόμενος· ὡς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Θεοφάνους
ἀνεδιδάσκετο, δακτυλοδεικτοῦντος ὡς "ἔτι τρία φύλλα διαβιβάσας τὸ
ζητούμενον καταλάβοις", τότε δὴ μὴ φέρων τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
παρρησίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν οὕτως εἰδώς, τὸ τῆς μακροθυμίας
μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐπίπλαστον ἀπορρίψας καὶ τὸν θῆρα ἀνακαλύψας "οὐ
δίκαιον", ἔφησε, "βασιλέα ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ἐνυβρίζεσθαι." ὅθεν
προσέταξεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λαυσιακοῦ μεσοκηπίῳ τούτους ἀπαχθέντας ἀνὰ

Cap. 14: Encomium Theodori §27.133-§37.145; Vita Theodori Grapti 672B-680A; Vita Michaelis Sync 82.18–96.4; Acta Davidis 238.26–239.18; Gen 52.69–74; Log A 228.267–229.288 | PsSym 641.3–642.10; Scyl 61.45–63.92 || 9–10 cf. Iob 5.16 et Ps 62.12; 13–14 Is 52–53?

14.2 ἀνεγίνωσκε edd 3 ἐξεκάλει edd 4 φησι V 4 κατάρρατοι V 5 ἀφετώ δὴ V 5 γλώσσῃ edd 7 ἔχειν οὕτω ποιεῖν edd e Scyl 61.51 οὕτω ποιεῖν 7 ἀλλ' ἆττα V 9 οἱ om. edd, sed coni. Bekk in app. 10 κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ λαλοῦν : τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαλοῦν edd, cf. Scyl 61.54 τὸ λαλοῦν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ 14 ῥῆσιν τινὰ V 14 προσάγοντος B in marg. edd Boor : προσάγον V 15 ἕαυτοῦ V 16 ἐδείκνει B : ἐδεικνύει Comb : ἐδείκνυε Bekk 17 τὴν om. edd 18 ἐληλακυῖας V 18 ἔλεγε προστεθῆναι nos (προτεθῆναι Kamb), cf. Scyl 62.61–62 ἔλεγε προτιθεὶς ἰέναι : ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς ἔλεγε V : ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς τὴν βίβλον ἰέναι edd e Scyl : ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς κομισθῆναι Scyl 62.61–62 (B) : ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς <ἰέναι> Boor 19 τῆνδε V 20 γοῦν V 22 ἀνέλιττεν V 25 παρρεισίαν V 28 τούτους om. edd

14. He once also summoned the confessor Theophanes and his brother Theodore to speak in public about the faith in the hall of the Lausiakos, in as much as he knew that they surpassed common men in their eloquence. 'Come then,' he said, 'ye accursed, in which citations of Scripture do you trust and take confidence as you worship the idols' – for thus he called the holy images with his loose and defiled tongue – 'assuring common and guileless men that this is right?' And in a louder voice he added yet other blasphemous and unseemly insults against the image of Christ God. But when the blessed ones said: '*Let the mouth be stopped that speaketh* unlawful things against God' and thereby undermined his confidence – for an unrighteous ruler cannot bear to be repoached to his face –, he played for a while the flatterer and enquired after the witnesses from the Prophets that enjoin this, namely, that the images should be worshipped. But when the blessed Theophanes brought forth a citation from the book of Isaiah, Theophilus declared in opposition that this citation did not run thus; and opening forthwith his own book he shewed the genuine words. And when the holy Theophanes cried out that not only this one but all the books which had come into his hands had been corrupted, Theophilus said that the book containing this passage deposited in the patriarcal library in the Thomais should be brought to him for confirmation of the words. No sooner had someone been dispatched and brought it than the emperor purposely missed finding the citation and, being ashamed, opened the book elsewhere. And when it was explained to him by the blessed Theophanes, pointing his finger, that 'If you skip three more pages you will find what you seek', he could no longer bear the men's boldness of speech. And knowing that the truth was such, Theophilus threw off the forbearance he had feigned until then and revealed the beast: 'It is not right,' he said, 'for an emperor to be insulted by such men.' Whereupon he ordered that they should be taken into the garden courtyard (mesokepion) of the Lausiakos and beaten

διακοσίων ῥάβδων τυφθῆναι, καὶ τῷ μετώπῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιγραφῆναι βαρβαρικῶς ἐκκεντηθέντας οὓς συντέθεικε λήρους ἰαμβικούς. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι·

Πάντων ποθούντων προστρέχειν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
ὅπου πάναγνοι τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου πόδες
ἔστησαν εἰς σύστημα τῆς οἰκουμένης,
ὤφθησαν οὗτοι τῷ σεβασμίῳ τόπῳ
σκεύη πονηρὰ δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης.
ἐκεῖσε πολλὰ λοιπὸν ἐξ ἀπιστίας
πράξαντες αἰσχρὰ δεινὰ δυσσεβοφρόνως,
ἐκεῖθεν ἠλάθησαν ὡς ἀποστάται.
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν δὲ τοῦ κράτους πεφευγότες
| οὐκ ἐξαφῆκαν τὰς ἀθέσμους μωρίας. f. 35v
ὅθεν γραφέντες ὡς κακοῦργοι τὴν θέαν B 106
κατακρίνονται καὶ διώκονται πάλιν.

Τούτου δὲ θᾶττον γενομένου ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὸν τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ μαρτυρίας ἀνεδήσαντο στέφανον, οὗτος δὲ ὁ σοβαρὸς καὶ πάντων ἀθλίων ἀθλιώτερος πᾶσιν ἐδείχθη βλάσφημος καὶ διώκτης καὶ τῶν πώποτε κακοδόξων κακοδοξότερος.

15. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ Μιχαὴλ τὸν σύγκελλον τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἐκκλησίας σὺν ἑτέροις πολλοῖς ἀσκηταῖς κατὰ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐγκαθεῖρξεν, τῇ πολυχρονίῳ κακώσει ὑπεῖξαι μηχανώμενος. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τῶν πιστῶν καὶ ἁγνῶν τοιαῦτα αὐτοῦ τὰ νεανιεύματα· καὶ τὸν μὲν δι' ἡμᾶς ὀφθέντα ἄνθρωπον, θεὸν ὄντα ἀληθινόν, οὕτως ὕβριζέ τε καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἁγίους θεράποντας οὐχ οὕτω βραχεῖ χρόνῳ καὶ περιωρισμένῳ κατὰ πάντα δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς.

14.27–30 : 18 Iul. a. 836 secundum Vitam Michaelis Syncelli 96 in Graptorum fratrum fronte vv.1–4 incisi sunt.

Cap. 15: Vita Michaelis Sync passim | Scyl 63.92–4

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29 ἀναδιακοσίων V 30 ἐγκεντηθέντας Bekk 30 συνέθηκε edd 31 ποθούντων Acta Davidis 239.5 Vita Michaelis Sync. 86.6 Vita Theodori Grapti 673D PsSym 641.20 Scyl 62.77 edd Boor : ποθούν V 31 ἐν τῇ πόλει PsSym 641.20 33 σύστημα V B in marg. Acta Davidis 239.7 Scyl 62.79 (AEV) Comb in marg. Bekk : σύστασιν B Vita Michaelis Syncelli 86.8 Vita Theodori Grapti 673D PsSym 641.22 Scyl 62.79 (CBMN), Comb 36 κἀκεῖσε Acta Davidis 239.10 36 ἐξ ἀπιστίας Acta Davidis 239.10 Vita Michaelis Sync. 86.11 PsSym 642.2 : ἐξαπιστίας V: ἐξ ἀγνωσίας Vita Theodori Grapti 673D 38 ἠλάθεισαν V : ἠλάσθησαν PsSym f 244r 39 πρὸ PsSym f 244r 41 τὴν θέαν : τὰς ὄψεις PsSym 642.7 43 θάττον V 43 ἐκείνοι V **15.**3 πολιχρονίῳ edd 3 ὑπάξαι edd Boor e Scyl 63.94 4 ἀγνϖ V : ἁγνῶν B : ἁγίων edd e Scyl 63.95 5 ὕβριζέ τε Bekker : ὕβριζέται V : ὑβρίζεται B Comb 6 οὕτω secclusit Boor in app. 7 ζωῆς ἐκάκου καὶ ἀνηκέστοις ὑπεβάλλετο συμφοραῖς edd e Scyl 63.3–4

with two-hundred strokes and that frivolous iambics which he had composed should be inscribed on their foreheads by pricking in barbarous wise. These are the verses:

Whilst all long to run to the City
Where God the Word's all-holy feet
Stood firm for World's constitution,
Appeared these men in that place revered,
Wicked vessels of superstitious error.
There then, through faithlessness, having wrought
Shameful evils aplenty with mind ungodly,
Thence were they driven forth as rebels.
To the City of empire did they fly,
Though desisted not from lawless follies.
Wherefore as malefactors marked on the face
Are they condemned and pursued anew.

This being done straightway, the brothers put on the crown of the confessors and martyrs, whereas the haughty Theophilus, more wetched than all the wretched, was revealed to all as a blasphemer and persecutor and the most unorthodox ever of the unorthodox.

15. In addition to these he also confined to prison Michael the Syncellus of the Church of the Holy City together with many other ascetics, contriving that they should submit under long-lasting mistreatment. Such were his wanton acts against the faithful and pure; and thus did he insult both Him who, being true God, for our sake was seen as man, as well as his His holy servitors, and this not only for a short and circumscribed time, but throughout all his lifetime.

16. Ὕμνους δέ τινας ποιῶν καὶ στιχηρὰ μελίζων ᾄδεσθαι προετρέπετο· μεθ’ ὧν καὶ τὸ τοῦ τετάρτου ἤχου “εὐλογεῖτε”, ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην “ἄκουε, κόρη” ᾠδὴν μεθαρμοσάμενος καὶ ῥυθμὸν παρασχών, ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς πάντων ἐπήκοον ᾄδεσθαι διωρίσατο. φέρεται δὲ καὶ λόγος τις ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Θεόφιλος ἔρωτι τοῦ μέλους βαλλόμενος, καθάπερ οἱ πατέρες | B 107 περὶ τὰ ἔκγονα, κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν <ἐν> φαιδρᾷ πανηγύρει οὐ παρῃτήσατο τὸ χειρονομεῖν, δοὺς τῷ κλήρῳ αὐτῆς λίτρας ὑπὲρ τούτου χρυσίου ἑκατόν. καὶ τὸ στιχηρὸν δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν βαϊοφόρον, “ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη, ἐξέλθετε καὶ λαοί”, τῆς ἐκείνης φασὶν εἶναι τόκον ψυχῆς.

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς κόσμον ὀλίγον πως ἐκ φύσεως ἔφερε καὶ ψιλὸς τὰς τρίχας ὑπῆν, ἐθέσπισεν ἁπανταχῇ ἐν χρῷ ταύτας ἀποκείρειν καὶ μή τινα Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα τοῦ τραχήλου περαιτέρω φέρειν συγχωρεῖν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ φωραθῇ, πολλαῖς αἰκιζόμενον μάστιξιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν προγόνων Ῥωμαίων ἐπανάγεσθαι ἀρετήν· τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ τριχώματι ἐσεμνύνοντο. ὅθεν καὶ νόμον ἐξέθετο τοῦ μή τινα διόλου κατατολμᾶν περαιτέρω ταύτας τοῦ αὐχένος προβαίνειν ἐᾶν.

18. Ἔδει δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ συγγένειαν | f. 36r προνοήσασθαί τε καὶ διοικῆσαι κατὰ τὸ τούτῳ δοκοῦν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ πέντε μὲν ἔτυχε τηνικαῦτα θυγατέρων ὑπάρχειν πατήρ, ἔρημος δὲ ἀρρενικῆς ὡρᾶτο γονῆς, τὴν πασῶν ἐσχάτην Μαρίαν ἠγαπημένην οὖσαν τῶν ἄλλων ᾠήθη δεῖν συζεῦξαι ἀνδρί. ὁ δ’ ἀνὴρ τῆς τῶν Κρηνιτῶν κατήγετο γενεᾶς, χώρας τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων, Ἀλέξιος τοὔνομα, Μουσελὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, τῷ εἴδει ὡραῖος, ἀκμάζων τὴν ἡλικίαν, οἰκῶν κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως μέρος, κατὰ τὰς οὕτω καλουμένας τῆς Κρηνιτίσσης | B 108 οἰκίας· ὃν πρῶτον μὲν τῇ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ἀνθυπάτων τιμήσας ἀξίᾳ διὰ τὸ πρὸς

Cap. 16: | Scyl 63.5–13 || 2–3 Analecta hymnica graeca, Canones Decembris dies 6, canon 20, oda 9; 9 Follieri I. 486 et V.1.272; Zonaras 15.27 Cap. 17: | Scyl 64.13–19 Cap. 18: Log A 219.66–220.103 | PsSym 630.11–632.2; Scyl 64.20–65.48

16.3 ὠδῆν V 3 μεθ’ἁρμοσάμενος V 3 ῥυθμὸν <ἕτερον> Boor in app. e Scyl 63.8 4 δὲ V : δὴ edd 5 τίς V 6 οἱ om. edd 6 <ἐν> suppl. edd Boor e Scyl 63.10 9 ἐκείνης V Comb : ἐκείνου Bekk Boor e Scyl 63.13 **17.**2 ὑπὴν V 4 δε τίς V 4 καὶ om. edd Boor 4 αἰκιζομενος (sic) V : αἰκιζόμενος B Comb 5 τοῦτο V 5 τῷ om. edd 7 κατὰ τολμᾶν V 7 ταύτας om. B edd **18.**1 καταυτὸν V 2 διατοῦτο V 3 τῆνικαῦτα V 4 Μαρίαν ὑπερβαλλόντως ἠγαπημένην edd e Scyl 64.21–22 5 τῆς : ἐκ τῆς Boor in app. 5 Κρηνητῶν V, sed cf. infra III.18.8 Κρηνίτισσης : Κρινιτῶν Scyl 64.23 : Κρινητῶν Scyl 64.23 (B) 6 τοῦνομα V 6 Μωσηλέ Scyl 64.24 7 οἰκῶν V 8 οἰκίας V 9 πατρικίω V 9 τῶν ἀνθυπάτων edd

16. Composing hymns and setting versicles to music he prescribed that they should be sung, amongst them the *Praise Ye* of the fourth tone. This he adapted and arranged in the measure of 'Hark, Maiden' of the Eighth Ode, and he commanded that it should be sung to the hearing of all in the church of God. There is also a report that this same Theophilus, stricken with love of song even as parents are for their children, did not decline the directing of the choir on a splendid feast day in the Great Church, having given the latter's clergy one hundred pounds of gold on this account. They say, also, that the versicle for Palm Sunday 'Go out ye nations, go out ye peoples' is also the offspring of that soul.

17. Now because he had by nature rather little adornment of the head and was stripped of hair, he decreed that this latter should shorn everywhere on the skin and that no Roman should be permitted to wear his hair beyond the neck. If anyone was caught doing so, he was to be tortured with many whippings in order to recall him to the virtue of his Roman forebears; for they prided themselves on keeping their hair in such a way. Therefore he issued a law that no one should dare in any wise allow his hair to grow beyond the neck.

18. It also behooved him to take thought for his own affairs and his family and to make provision as he deemed fitting. Therefore, because he was then the father of five daughters, and appeared to be without male offspring, he thought it necessary to marry Maria, the very last of all – she being preferred above the others – to a man. This man was descended from the race of the Krenitai, from a place in the land of the Armenians; his name was Alexios, with the surname Mousele. He was fair of form, in the prime of age, and he lived in the area of the acropolis in the so-called houses of the Krenitissa. At first, because of the other's affection for his daughter, Theophilus honoured him with the office of patrikios and proconsul; and then he proclaimed him

τὴν θυγατέρα τούτου φιλόστοργον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μάγιστρον καὶ καίσαρα τὸ ἔσχατον ἀνηγόρευσεν, στρατεύματά τε δοὺς ἱκανὰ πρὸς τὴν Λαγοβαρδίαν ἐξέπεμψεν, χρείας τηνικαῦτα κατεπειγούσης τινός. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπῄει καλῶς τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐξανύων, καὶ ὡς ἐδόκει τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἤκμαζε μὲν ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν πόθος τοῦ βασιλέως, συνήκμαζε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φθόνος αὐτῷ, καί τινες ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ βλάσφημά τινα ἔφασκον κατ’ αὐτοῦ, ὡς τῆς τε βασιλείας ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ δεῖ ποτε τὸ ἄλφα τοῦ θῆτα κατακυριεῦσαι. ὅθεν ἐπεὶ τὰς κατ’ αὐτοῦ συρραφείσας διαβολὰς ὁ καίσαρ Ἀλέξιος διακήκοεν, τὸν φθόνον ὥσπερ κατευλαβούμενος πολλὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδέετο οἰκτεῖραι τοῦτον καὶ συγχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὸν μονήρη βίον μετατάξασθαι. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὔτ’ ἐκεῖνος συνεχώρησεν, τὴν χηρείαν τῆς θυγατρὸς προβαλλόμενος, καὶ ὁ ῥηθεὶς καίσαρ ἔμενεν ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας πολλῆς τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐνασχολούμενος πράγμασιν. ὡς δὲ τὸν Μιχαὴλ ἐγέννησεν ὁ Θεόφιλος, καὶ ἡ τούτου μὲν θυγάτηρ τοῦ καίσαρος δὲ γαμετὴ τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε, ταύτην μὲν τοσοῦτον τετίμηκεν ὡς καὶ τὸν χοῦν αὐτῆς ἐν λάρνακι θεῖναι περιηργυρωμένῃ καὶ προνόμιον δοῦναι διὰ λελαξευμένων ἐν αὐτῇ ἰάμβων ἀσυλίας τοῖς ἐφ’ οἱοισδήποτε ἐγκλήμασιν ἀνθρώποις ἁλοῦσι καὶ προσφυγοῦσιν ἐκεῖ· τὸν Ἀλέξιον δὲ λάθρα μεταταξάμενον καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν ἀμφιεσάμενον ἔσθημα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδύνατο πεῖσαι τοῦ πάλιν αὐτὸ | [f. 36v] ἀποβαλεῖν, μόλις | [B 109] συγχωρῆσαι, πολλοῖς ὀνείδεσι περιβαλὼν οἷς οὐ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἔκρινεν εἶναι ἀλλ’ ἐν παραβύστῳ που καὶ γωνίᾳ. ὅθεν ἐδίδου τούτῳ δωρεὰν τό τε κατὰ Χρυσόπολιν βασιλικὸν μοναστήριον, προσέτι μὴν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βυρσέως καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλαίαν. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος τῷ κατὰ τὴν Χρυσόπολιν ὄντι ἐνδιαιτώμενος, ἐπεί ποτε περιπάτου ἐδεήθη καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀνθεμίου τόπον ἐγένετο, βασιλικῶν τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνοντα τῶν Μαγγάνων, ἔλεγεν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον τῶν σεμνείων τῶν οἰκοδομούντων φέρει τὴν κλῆσιν ἀθάνατον, εἵλετο τοῦτον διὰ βασιλικῆς προστάξεως ἐξωνήσασθαι καὶ ἴδιον κατασκευάσαι. ὃ καὶ διὰ τῆς βασιλίδος Θεοδώρας ἐγένετο, τῆς αὐτοῦ πενθερᾶς. ὅθεν καλῶς ἐποικοδομήσας καὶ εἰς μοναχικὴν τάξιν ἀγαγὼν ἐκεῖσε τὸν βίον ἐκλιμπάνων ἐτέθη, τὸν τάφον καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐπιγεγραμμένην εἰκόνα μάρτυρα ἔχων τῶν λεγομένων. οὐ μὴν

18.10–11 : Alexius Musele ca. a. 837 Caesar electus est; cf. Signes 2014, 115–124 11–12 : a. 838 Theophilus Alexium ad Italiam misit. 22–23 : 9–10 Ian. a. 840 Michael Theophili filius natus est. 23–24 : a. 839–840 Maria Theophili filia obiit

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12 Λογοβαρδίαν Comb : Λογγοβαρδίαν Bekk 13 ἀνύων edd 13 διατοῦτο V 15 καὶ τινες V 15 ἔφασκων V 24 μετήλλαξεν edd 25 διαλελαξευμένων V 26 ἐφοιοις δῆποτε V : ἐφ’ οἵοις δήποτε edd 26 ἁλοῦσιν edd 27 μεταταξάμενος V 28 τὸν μοναχικὸν V 28 μεταμφιασάμενον edd 28 ἠδύνατο edd 31 δωρεὰς V 32 Βρύσεως Scyl 65.42 (VB) 32 τὸ τοῦ κατὰ edd 33 ἐπεὶ ποτὲ V 34 βασιλικὸν V Boor 35 μάγγάνων V 36 εἵλετο V

magistros and, finally, cesar; and giving him ample troops he dispatched him to Lagobardia, for there was then an urgent necessity. And thus he went off, accomplishing his task well and as was fitting to the emperor. For this reason the emperor's fondness for him abounded, but together with this abounded also men's envy of him, and some of them reviled and uttered slanders against him: that he coveted the empire and that one day the Alpha must gain dominion over the Theta. Therefore, when the cesar Alexios learnt of the false accusations stitched together against him, as if taking precaution against envy, he many times besought the emperor to have mercy on him and allow him to take up the monastic life. But at the time Theophilus would not allow this, citing as a reason the widowhood of his daughter, and thus the aforementioned cesar continued with full calm his activity in public affairs. However, after Theophilus begat Michael, and his daughter, the cesar's wife, left this life, he so honoured her as to place her remains in a coffin covered with silver and to grant, through iambics chiselled upon it, the priviledge of asylum to persons who sought refuge there, whatsoever the crimes they stood convicted of; and as for Alexios, who had secretly changed estate and clothed himself in the monastic habit, Theophilus, being unable to convince him to take it off again, grudgingly agreed, heaping many reproaches on the other because he chose not to be with him, but in some hole and corner. Whereupon he gave him as a gift the imperial monastery in Chrysopolis, as well as that of Byrseus and also that in Elaias. But the other, whilst living in the monastery in Chrysopolis, once wanted a walk and came to the place called Anthemios, then a part of the imperial Mangana, and said: 'Each of these holy places bears the eternal name of its founders'; and he chose to purchase this place through imperial decree and to construct his own monastery. This was done by order of the empress Theodora, his mother in law. Whereupon, having built it up very well and brought it to monastic regulation, he left this life and was buried there, his tomb and inscribed image above it being witness of what we have re-

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφὸς Θεοδόσιος πλησίον τέθειται αὐτοῦ, πατρικίων τιμῇ ἐγκαταλεγείς, πολλὰ γνωρίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρίστης βιώσεως ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ καταλιπών.

19. Ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν μυριάδων τοῦ Ἰβραὴμ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύοντος, καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος ἔρωτι φιλοτιμίας καὶ γενναιότητος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἔξεισιν, ἄνανδρον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μαλακὸν ἐννοῶν· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ δέος προσῆν, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πολέμους πεῖρά τε καὶ γενναιότης ἀπέτρεπε τοῦτο καὶ πόρρω ποι ἐναπέπεμπε. Θεόφοβος οἱ ἄνδρες | καὶ Μανουὴλ ἐκαλοῦντο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν B 110 Μανουὴλ δῆλος ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἅπασι γνώριμος· ἐξ Ἀρμενίων γὰρ τὴν γένεσιν ἦν, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Λέοντος προηγούμενος, καὶ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἱπποκόμων ὁ πρῶτος· πρωτοστράτορα τοῦτόν φασι. δηλώσει δὲ καὶ τὸν Θεόφοβον ὁ λόγος ὅθεν τε καὶ ὅπως ἐκ Περσῶν καταγόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονε γνώριμος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς γάμον ἡρμόσατο. εἰς πρεσβείαν τίς ποτε τῶν ἐκ βασιλικῆς σειρᾶς Περσῶν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου, οὐκ ἐκ νο|μίμου συναφείας, κρυφίου δὲ καὶ λαθραίας τοῦ- f. 37r τον γεννηθῆναι ποιήσας ἐξαπεδήμησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Πέρσαις ἀπαράβατος μή τινα τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῆ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς μετέχοι σειρᾶς, ἐξέλιπον δὲ ἐκ τῶν συνεχῶν πολέμων καὶ τῇδε κἀκεῖσε μετασκηνώσεων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐλαυνόμενοι οἱ τῆς βασιλικῆς φυλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος ἐφέρετο πολὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Περσίδι μενόντων, ὡς εἴη τις κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον ὠνομασμένος Θεόφοβος – καὶ γὰρ ἦν δοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα σπείραντος τοῦτον πατρός –, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Περσῶν κρύφα τινὰς ἐκπέμψαι τοῦ ζητουμένου εἰς ἔρευναν. καὶ δὴ καταλαβόντες τὴν ἡμετέραν μόγις ποτὲ τοῦτον τῇ μητρὶ συνόντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ὀξείαν ἐνδιαιτώμενον προσεφεύρισκον. ἐπεὶ γοῦν οὐκ ἔκ τινων μόνον ἰνδαλμάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν <τῶν> τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος γνωρισμάτων ὁ ζητούμενος ἐδηλοῦτό τε καὶ ἐγνω|ρίζετο, B 111 προσέτι μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐκ γειτόνων ἐμαρτύρει τις τὴν γενομένην τῇ γυναικὶ

Cap. 19: Gen 36.1–37.8, 37.16–38.45, 40.3–10; Log A 218.39–40 | PsSym 625.22–23, 626.3–9, 627.6–8; Scyl 65.49–66.79

42 τιμὴ V 42 ἐγκαταλεγεῖς V **19.**2 Ἰμβραὴλ Scyl 65.49 (ACEVB) : Ἰμβριὴλ Scyl 65.49 (MN) 4 πρὸς ἦν V 6 μὲν om. edd, sed coni. Bekk in app. 7 δῆλος : δεινὸς edd 8 ἐξἀρμενίων V 10 πρωτοστράτωρα Boor 10 τοῦτον φασί V 11 ὅθέν τε V 13 ποτὲ V 14 συναφίας V 16 ἀρχὴς V 17 μετέχῃ edd 17 σειρὰς V 17 πόλεμων V 20 εἴη Boor, cf. Scyl 66.65 : εἴ Vat : ᾖ edd 21 <δια>δοθεὶς coni. Comb in marg e Scyl 66.66 23 τοῦτον ποτέ Comb : τοῦτόν ποτε Bekk 24 πρὸς ἐφεύρισκον V 24 γοῦν V 25 ἔκτηνων V 25 <τῶν> suppl. Boor in app. e Scyl 66.70 26 ἐδηλοῦτο τότε edd 27 πρὸς ἔτι V 27 τίς V

counted. Moreover, near him is also buried his brother Theodosius who was enrolled in the ranks of the patrikioi and who left many marks of his most excellent life in the monastery.

19. Now, as the Hagarenes were pressing down and Ibraim took the field against the Romans with many tens of thousands of men, Theophilus, with longing for honour and nobility, also went out to war, taking thought for nothing unmanly or soft. For even if he had any fear, the experience in war and nobility of the men who were with him dispelled and banished it far away. The men were called Theophobos and Manuel. This Manuel was conspicuous for his courage and was known to all the enemy. He was of Armenian race, and was head of the army of the Anatolics under Leo; and under the latter's predecessor Michael he had been the chief of the grooms: protostrator, as it is called. Our account will also show Theophobos: from whence and how, being of Persian descent, he became known to the emperor and took his sister to wife. For once a certain man of royal lineage of the Persians came to the city of Constantine and, having engendered this Theophobos not by a legal relation but a clandestine and secret one, departed. Now, it is unviolable law for the Persians that no one may be their ruler unless he be of royal lineage; but on account of the continuous wars and displacements here and there, their royal race had died out, driven off by the Hagarenes. Thus it was that there was much talk of him amongst those who remained in Persia: that there was in Byzantium a certain man named Theophobos – for report of him was spread abroad at the time by the father who begat him – and the chiefs of the Persians resolved to dispatch certain persons secretly to find the one they sought. And coming to our city they finally found him with great pains living with his mother at Oxeia. And because the one they sought was revealed and made manifest not by just any appearances but by the very marks of soul and body and, moreover, one of the neighbours bore witness to the woman's re-

πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην συνάφειαν – οὐ γάρ τι κρυπτὸν ὃ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐ γνωσθήσεται –, δήλους ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ποιοῦσι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δράματος σαφηνίζουσιν, εἰρήνην καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ὑποταγὴν καθυπισχνούμενοι, εἰ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐπιδοῦναι οὐ παραιτήσεται. ἐγεγήθει γοῦν τοῖς ὑποσχεθεῖσιν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ ἐπείπερ οὕτως ἔχουσαν εὕρισκε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐν <τοῖς> βασιλείοις τοῦτον αὐλίζεσθαι καὶ κατασκηνοῦν ποιεῖ, μαθήμασί τε καὶ παιδείᾳ ἐπιμελούμενος.

20. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος περὶ τοῦ Θεοφόβου – καλὸν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους εἰρῆσθαι –, μικρὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διενηνοχέναι δοκῶν, τἆλλα δὲ ὅμοια σώζων τῶν γεγραμμένων καὶ πάρισα· ἔστιν δὲ ὃς οὐκ ἀπὸ πρέσβεώς τινος τὴν νόθον σπορὰν δέξασθαι τοῦτόν φησιν, ἀλλὰ κατά τινα περιπέτειαν τῶν ἐν πολέμοις συμβαινόντων καὶ τὸν τούτου πατέρα, εἴτε βασιλεύοντα εἴτε καὶ βασιλέως ἐγγὺς ὄντα κατὰ συγγένειαν, φυγεῖν ἐκ Περσίδος καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πένητα διαθλοῦντα βίον προσρυῆναι, κἀκεῖσε καπηλίδι τινὶ γυναικῶν δουλεύοντα ὀψέ ποτε ἁ|λῶναι τῷ ταύτης ἔρωτι καὶ νομίμῳ συναφείᾳ τοῦτον ἐναποτεκεῖν. ἀλλ’ f. 37v ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, ἀστρονομίᾳ δέ τινι καὶ μαντείᾳ – καὶ γάρ φασι ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἀκμάζειν ἔτι παρὰ Πέρσαις – μαθεῖν περὶ τοῦ Θεοφόβου ζητοῦσιν αὐτοῖς εἰ ἔστι πού τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς φυλῆς καταγό|μενος, καὶ ἐπείπερ ἔμαθον, σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου θεῖν εἰς B 112 τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου ἔρευναν. καὶ γνωστὸν οὕτως γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καταληφθέντος αὐτοῦ. ἐπείπερ οὖν ἡ τούτου ἐμφάνεια καὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον παρουσία ἅπασιν ἐγνώσθη τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Περσίδα διὰ τῶν ὑποστρεψάντων ἀποστόλων, ἡδὺ πᾶσιν ἐφάνη καὶ ἐφετὸν τοῦ ἀπόστασίν τινα ἐννοῆσαι ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Ἄγαρ, τῇ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσχωρῆσαι, ὡς ἂν τοῦ κατὰ γένος ἀρχηγοῦ εὐμοιρήσειαν.

19.29–32 : tempus legationis Persarum apud imperatorem incertum est, forte 833–834, cf. Signes 2014, 153–163 et etiam infra III.20.15–19 **20**.15–19 : de tempore legationis Persarum cf. supra III.19.29–32

|| 28–29 Matt 10.26, Luc 12.2 Cap. 20: Gen 38.45–49, 38.62–40.3 | PsSym 625.22–23, 626.16–627.6; Scyl 66.79–67.94

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31 καθ’ ὑπισχνούμενοι V 31 ἐπιδοῦναι : cf. ἀποδοῦναι et παραδοῦναι apud Scyl 66.76 32 ἐγεγήθη V 32 γοῦν V 33 εὔρισκε V 33 <τοῖς> suppl. Boor, cf. Scyl 66.78 34 ἐπιμελούμενον edd : ante quod lacunam coni. Boor **20**.1 ἐστὶ V 2 εἰρήσθαι V 4 οὐκαποπρέσβεώς V 4 τοῦτον φῆσιν V 8 κακεῖσε V 9 ἁλῶναι om. edd 9 ἐν ἀποτεκεῖν V 11 γὰρ φασὶ V 12 ποῦ V 13 ἐπὶ τὴν Bekk : τὴν ἐπὶ V Comb : τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν coni. Boor 13 θεὶν V 14 καὶ om. edd 18 ἀπόστασιν τινὰ V 18 ἀρχὴ V

lation with the Persian – for there is no secret which will not become known to the multitude –, those who had been dispatched made themselves known to the emperor and explained the matter, promising peace and tribute and the submission of all their people if only he would not refuse to give them Theophobos. The emperor rejoiced at these promises; and because he found this to be the truth, he caused him to live and dwell in the palace and took care for his lessons and education.

20. There is also another story about Theophobos – for it is good that both be told – which seems to differ at the beginning, though it preserves a similar and parallel account for the rest. It is this which says that Theophobos did not have illegitimate origins from some ambassador, but rather, through one of the reversals of circumstances which occur in wars, his father, who was either the king or some one close to the king by kinship, fled from Persia and took refuge, suffering a life of poverty, in the imperial city; and that there he was in service to a certain woman who kept a tavern, and at length he was seized by desire for her and begat Theophobos in lawful union. Now, the father departed from men, but through some sort of astronomy or divination – for they say these sciences still thrive amongst the Persians – it happened that these same learnt about Theophobos as they sought out whether there was anywhere anyone descended from royal lineage; and when they learnt they rushed to the city of Constantine to find the one they sought. And thus it became known to the emperor, once Theophobos had been found. And when Theophobos's appearence and existence in this life was made known to all in Persia through the envoys who had returned, it seemed to all good and desirable to devise a revolt against the sons of Hagar and to go over to the rule of the Romans, so that they might have the benefit of a chief of their own race.

21. Ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχηγὸς Βάβεκ ἤδη πενταετίαν ἔχων ἐξ ἀμεραμνουνῆ ἀποστὰς καὶ πτέρναν ἐπάρας κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐν χιλιάσιν ἑπτά· ὃς καὶ πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόφοβον καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ ἐξ οὗ ἀπέστη Ἀγαρηνοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐπικράτειαν κατὰ πόλιν Σινώπην ἔρχεται, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἔθνος ὑπήκοον τέθεικεν. διά τοι τοῦτο τόν τε Θεόφοβον ὁ Θεόφιλος τιμῇ τῇ πατρικίων ἐναριθμεῖ, καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῇ πρὸς γάμον ἐκδίδωσι, συναρμόζεσθαί τε ἕκαστον τῶν Περσῶν νομοθετεῖ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κατ᾽ ἐπιγαμίαν ἅπτεσθαί τε καὶ συνείρεσθαι, πολλοὺς τούτων τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἐμπρέπειν ἀξιώμασι πεποιηκώς. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κώδιξι στρατιωτικοῖς αὐτοὺς ἀναγράφεται, καὶ τάγμα οὕτως καλούμενον Περσικὸν ἐγκατέστησε, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐξιοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐναριθμεῖσθαι προσέταξε.

22. Τούτοις γοῦν τεθαρρηκὼς ὁ Θεόφιλος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως ᾔδει τούτους ἀνδραγαθιζομένους, εἰς πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἔξεισι καὶ τοῦ Ἰβραὴμ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐκστρατεύσαν|τος. ἐπείπερ γοῦν ἐγγὺς B 113 ἀλλήλων ὅ τε τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγὸς ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος, ἔδει δὲ καὶ βουλῆς, ὁ μὲν Μανουὴλ οὐ δίκαιον ἔφησε βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων πρὸς ἀμεραμνουνῆ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλά τινα μέρος λαβόντα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξιέναι κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἅμα μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν τοῦ|το ποιεῖν, ὁ Θε- f. 38r όφοβος δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἐπὶ παρατάξεως τὸν βασιλέα ἐβούλετο, νύκτωρ δὲ ἐπιτεθῆναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν πεζικοῦ, καὶ ὅτε πάλιν δεήσειεν, ἐπικυκλῶσαι τὸ ἱππικόν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔπεισε τὸν βασιλέα, εἰπόντων πολλῶν, ὡς σφετεριζομένου τοῦ Θεοφόβου τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δόξαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουλομένου ἐν νυκτὶ πολεμεῖν· πλὴν ἔδοξεν εἰς τοὐμφανὲς μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν συρρῆξαι τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰβραήμ, εἴτ᾽ ἄλλως καταλαζονευόμενος εἴτε δὴ καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ βασιλέως περιστοιχιζόμενος, μέρος λαβὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀβουζάχαρ δὲ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ βασιλέως πόλεμον μετὰ μυ-

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21.1–2 : a. 816 Babek insurrexit, sed modo postea, ab a. 833 usque ad eius obitum in a. 837, bellum contra calipham aperte gessit 4–5 : non verisimile est ut Babek a. 837 usque ad Sinopem proficisceretur. Forte notitia a confusione loci nata est. **22**.1–3 : tempus proelii inter Theophilum et hunc Ibrahim ignotum est. sed haec narratio ad eosdem eventus forte refert qui apud Anzen a. 838 acciderunt et in III.31–32 ex alia narratione enarrantur; cf. praeterea III.24

Cap. 21: Gen 38.49–61, 40.10–14; Log A 218.40–44 | PsSym 625.22–626.3; 626.9–16; Scyl 67.94–9 Cap. 22: Gen 40.15–20, 42.71–43.87 | Scyl 67.10–68.44

21.1 καὶ om. edd 2 ἐξαμεραμνουμνὶ V 3 τῷ om. edd 3 φόβῳ τῷ edd 4 Σινώπιν V 8 ἅπτεσθαί V 10 μὴν om. edd 12 προσσέταξε V **22**.1 γοῦν V 3 γοῦν V 4 ἐγεγόκαὶ V 6 τῶν στρατιωτικῶν edd : τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν coni. Boor in app., cf. Scyl 67.14 τῶν στρατηγῶν 8 ἐπιπαρατάξεως V 11 ὡς om. edd 11 διατοῦτο V 12 τουμφανὲς V 14 τοῦ ante βασιλέως om. edd : iteravit V 15 Ἀβουχάζαρ edd

21. It happened besides that the leader of the Persians Babek had already revolted against the ameramnounes five years before and resisted him with seven thousand. And he, out of longing for Theophobos but also out of fear of the Hagarene against whom he had revolted, came over to the Roman dominion at the city of Sinope and made submission for himself and all his people to the emperor. For this reason Theophilus enrolled Theophobos in the ranks of the patrikioi and gave him his own sister in marriage, and he made it legal for any Persian to marry Romans and to be joined and united in wedlock, causing many of them to be distinguished by imperial dignities. He also inscribed them in the lists of the army and established a so-called Persian regiment, and he commanded that they should be numbered amonst the Romans who went out to war against the Hagarenes.

22. Trusting in these men, since from elsewhere he knew them to behave in manly fashion, Theophilus went out to battle against the Hagarenes and Ibraim who, as we said, had taken the field against us. Now, when the chief of the Saracens and Theophilus were near each other and counsel was needed, Manuel said that it was not right for the emperor to do battle with the ameramnounes, but that someone should take a contingent of soldiers and go out to meet the enemy, and this by day; Theophobos, however, wanted the emperor to be in the ranks and to set upon them by night together with the Persian infantry and then, if need be, to have the cavalry surround them. But he did not convince the emperor, for many others said that Theophobos was expropriating the glory of the Romans and therefore wanted them to do battle at night; rather, he decided to engage battle in the open by day. Now Ibraim, either posturing otherwise or else caught up in fear of the emperor, taking a contingent of the army, withdrew, and he sent Abuzachar with eighty thou-

ριάδων ὀκτὼ ἐξαπέστελλεν, οἳ καὶ καρτερῶς ἄγαν ἀνδρισαμένων ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ πολύ, τέλος ἐνδοῦναι τὰς σχολὰς μετὰ τοῦ δομεστίκου καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν τραπῆναι ἐξεβιάσαντο. ὅθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς φάλαγγος καὶ δύο χιλιάδων Περσῶν, προσόντος τούτοις καὶ τοῦ Θεοφόβου, ἐπί τινος βουνοῦ σέσωστο, τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενος. καὶ ἄχρι μὲν ἑσπέρας πολὺς ἦν ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν πόλεμος, τῶν μὲν ἐλπιζόντων τοῦτον ἐπὶ χεῖρας λαβεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀνταμυνόντων καὶ μὴ προδοῦναι τοῦτον διακαρτερούντων. | διὸ νυκτὸς ἄρτι γενομένης κρότοις χειρῶν τε καὶ [B 114] ἀλαλαγμοῖς ἐχρῶντο οἱ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, χαίρειν προσποιούμενοι, κιννύραις τε καὶ χορδαῖς καὶ ἄλλως βουκίνων φωναῖς τὸν αἰθέρα περιεδόνουν, ἐλπίδας οὐ τὰς τυχούσας ἔχειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς θέλοντες περιποιῆσαι. ὃ καὶ συνέβη· μίλια γὰρ ἓξ ὑποχωρῆσαι τούτοις εἰς τοὐπίσω τινὰ κατορρωδοῦσι προσβολήν τε καὶ κύκλωσιν προσεγένετο. ὅθεν ἀδείας τυχόντες μικρᾶς οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, πόρρω που νυκτῶν φυγῇ χρησάμενοι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπραγματεύσαντο, καὶ πρὸς τῷ καταπροδόντι τοῦτον στρατεύματι καὶ τὰ νῶτα δόντι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διεσώθησαν. μέμψεσι μὲν οὖν πολλαῖς μόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ προδεδωκὸς στράτευμα καθυπέβαλεν, χάρισι δὲ καὶ τιμαῖς διαφερόντως τοὺς περὶ τὸν Θεόφοβον. ὅθεν οἱ Πέρσαι ἔρωτι διαπύρῳ πρὸς τὸν Θεόφοβον ἐξεκαίοντο, καὶ θυμηδίᾳ ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ ἀναθαρρυνόμενοι μόνοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν κατ᾽ Ἀγαρηνῶν ὑποδύεσθαι πόλεμον ἐλιτάνευον, καὶ τρέπειν τούτους | ἐξ ἀηττήτου δυνάμεως ἐβεβαίουν· [f. 38v] διὸ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτῶν ἐβούλετο τὸν Θεόφοβον.

23. Τῷ δ᾽ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ ἔξεισι πάλιν μετὰ δυνάμεως ὁ Θεόφιλος, καὶ κατὰ τὸ Χαρσιανὸν πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν ἀπαυθαδιαζομένων καὶ ἀλαζονευομένων, τούτοις συμπλακεὶς πολλούς τε χειροῦται τούτων, καὶ λείαν λαμβάνει ὡς τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄχρι χιλιάδων, καὶ μετὰ νίκης λαμπρᾶς πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπανέρχεται. ἔτυχε γοῦν τις τῶν ἐπὶ χειρῶν εὐφυΐᾳ ὀνομαστῶν αἰχμάλωτος ληφθῆναι Ἀγαρηνῶν. τούτῳ με|γάλας τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρετὰς δι᾽ ἐγγράφων [B 115] ἐγκωμίων ὁ τῶν σχολῶν προεστὼς ἐμαρτύρει, καὶ ἐβεβαίου ὡς εἴη τε

23.1–5 : triumphalis expeditio contra Saracenos ad Charsianum a. 831 vel 837 accidit, cf. Signes 2014, 218–224

Cap. 23: | Scyl 68.44–69.74

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16 ἐξαπέστειλεν edd 17 ἐπιπολὺ V 21 ἑσπέρας V 21 αὐτὸν edd Boor e Scyl 68.29 : αὐτῶν V 24 ἐχθρῶντο V 25 τὲ V 26 ἔχειν om. edd 27 ἓξ V 27 τούτοις nos : τούτους V edd Boor 30 κατὰ προδόντι V 32 μόνον om. edd 32 καθ᾽ ὑπέβαλεν V 33 τοὺς edd Boor : τοῖς V 33 περὶ τὸν Θεόφοβον ἐγέραιρεν edd e Scyl 68.40 34 τινὶ ἀρρήτῳ edd 35 μόνοι om. B edd **23**.4 χειροῦνται V 4 λίαν V : λῇαν Comb 6 γοῦν V 6 τίς V 6 αἰχμάλωτον edd

sand into battle against the emperor. They all displayed great manliness for a long time, but finally the scholai together with the domestikos were constrained to give way and to take flight. Whereupon the emperor together with the imperial corps and two thousand Persians, Theophobos amongst them, took refuge on a hill, watching in mortal fear. Until evening there was great fighting around him, one side hoping to snatch him in their hands, whilst the others fended them off and persisted in refusing to give him up. On which account, when evening had fallen, those who were with the emperor made a great noise clapping their hands and shouting, pretending to rejoice, and caused the air to resound with harps and lyres and the voice of trumpets, wishing to impress upon the enemy that they had great hopes. And so it was. For it came to pass that six thousand of them withdrew, dreading attack and encirclement. Thus gaining a slight respite, the men with the emperor, fleeing far off under cover of night, obtained salvation and caught up with the army which had deserted him and turned its back on the enemy. With many censures alone did the emperor treat the deserting army, but with thanks and especially with honours the men of Theophobos. The Persians were therefore fired with ardent love for Theophobos and, emboldened by an ineffable gladness, they petitioned to take up the war against the Hagarenes alone with him, giving assurance that they would vanquish them with invincible force; and therefore the emperor wished that Theophobos should lead them.

23. The following year Theophilus went out again with a force, and engaging at Charsianon the Ismaelites, who had grown very bold and boastful on account of their earlier victory, he worsted many of them and took booty amounting to five-and-twenty thousand, and with splendid victory he returned to the imperial city. Now it happened that one of the Hagarenes taken prisoner was famed for his dexterity of hand. The head of the scholai acknowledged in written praises his great virtues in war, and he gave assurance

δεξιὸς περὶ τὴν ἱππασίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ῥώμην γενναῖος, καὶ ὅτι δυσὶ δόρασι χρώμενος [περὶ τὴν ἱππασίαν] ἐντέχνως ἄγαν καὶ εὐφυῶς πρὸς τοὺς κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαβαίνει. ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἵππων ἁμιλλητηρίῳ ὁ τοῦ δομεστίκου θρίαμβος ἐτελεῖτο, προηγεῖτο δὲ οὗτος τῷ τε τοῦ σώματος μεγέθει καὶ τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναστήματι τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγους ἐπισφραγίζων, ἐκέλευσέ πως ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις κλαπείς, ἵππον τε τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιβῆναι καὶ δόρατα λαβόντα δύο τὴν εὐφυΐαν τούτου καὶ ἀριστείαν ἁπάσῃ τῇ πόλει ἐνδείξασθαι. καὶ δὴ τούτου γενομένου καὶ τοῖς ἀπειροτέροις τέρψιν παρέχοντος τῇ ὁράσει, Θεόδωρος ὁ Κρατερὸς οὕτω λεγόμενος, ὁ καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς τῶν ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα δύο μαρτύρων φάλαγγος γεγονώς, πλησιάζων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξεμυκτήριζε τὸν Ἀγαρηνόν, ἀνδρεῖον οὐδὲν φάσκων οὐδὲ καταπληκτικὸν ἐνδεικνύμενον. ᾧ καὶ χαλεπήνας ὁ βασιλεὺς "ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἰσχύος ἔχεις αὐτός, ὦ θηλυδρία καὶ ἄνανδρε, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐργάσασθαι;" καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα "δύο μέν, βασιλεῦ, μὴ μαθὼν οὐδὲ μεταχειρίσασθαι δόρατα δύναμαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ τοιαύτης χρεία ἀδολεσχίας· ἑνὶ δὲ δόρατι χρώμενος τὴν εἰς θεὸν πεποίθησιν ἔχω βεβαίαν ὡς κρημνίσω τε τοῦτον καὶ τοῦ ἵππου καταβαλῶ". τὴν παρρησίαν γοῦν μὴ φέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦ μὴν ἔφησε, κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὸν ὅρκον ἐπαγαγών, θανάτῳ παραδοῦναι τὸν ἅγιον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς λό|γους ὄν|τως εἰς ἔργα B 116 f. 39r ἀγάγοι. ἵππον οὖν ἀναβὰς ὁ Θεόδωρος καὶ δόρυ λαβὼν ἐν χεροῖν θᾶττον ἢ λόγος ἐν οὐ πολλαῖς περιόδοις τὸν Σαρακηνὸν κατεκρήμνισε, καὶ μέγα τούτῳ φρονεῖν δέδωκεν οὐδαμῶς. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ᾐσχύνθη ἅτε δὴ καταβεβλημένον ἰδὼν τὸν Σαρακηνὸν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς εὐνούχου καὶ οὐ γενναίου τινός, πανοῦργος δὲ τέως ὢν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αἰδούμενος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐφιλοφρονήσατο μὲν λόγοις αὐτόν, στολὰς δὲ καὶ περιβολὰς αὐτῷ τὴν πολιτείαν αἰδούμενος ἐδωρήσατο.

24. Ἄρτι δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἔαρος ἱσταμένου καὶ τοὺς μαχητὰς κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων ὁπλίζοντος, ὁ Θεόφιλος δύναμιν πολλὴν ἠθροικὼς κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔξεισι, καὶ τὸν ὅσιον Μεθόδιον τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἀναρρυσάμενος καὶ μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαγόμενος, οὐ νῦν μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν

24.1–3 : haec nova expeditio Theophili contra Saracenos incerti temporis est, fortasse eadem ac priores est (cf. supra III.22 et infra III.31–32) et a. 838 accidit, sed ex alia narratione sumpta est

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Cap. 24: Vita Methodii 1252A-D; Gen 43.4–44.22, 53.5–9; Log A 224.181–225.190 | PsSym 636.12–21, 644.7–645.10; Scyl 69.74–70.95

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10 περὶ τὴν ἱππασίαν e superiore versu repetitum in locum alterius vocabuli coni. Boor, cf. Scyl 68.52 ἐν τῷ ἱππάζεσθαι   10 μὲν ἐντέχνως B : [μὲν] ἐντέχνως edd   12 δομετίκου V   12 οὔτος V   13 τε om. edd   19 τεσσαράκοντα δύο : μβʹ edd   20 ἀγάρηνὸν V   24 δόρα τὰ V   27 ἦ V   27 αὐτοῦ Boor e Scyl 69.68 ἑαυτοῦ   28 ἔργον edd Boor e Scyl 69.69   29 ἀγάγοι Boor e Scyl 69.69   34 στολάς τε edd   **24.**2 καταλλήλων V   3 ἀναρρησάμενος V

that he was adept in horsemanship and excellent in bodily strength and, further, that he went against his opponents wielding two spears with utmost skill and grace. Now, when the triumph of the domestikos was being celebrated in the place of contest of the horses and this man took the lead, confirming the reports about him both by his stature of body and preeminence of soul, the emperor, who had also been won over by these praises, saw and commanded that the man should mount a horse and, taking two spears, should display his dexterity and prowess to all the city. When this had been done and brought joy through the spectacle to the more inexperienced, Theodore, called Krateros, who not long afterwards became leader of the company of the Forty-Two Martyrs, came up to the emperor and mocked the Hagarene, saying that he had displayed nothing manly or remarkable. The emperor was irritated with him, 'But can you, effeminate and unmanly creature, do any such thing?' Said the other forthwith, 'I have not learnt, emperor, nor can I handle two spears, for in war there is no need of such artifice; but using one spear I have firm trust in God that I shall strike and hurl him down from his horse.' Unable to bear the man's boldness of speech, the emperor affirmed, invoking the oath upon his own head, that he would put the holy one to death if he did not indeed turn his words into actions. Thus, mounting his horse and taking the spear in his two hands, Theodore hurled the Saracen down faster than words can describe, in very few rounds; nor did this in any wise give him grand thoughts. The emperor was ashamed in as much as he saw the Saracen thrown down by a eunuch and one of no noble birth; but for the while he kept his cunning, showing favour to him in words out of respect for his valour and bestowing garments and robes upon him out of respect for his way of life.

24. When spring came anew and armed the warriors against each other, Theophilus gathered a great force and went out against the Saracens; and releasing the venerable Methodius from prison he took him along with him – not now for the first time, but he did this always and kept him somewhere

καὶ πλησίον που ἔχων αὐτόν, εἴτε τοῦ ἀσαφῆ ἕνεκεν καὶ πολλοῖς ἄγνωστα διαλύειν καὶ γνώριμα τούτῳ ποιεῖν διὰ τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ σοφίαν – καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανε τῶν ἀποκρύφων ἄγαν ζητητικὸς ὁ Θεόφιλος –, εἴτε δή τινας ἐπαναστάσεις φυλαττόμενος παρ’ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν διὰ τὸν κατὰ τῶν θείων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων πόλεμον. οὐ μικρῶς γὰρ τιμᾶν ἐδόκει τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σέβεσθαι τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἔκκριτον καὶ φιλόθεον· διά τοι τοῦτο ἄγειν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ’ οὐ κατόπιν ἀπολιμπάνειν ἐφαίνετο τούτῳ σεμνόν. καὶ δῆτα προσπεσόντων ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καθυπερτερούντων, συνέβη τὸν | [B 117] βασιλέα πως περικυκλωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κινδυνεύειν περὶ ψυχῆς. ὅτε δὴ καὶ Μανουὴλ ὁ στρατηγέτης δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος – καὶ πέρα τοῦτο δεινῶν – δοριάλωτον βασιλέα γενέσθαι, τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀναθαρρύνας καὶ “ὦ ἄνδρες”, εἰπών, “τὰς μελίσσας αἰδεῖσθε, αἳ τοῦ βασιλέως κατόπιν τῷ φίλτρῳ βαλλόμεναι πέτανται”, εἰσῄει ὥσπέρ τις λέων περὶ τῶν τέκνων [βαλλόμενος], τὸν βασιλέα ζητῶν. ὡς δ’ εὗρεν ἀποκαμόντα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν μὲν ὑπὸ δειλίας ἀπογνόντα, προφασιζόμενον δὲ ὡς μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν λαὸν λιπόντα διαφυγεῖν, “ἄγε δή”, ἔφησεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀκολούθει μοι εὐρεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ποιοῦντι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποσφάττοντι”. ὡς δ’ ὁ Μανουὴλ ἐξῄει καὶ | [f. 39v] τὸν ἑπόμενον δεδιότα πολλὰ καὶ κατεπτηχότα βασιλέα οὐκ εἶχεν, αὖθις ἐρρήγνυ μετὰ πολλῶν τὴν φάλαγγα, τοῦτον ἐξελέσθαι βουλόμενος. ὡς δ’ ἡμάρτανεν αὖθις, καὶ τρίτον δὲ ἐκ στερροτέρας ψυχῆς τὴν συνέχουσαν φάλαγγα τὸν βασιλέα διέκοψεν, καὶ πλησίον ἐγεγόνει τούτου, ὡς καὶ ἱμάσι τὸν ἐπιφέροντα τοῦτον ἐπιδῆσαι ἵππον καὶ αὖθις ὑπεξερύσασθαι ἐτύγχανεν. ἐτρώθη τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ ἀνήρ, βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι φοβούμενος καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑποπόδιον. ὅθεν ταχυτέραν ἅμα καὶ δεξιωτέραν τὴν ὑποστροφὴν ποιήσας, καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλήσας αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ τούτῳ συνεπακολουθήσειεν, ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις τοῦ κινδύνου διέσωσεν, ὀλίγων τινῶν κατόπιν ἀνακρουόντων τὸν | [B 118] πόλεμον, καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐγκατέλεξε. διὸ τιμαῖς τε τοῦτον ἐφαμίλλως ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ πρεπούσαις δωρεαῖς ἐθεράπευεν, εὐεργέτην πολλάκις καὶ σωτῆρα ἀποκαλῶν.

|| 17–18 cf. Syrianus Magister, Rhetorica militaris, 43.3–4

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9 θείων : ἁγίων edd   10 ἐδόκει τιμᾶν ante corr. B edd   10 σέβέσθαι V   10 ἐκκριτὸν V   12 ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατευμάτων edd e Scyl 69.83   15 καὶ πέρα τοῦτο δεινῶν Boor : καὶ πέρα τοῦτο δεινὸν V edd: τοῦτο καὶ πέρα δεινῶν coni. Bekk in app.   16 δορυάλωτον B edd   16 αὐτὸν edd Boor e Scyl 70.87 : αὐτῶν V   17 μελίσας V   19 βαλλόμενος e superiore versu repetitum in locum alterius vocabuli coni. Boor   21 ὦ : ὥς V   23 ἐπόμενον V   24 ἐρρήγυ V   24 φάλαγγαν (*ν* in ras.) V   27 ἐγεγόνει τούτου iteravit V   27 ἐπιδήσαι V   31 συνακολουθήσειεν edd   32 διακρουόντων edd   34 καὶ σωτῆρα πολλάκις edd

nearby, either so that the other might resolve obscure things unknown to most men and give Theophilus information, on account of the wisdom he possessed – for Theophilus was very inquisitive of secret things –, or else, Theophilus was thus guarding himself against suffering any uprisings provoked by him on account of the war against the divine and venerable images. Theophilus appeared to esteem the man in no negligible wise, and to revere his superior and God-loving way of life; for this reason, then, it seemed to him right to keep him by his side and not to leave him behind. Now, when they engaged battle against each another and the Ismaelites were prevailing, it happened somehow that the emperor was surrounded by the enemy and was in danger of his life. But Manuel, the leader of the army, thinking it terrible – and this indeed in excess of terrible things! – that an emperor should be captured, emboldened the men around him; 'O men,' said he, 'show respect for the bees who fly behind their king smitten with affection,' and he went in like a lion on behalf of its young, seeking the emperor. When he found him in a disheartened state, dispairing of salvation out of cowardice but pretending not to want to abandon his men, he said, 'Come, O emperor, follow me as I make wide the ranks and slaughter many.' But after Manuel emerged without the emperor who was following but who was greatly afraid and had taken fright, he again forced the ranks, desiring to bring him out. When he failed anew, he cut with even more resolution through the line holding the emperor a third time, and drew near him so that he could fasten reigns to the horse carrying him and drag him out yet again. The man was wounded in his soul, fearing that an emperor of the Romans should become a prisoner and *footstool* of the enemy. Making therefore a swift and dexterous retreat, and threatening the other with death if he did not come with him, he barely saved him from danger, whilst a few others behind pursued the war, and he regained his men. On this account Theophilus rewarded him appropriately with dignities and honoured him with fitting gifts, oftentimes calling him a benefactor and saviour.

25. Ἀλλ’ ὁ φθόνος ἴσχυσε κατ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ κατὰ πολλῶν καὶ τοσούτων μυριάδων ἀνδραγαθήσας καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διασώσας τὸν βασιλέα ὑπ’ ὀλίγων οἰκείων κατεπαλαίετο. ὅθεν εἰς καθοσίωσιν καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν παραλόγως ἐκ λοιδορίας ἐγκληθείς, καὶ πολὺν εἶναι τὸν φθόνον τὸν κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐνιδών, ἐπεὶ διά τινος πιστοῦ ἀνεμάνθανεν, δούλου μὲν πρότερον ὄντος τοῦ Μανουήλ, τότε δὲ ἐκ χαρίσματος οἰνοχοοῦντος τῷ Θεοφίλῳ καὶ ἐξυπηρετοῦντος, ὡς μέλλοι τοῦτον ἀποτυφλοῦν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ποιῆσαι χωρίς, ἀποστασίαν τολμᾷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγαρηνοὺς μετατίθεται, μέγας παρ’αὐτοῖς ὀφθεὶς καὶ τιμαῖς ταῖς μεγάλαις τιμώμενος. ἐνέκειτο γοῦν κατὰ τῶν πλησιαζόντων αὐτοῖς ἐχθρῶν, οἳ οὕτω δὴ Κορμᾶτοι καλοῦνται, πολύς, καὶ νίκας οὐ τὰς τυχούσας ἐποίει ἅτε δὴ καὶ πείρᾳ καὶ συνέσει διαφέρων πολλῶν. καὶ τὸ δὴ κρεῖττον λόγου, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Ῥωμαίων καὶ καθειργνυμένων ἐν φυλακαῖς ταῦτα εἰργάζετο, πίστιν αὐτοῖς δοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὡς οὐ φεύξονται· ὅτε καὶ τὸ Χοροσὰν λέγεται κατασχεῖν καὶ τῷ ἀμεραμνουνῇ ὑποτάξαι οὐ τῷ διαφέρειν μόνον εἰς ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ καὶ καινῶς πως καὶ παρηλλαγμένως ὀφθῆναι αὐτοῖς· ἥ τε γὰρ τῶν σχη|μάτων μεταβολὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν φωνῶν παρὰ f. 40r
δόξαν ἐξαλλαγὴ εἰς | δειλίαν ἐμπίπτειν ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ μὴν B 119
δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἀτιθάσσων θηρίων κατασινομένων αὐτοὺς καὶ βλαπτόντων ἐλευθερώσας, καὶ μεγάλων αἴτιος καλῶν αὐτοῖς γεγονώς, διαφερόντως ἠγαπήθη αὐτῷ τε τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

26. Ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ μετάμελον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνεποίησε ταῦτα διακούοντι, καὶ λύπης αἴτιος κατέστη πολλοῖς, πάντα κάλων ἐδόκει τούτῳ κινεῖν ὡς ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα μετακαλέσοιτο καὶ παλινδρομῆσαι ποιήσειεν. ὅθεν οἱ μὲν εἰρηνικὰς σπονδὰς διὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ ποιῆσαι τοῦτόν φασιν Ἰαννοῦ πρὸς καιρὸν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὰς φυλακὰς δι’ ἀλλαγίου πρὸς τὰ ἴδια μεταγαγεῖν, ὅτε καὶ χρυσοβούλλιον τούτῳ καὶ ὅρκους ἀπαθείας δι’ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ

25.8 : Manuel ad Saracenos fugit, probabiliter regnante adhuc Michaele, cf. infra III.26.38–41
26.3–5 : legatio Ioannis apud calipham eadem est cuius mentio supra in III.9 facta est.

Cap. 25: Gen 44.22–27, 50.19–51.29; Log A 220.103–221.118 | PsSym 632.3–18, 633.14–15; Scyl 70.1–71.18 Cap. 26: Theoph 362.30–31; Gen 44.38–41, 51.28–46, 53.80–82; Log A 221.188–223.156, 223.166–224.172 | PsSym 632.18–634.12, 635.1–9; Scyl 71.18–72.46 || 2 Suda, Π no. 222, cf. Michael Apostolius, Paroemiae cent. II, sect. 99, Chrysocephalus cent. VII, sect. 4 et etiam Photius, Bibliotheca cod. 242, 339a

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25.3 καταπαλαίετο V 5 ἐν ἰδὼν V 7 ἐξ ὑπηρετοῦντος V 10 Κορμάτοι edd 14 Χοροσὰν V PsSym f 242r : Χορασὰν B edd : Χωροσᾶν Scyl 70.11 (EVB) : Χωροσὰν Scyl 70.11 (AMN) : Χωρησᾶν Scyl 70.11 (C) 16 ἀνδρεῖαν V : ἀνδρίαν Bekk 16 τῷ καὶ καινῶς Boor : τὸ καὶ καινῶς V : καὶ τὸ καινῶς B Comb : καὶ τῷ καινῶς Bekk 18 παραδόξαν V 18 μεταλλαγὴ edd **26**.2 πολλοῖς V, cf. infra ἀδήλου πολλοῖς : πολλῆς edd Boor, cf. Log A 221.119 ἐν πολλῇ θλίψει : τοῖς πολλοῖς coni. Boor in app. 5 καὶ om. edd 5 δι’ ἀλλαγίου Boor, cf. tamen Gen 44.33 διαλλαγὴν : διαλλαγίου V : διαλλαγίου, καὶ edd 6 τὲ V

25. But Envy prevailed against him; and he who had shewn valour against so many tens of thousands and had saved the emperor's life from enemies was thrown down by a few of his own associates. For after he had been fraudulently charged through slander with lèse-majesté and conspiracy and had become aware of the great envy against him, when he learnt from a man he trusted, who had formerly been Manuel's servant but was now through favour a wine-pourer and attendant of Theophilus, that the latter was about to blind him and deprive him of his eyes, he undertook a rebellion and went over to the Hagarenes; and he was regarded by them as a great man and received great honours. For he pressed hard with many troops upon the enemies abiding near them, who were called Kormatoi, and won no minor victories, surpassing many as he did in experience and understanding. And, what is greater than words can tell: he accomplished these things with Romans who had been captured and confined in prisons, giving the Hagarenes surety on their behalf that they would not escape. It was then, according to report, that he took Chorosan and brought it to submission to the ameramnounes not only through the excellent courage of the men but also their somehow strange and altered appearance, for the change of garments and unexpected variation of languages threw the enemy into fright. What is more, he delivered them from the many wild beasts which were causing them injury and harm, and having become a cause of great benefit to them he was especially loved by the ruler himself and his council.

26. However, because this news brought regret to the emperor when he heard it, and Manuel had become a cause of sorrow to many, Theophilus thought best to let out all ropes in order that he might recall the man and make him return. Whereupon some say that he made a truce at the time through the monk Jannes and brought back home those in captivity through an exchange, sending to Manuel also a chrysobull and oaths of safety both

ἑτέρων πρότερον πολλῶν ἐξαπέστειλεν. οἱ δὲ δι’ αὐτοῦ μὲν τοῦ Ἰαννοῦ, οὐ μὴν οὕτως διὰ φανερᾶς ἐντεύξεως καὶ συντυχίας, κρυπτῆς δὲ καὶ ἀδήλου πολλοῖς, ἣ τὸν Ἰαννὴν γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοφίλου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν μεταστήσασα καὶ μεταμφιάσασα καὶ τοῖς ῥακοδυτοῦσιν Ἴβηρσι καὶ μοναχοῖς τοῖς πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ λιτῆς φοιτῶσιν ἐξομοιώσασά τε καὶ συγκαταμίξασα τῷ ἐν ᾧ διῃτᾶτο οἴκῳ ὁ Μανουὴλ κατὰ τὸ Βαγδᾶ ἐγκατέστησεν ἐπαιτεῖν τε προσποιησάμενον καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μετάνοιαν ἀναδιδάσκοντα. καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν εἰρημένων τό τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγκόλπιον καὶ τὸ χρυσοβούλλιον ἐδίδου, συμπάθειάν τε καὶ παντελῆ κακῶν ἀμνηστίαν εὐαγγελιζόμενα· ἃ καὶ λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας ὁ Μανουήλ, καὶ οἱονεὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνακαείς, τὴν οἴκαδε ἐμελέτα ἐπάνοδον. ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἔκ τε τοῦ χρόνου | καὶ ἐκ B 120 τῶν πρότερον ἡμῖν εἰρημένων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργων ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστις οὐ μείωσιν αὔξησιν δέ τινα καθ’ ἑκάστην ἐλάμβανεν, μηνύει τῷ ἀμεραμνουνῇ ὡς ἐφέσεως ἔχοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεῦσαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἳ καὶ κατεῖπον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀμύνασθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντας· καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἠξίου πέμπεσθαι τοῦ ἀμερα|μνουνῆ εἰς πλείονα τῶν ὑπονοουμένων ἀ- f. 40v σφάλειαν. κατανεύει τοῖς αἰτηθεῖσιν ὁ Ἰσμαήλ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὧν ἐπεθύμει ἐξέπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ πλησίον που τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁρίοις ἐγίνοντο, δῆλα ποιεῖται τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν τῷ Καππαδοκίας στρατηγῷ καὶ τὴν εἰσαῦθις πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπάνοδον, καὶ ἅμα ἐδίδασκεν ὡς χρὴ κατὰ τὸν δεῖνα τόπον λόχον τινὰ καὶ ἐνέδραν γενέσθαι, ἵν’ “ὅταν ἐκεῖσε δὴ γένωμαι, τὰ μὲν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κοῦρσα ἐπ’ ἄλλον δή τινα τόπον ἐξελαύνειν ποιήσας μετὰ τοῦ λόχου δὴ γένωμαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη ἐπαναδράμω αὐτός”. ὃ καὶ γέγονεν, ἄρτι γὰρ ἐκεῖσε δή που ἐπλησίαζον, καὶ πολλὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἰσμαὴλ υἱὸν κατασπασάμενος “ἄπιθι”, ἔφη, “ὑγιής, ἄπιθι, τέκνον, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σου· ἐμὲ δὲ ἴσθι πορευόμενον οὐ πρὸς ἄλλον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄντως βασιλέα καὶ κύριον”. διασωθεὶς δ’ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν εἰς τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις θεῖον ἐπεφοιτήκει ναόν, τὸν Θεόφιλον εἰδὼς οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἔχοντα πίστιν εἰς αὐτόν. ὅθεν καὶ μάγιστρος τιμᾶται, καὶ σύντεκνος ἔκτοτε χρηματίζει αὐτοῦ, καὶ δομέστικος προβι-

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26.33–34 : Manuel ad imperatorem fortasse a. 830 revertit, dum calipha Mamun et eius filius primam expeditionem contra Theophilum agunt

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7 προτέρων edd 8 φανερὰς V 9 ἁ ἀφ’ V 10 μετἀμφιάσασα V 10 Ἴβηρσι μοναχοῖς coni. Boor in app. 12 διητάτο V 12 Βαγδᾶ sic V, sed cf. Βαγδὰδ infra III.34.22 15 ἀπάθειαν coni. Comb in marg., cf. Log A 221.116 λόγον ἀπαθείας, sed cf. Gen 51.45 συμπαθείας 15 τῶν κακῶν edd 17 οἴκα δὲ V 17 καὶ ἐκ : καὶ edd 21 καὶ κατεῖπον : κατεῖπον B edd 22 καὶ ante κατὰ del. Boor, cf. Scyl 71.26 23 τὸν ἀμεραμνουνῆ edd 26 ποιεῖ coni. Bekk in app. Boor 26 εἰς αὖθις V 28 ἵν ὅτ ἂν V 29 τῶν om. edd 29 κούρσα V 30 ἤθη edd Boor e Scyl 71.34 31 ἐπλησίαζον V Boor Scyl 71.35 : ἐπλησίαζεν edd 31 καὶ om. Scyl 71.36 35 θεῖον B in marg edd Boor: θεῖω V

through this Jannes and earlier through others. Others say also that he did this through Jannes, however, not thus through open dealings and circumstances, but through covert means, hidden from the many: thereby Jannes was dispatched by Theophilus's wish from our country and changed his dress; and assimilating himself and mixing in with the rag-wearing Iberians and monks who travel to Jerusalem in prayer he established himself in the house where Manuel dwelt in Bagdad, pretending to beg and telling Manuel of the emperor's regret. As testimony of what he said he gave him the emperor's medallion and chrysobull, which promised sympathetic affection and complete amnesty of wrongs. Taking these in his hands, as if fired in his soul, Manuel took thought for his return home. Now, because through the passage of time and his deeds against the enemy, as we have recounted, trust in him had not diminished but rather increased every day, and he informed the ameramnounes that he had the desire to go to war against the Romans and avenge himself on the enemies who had denounced him to the emperor and who had houses in Cappadocia; and he requested that the son of the ameramnounes should be sent with him as more assurance to those in doubt. Ismael granted the things requested and sent him off against those whom he desired to fight. But when they drew near the Roman borders, Manuel informed the general of Cappadocia concerning his affairs and his return again to the Romans; and he instructed him that in such and such a place there should be a trap and an ambuscade, so that 'When I arrive there, sending the Saracen invaders off to another place, I myself shall fall in with the ambuscade and return to the Roman customs.' And so it came to pass. For as they approached the place, Manuel embraced many times Ismael's son and said, 'Go, my child, go safe to your father, and know that I go to none other than my emperor and lord indeed.' And coming safely thence to the imperial city he went to the divine church at Blachernai, for he knew that Theophilus had very great trust in him. Whereupon he was honoured with the dignity of magistros; and thereafter he was treated like a relation to Theophilus and was promoted to domestikos of

βάζεται τῶν σχολῶν. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ φυγῇ μὲν χρήσασθαι | τὸν Μανουήλ φασι [B 121] πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἄγαρ, καὶ διὰ τὴν Θεοφίλου, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐπανελθόντα σπουδήν, οὐ μὴν καθοσίωσιν ἐγκληθέντα ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου φυγεῖν, ἐπὶ Μιχαὴλ δὲ τοῦ τραυλοῦ τοῦ τούτου πατρός, εἴτε καὶ μίσει τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν φερόμενον, εἴτε δὴ καὶ παλαιὰν δεδοικότα μῆνιν αὐτοῦ.

Χειροτονεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰαννὴς ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ τὴν εἰκάδα πρώτην τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου μηνός, ἡμέρᾳ πρώτῃ, ἆθλον ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀπιστίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰς θείας εἰκόνας προσκυνεῖν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀπενεγκάμενος.

27. Ζητητικῷ δὲ τῷ Θεοφίλῳ τυγχάνοντι καὶ ἄγαν ἐγκειμένῳ περὶ γνώσεως τῶν μελλόντων βασιλεύειν ἀνδρῶν, γύναιόν τι ληφθὲν ἐκ τῶν <τῆς> Ἄγαρ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους τούτους Πύθωνος κατεχόμενον πνεύματι παρά τινων ἀνεμάνθανε. τοῦτο οὖν ἤγαγέ τε παρ' ἑαυτῷ ὁ Θεόφιλος, καὶ τίνες εἶεν ὧν ἡ βασιλεία διαρκέσειεν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπυνθάνετο. ὡς δὲ "σοῦ μὲν διάδοχον τὸν σὸν υἱόν τε καὶ γαμετὴν" ἀπεφοίβασέ τε | [f. 41r] γενέσθαι καὶ ἐμαντεύσατο, μετέπειτα δὲ τοὺς Μαρτινακίους ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς βασιλείας κατασχεῖν, αὐτίκα τοῦτον τὸν Μαρτινάκην, καιτοί γε προσῳκειωμένον αὐτῷ πως κατὰ συγγένειαν, πρὸς τὸ μονάζειν ἀπέκειρεν, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον θεοῦ καὶ μοναχῶν ἐναπέδειξεν ἐνδιαίτημα. οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μελλόντων τὸ γύναιον ἀπεθέσπισεν· τόν τε γὰρ Ἰαννὴν τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου πόρρω που γενέσθαι ἐνεσήμανεν, καὶ τὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ἀναστήλωσιν διεσάφησεν. | οἷς [B 122] τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Θεόφιλος ἐπώδυνος γεγονὼς καὶ δυσαπόνιπτα ταῦτα φέρων ἀεὶ πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐπῇδε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γαμετῇ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῷ λογοθέτῃ Θεοκτίστῳ παρῄνει καὶ πλήθει κατεδέσμει ὅρκων τοῦ μήτε τὸν Ἰαννὴν ὑπερορίας τυχεῖν μήτε μὴν τὰς εἰκόνας τῆς προσκυνήσεως. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἄρα τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἠρεύνα τε καὶ ἐξιχνίαζεν ὡς καὶ παρὰ

26.38–41 : Manuel in exilium fugit regnante Michaele Theophili patre, cf. tamen supra III.25.8
43–44 : Ioannes Grammaticus die domenica 21 Apr. a. 832 sive 838 patriarcha electus est.

Cap. 27: Gen 49.74–50.12 | PsSym 635.15–636.7; Scyl 72.47–73.75 || 3–4 Acta 16.16, cf. Photius Lexicon E no. 20, Suda E no. 45, et supra I.11.24

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38 εἰσὶ μὲν δ' οἱ edd 38 φασὶ V 41 τῷ Comb. in marg. Bekk Boor : τὸ V Comb 43 ὁ om. B edd **27.**1 Ζητηκῶ V : Ζητικῶ B : Ζητιτικῷ Comb 3 <τῆς> add. Boor e III.9.1 et III.20.18 3 κατεχώμενον V 4 τινον V 5 διαρκέσειεν Boor e Gen 49.77 : διαρκέσει V PsSym 635.18 5 ἐπιπολὺ V 6 υἱὸν καὶ edd 7 ἑμαντεύσατο V 7 Μαρτην- Gen 49.77, 78, 85 7 ἐπιπολὺ V 8 καί τοί γε edd 9 πρὸς ὠκειωμένον V 10 αὐτοῦ οἶκον Boor e Scyl 72.56 Gen 49.85 PsSym 635.20 : ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον V 11 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ in app. Boor e Scyl 72.58 13 κατεσάφησεν edd 15 τῷ om. edd 16 μετὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον fort. ante μήτε inserendum, cf. Scyl 72.64 μετὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον μήτε et etiam Gen 50.11 μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν et PsSym 636.2 μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ 17 μὴν V 17 τῆς om. edd 18 ἐξ ἰχνίαζεν V

the scholai. There are also those who say that Manuel fled to the descendants of Hagar and returned through the solicitude of Theophilus, but that he did not flee under accusation of lèse-majesté in the time of Theophilus but rather of his father Michael the Stammerer, and was either driven by his hatred for the latter or else feared an old enmity on his part.

Jannes was ordained bishop of Constantinople on the twenty-first of the month of April, on Sunday, receiving hierarchic office as the prize of his impiety and faithlessness and of not worshipping the divine images.

27. Now Theophilus, being inquisitive and quite eager for knowledge concerning the men who would in future reign as emperor, learnt from certain men of a woman who had been captured from the Hagarenes in these wars and who was possessed by the spirit of Python. Theophilus had this woman brought to him and enquired who the persons were whose reign would endure for a long time. And when she prophesied and foretold that 'Your successor will be your son and wife', and that afterwards the Martinakioi would for a long time possess the empire, Theophilus forthwith had this Martinakes, though he was his own kinsman through some relation, tonsured as a monk and proclaimed his house an abode of God and monks. Furthermore, the woman predicted many other things that came to pass, for she indicated that Jannes would somehow be removed from the patriarchal throne and made clear the restoration of the venerable images. Whereby Theophilus was aggrieved in soul and, unable to rid his thoughts of these predictions, often recited many of them in refrain to his wife; and moreover he exhorted the logothete Theoktistos and bound him with a multitude of oaths that Jannes would never undergo banishment nor the images worship. So far did he go in his enquiry and investigation concerning the imperial office, even through

τοῦ Ἰαννοῦ ἐν λεκανομαντείᾳ τὸν μέλλοντα Βασίλειον τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπειληφέναι ἀρχὴν καθαρῶς ἐνιδεῖν. οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν Τριφύλλιον τὰ αὐτῷ συμβησόμενα διετράνου τὸ γύναιον πολλὰ λιπαροῦντα καὶ πυνθανόμενον· αὐτόν τε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ υἱεῖς κληρικοῦ σχῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ Βασιλείου διαμειφθῆναι· ὃ καὶ γέγονεν. καὶ Γεώργιον δὲ τὸν τὰς στρατιωτικὰς δέλτους ἐπειλημμένον ἐπὶ σφενδόνῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸν Ἱππόδρομον ἀποκτανθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ὕπαρξιν αὐτοῦ τῷ βασιλικῷ ἀνειλῆφθαι ταμείῳ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πῃ κατὰ Πλάτωνα.

28. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει πρὸς τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων πόλεμον οἵ τ' Ἀγαρηνοὶ καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος ἐξελθόντες ἔμειναν ἄπρακτοι παντελῶς ἀλλήλους καταπτοούμενοι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπανέστρεφον. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ὅ τε χαγάνος Χαζαρίας καὶ ὁ πὲχ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Θεόφιλον ἔπεμπον πρεσβευτάς, τὸ κάστρον ὅπερ οὕτω Σάρκελ κατονομάζεται αὐτοῖς κτισθῆναι ἐξαιτούμενοι, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται μὲν λευκὸν οἴκημα, ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμόν, ὃς τούς τε Πατζινακίτας ἐντεῦθεν καὶ αὐτοὺς διείργει τοὺς Χαζάρους ἐκεῖθεν, ἔνθα καὶ Χαζάρων ταξεῶται | καθέζονται B 123
τριακόσιοι κατὰ χρόνον ἐναλλασσόμενοι. ὧν τῇ αἰτήσει καὶ παρακλήσει πεισθεὶς ὁ Θεόφιλος τὸν σπαθα|ροκανδιδάτον Πετρωνᾶν τοῦ ἐπονομα- f. 41v
ζομένου Καματεροῦ, μετὰ χελανδίων βασιλικοπλωΐμων καὶ τοῦ κατεπάνω τῆς Παφλαγονίας ἀπέστειλεν, εἰς πέρας τὴν τούτων αἴτησιν κελεύσας ὑπαγαγεῖν. ὃς ἅμα τῷ τὴν Χερσῶνα καταλαβεῖν τὰς μὲν μακρὰς νῆας ἐκεῖσέ που προσορμίσας ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου κατέλιπεν, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἐν στρογγύλαις εἰσαγαγὼν ναυσὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ταναΐδος διεβιβάσθη, ἔνθα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔδει τούτοις οἰκοδομεῖν. ἐπειδὴ λίθων ὁ τόπος ἠπόρει, ἐκ μὲν τῶν μικρῶν καχλήκων τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄσβεστον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑποκειμένης γῆς πηλὸν ἐγκαύσας διὰ καμίνων, καὶ βίσαλον ἐργασάμενος, τὴν ὁρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ δουλείαν μόγις μέν, ἐπεραίου δὲ διὰ πολυχειρίας λαμπρῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπανέστρεφεν. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Χερσῶνος τῷ βασιλεῖ γνώμην τε καὶ βουλήν, οἷς εἰς πεῖραν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦλθεν καὶ τῶν

28.9–13 : legatio Petronae apud Chazaros ad aedificandum Sarkel ca. a. 831 accidit, cf. Signes 2014, 337–345

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26 Hesychius E no. 123 Cap. 28: DAI 42.22–55 | Scyl 73.76–91

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20 ἐν ἰδεῖν V 21 Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Scyl 72.68 21 Τριφύλλιον Boor e Gen 49.88 Τριφύλλιος et Scyl 73.69 Τριφυλλίους, cf. PsSym f 242v Τριφιλλίω : Τριφύλιον V edd 26 ἀνεῖλῆφθαι V 26 post Πλάτωνα lacunam coni. edd **28.**1 καταλλήλων V 2 ἀλλήλως V 5 Σάρκελλ Scyl 73.79 (M) 6 ἐρμενεύετε V 6 ἔστιν V 6 καὶ κατὰ edd 7 τὰναιϊν V 10 σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτον V 10 Πετρονὰν V Scyl 73.82 (M) 11 Καματηροῦ DAI 42.25 11 βασιλικῶν πλωΐμων DAI 42.31 12 Καπετάνω Comb 13 ἐπαγαγεῖν coni. Boor 16 ἐπειδὴ DAI 42.35 : ἐπεὶ δὲ V edd Boor 16 ἡπόρει V 18 βίσαλον V edd DAI (ms.) 42.36 : βήσαλον Boor : βήσσαλον DAI (edd) 42.36 20 τῆς : τοῦ edd

divination in a dish carried out by Jannes, as to get a clear look at Basil, who would later take up this dignity. Moreover, the woman also informed Constantine Triphyllios, who persistently entreated and questioned her, of things which would happen to him: that he and his sons would exchange their clothes for the clerical habit under Basil. The which indeed came to pass. And that George, who kept the military records, would be put to death at the sphendone in the Hippodrome and his property seized by the imperial treasury. So it was with these things, after the manner of Plato.

28. In the following year both the Hagarenes and Theophilus went out to war against one another but, frightened of one another, they remained completely inactive and returned to their own countries. At this same time the chagan and the pech of Chazaria sent emissaries to the emperor Theophilus requesting that the fortress called Sarkel, which means 'white dwelling' should be built up for them; this latter is on the river Tanais, which separates the Pechenegs on one side and the Chazars themselves on the other, where three hundred men of the Chazars are garrisoned with periodic replacement. Theophilus ceded to their request and entreaty and dispatched the spatharokandidatos Petronas, son of the man called Kamateros, with *chelandia* of the imperial fleet and the katepan of Paphlagonia, commanding that they should carry out the Chazar's request. Once arrived at Cherson, Petronas brought up the long ships and left them on land; and embarking his forces in round boats he crossed over to the Tanais where he was to build the city for them. Because the place was lacking in stone, he baked in furnaces lime from pebbles of the river and mud from the underlying layers of earth, thus producing brick, and accomplished the task assigned him, albeit with difficulty, but in conspicuous fashion with a multitude of labourers; and he returned to the imperial city. Concerning Cherson he gave the emperor advice and counsel, in so far as he

τόπων ὁμοῦ, ὡς “οὐκ ἄλλως ἄρξεις τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τόπων ὁλοσχερῶς ἢ στρατηγὸν προχειριζόμενος ἴδιον, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἄρχουσί τε καὶ πρωτεύουσι καταπιστεύων σαυτόν”. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἡμέτερός πω τῆς ἐκείνων προνοούμενος ἐξαπεστέλλετο στρατηγός, ἀλλ’ ὁ λεγόμενος πρωτεύων μετὰ καὶ τῶν πατέρων τῆς πόλεως τὰ πάντα ἦν διοικῶν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόφιλος οὐκ ἄλλον ἀλλὰ τὸν εἰρημένον Πετρωνᾶν, ὡς ἐν πείρᾳ κρίνας τοῦ τόπου, πρωτοσπαθάριόν τε ἐτίμησεν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐξαπέστειλεν, τόν τότε πρωτεύοντα | καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους B 124 θεσπίσας ὑπείκειν ἀνενδοιάστως αὐτῷ· ἐξ ὅτου περ καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν ἐκράτησεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Χερσῶνα προβάλλεσθαι στρατηγούς. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἥ τε τοῦ Σάρκελ οἰκοδομὴ ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Χερσωνίτας τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀποστολὴ στρατηγῶν.

29. Ἔξεισι δὲ πάλιν ὁ Θεόφιλος κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐμβριθέστερος, τῆς πατρικῆς ἡττᾶσθαι τόλμης ἀνέραστος ὤν. ὅθεν καὶ πορρωτέρω πρόεισι τῆς Συρίας, ὁμοῦ μὲν κείρων τὴν γῆν καὶ πορθῶν, ὁμοῦ δὲ λαφυραγωγῶν αὐτὴν καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζων, καὶ πόλεις παραλαμβάνων ἄλλας τε δύο καὶ μέχρις ἐδάφους καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Σωζόπετραν ἐκ πολιορκίας πατρίδα τυγχάνουσαν τοῦ ἀμεραμνουνῆ, ὑπὲρ ἧς | πολλὰ f. 42r λέγεται ἐκεῖθεν διὰ γραμμάτων προτρέψασθαι ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν Θεόφιλον ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ, κἂν οὐκ εἶχέ πως τὸν ἀκούοντα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διοικησάμενος πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπάνεισιν ὁ Θεόφιλος, τῷ Θεοφόβῳ τὰ τῶν Περσῶν εὖ διαθέσθαι καὶ στρατηγικῶς προτρεψάμενος καὶ αὖθις διὰ ταχέων ἐπαναδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀλλ’ οἱ Πέρσαι συσχόντες αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν Σινώπην βασιλέα καὶ ἄκοντα ἀνεκήρυξαν· ὃς αἰδοῖ τε καὶ φόβῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα βαλλόμενος ἀνένευέ τε καὶ δεινὰ πείσεσθαι τούτους ἐπέλεγεν ἐπὶ τῷ τολμήματι. ὅθεν πλέον κατορρωδοῦντες αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς εἴχοντο μὲν τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶν, εἶχον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παραθαρρύνοντες. ἀλλ’ ὁ Θεόφοβος λάθρα τὰ τελεσθέντα δηλοῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἐνωμότως πληροφορεῖ ὡς οὐκ αὐτός, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν

29.1–2 : expeditio Theophili contra Sozopetram a. 837 11–12 : usurpatio Theophobi in Sinope forte non a. 837 sed 838 post stragem iuxta Anzen accidit, cf. infra III.32

Cap. 29: Gen 40.20–41.58; 44.42–45.51, 46.1–47.5; Log A 223.156–166 | PsSym 634.13–22, 637.2–17; Scyl 73.92–74.24

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22 ὡς· “οὐκ (sic punct.) V : καὶ “οὐκ edd 22 αὐτῶν om. edd 23 ἢ V 27 ἐπεὶ Comb 28 Πετρονᾶν V 28 ἐν πείρᾳ nos e conjectura Kukules Kyriakides ad DAI (ms.) 42.49 ἔμπειρα : ἔμπειραν V : ἔμπειρον edd Boor 29 τόν τότε Boor e DAI 42.52 : τόν τε V edd 30 θεσπίας V 30 μέχρι edd 31 προβάλεσθαι V **29.**6 ἐκπολιορκήσας edd 7 πολλὰ λέγεται Boor : πολλὰ ἐγενεται V : ἐγένετο edd : πολλὰ κατεδεήθη Scyl 74.97–98 7 διαγραμμάτων V 8 εἶχε πῶς V 10 εὖ διαθέσθαι V : ἐνδιαθέσθαι edd 10 καὶ στρατηγικῶς om. edd 13 τῷ om. edd 14 ἔλεγεν edd 16 παραθαρύνοντες V

had experience of both men and places, that 'You shall not rule over their land and territories entirely unless you appoint your own general, without trusting yourself to their rulers or chiefs.' For no general of ours had ever been sent out to look out for their affairs, but the so-called chief was in charge of everything together with the fathers of the city. Thereupon, the emperor Theophilus dispatched as general none other than the aforementioned Petronas, judging him to have experience of the place; and bestowing on him the dignity of protospatharios, he ordained that the chief and the others should yield to him unequivocally; from which time to the present day the custom prevails that generals are promoted from here for Cherson. Thus came about the construction of Sarkel and the dispatching of generals from here for the Chersonites.

29. Again Theophilus set out against the Hagarenes, with yet greater vehemence, loath to be worsted by his father's boldness. Hence he progressed further into Syria, both ravaging and plundering the land, and carrying off booty and prisoners, capturing also other cities and reducing two of them to ruins, even Sozopetra, the native city of the ameramnounes, by siege; and with regard to this latter there are many reports that Theophilus was urged through letters from the ameramnounes to withdraw from his homeland, though he in no wise heeded. And having settled this Theophilus returned to the imperial city, urging Theophobos to arrange Persian affairs well and after the manner of a general, and to return to him again in good time. But the Persians detained him at Sinope and proclaimed him emperor against his will. Stricken, however, with shame and dread of the emperor, Theophobos refused and told them that they would suffer evils for this rebellion. But fearing yet more for themselves on account of the threats from the emperor, they persisted in their intention and, encouraging him, kept him in their midst. But Theophobos secretly reported to the emperor what had been done and assured him with oaths that it was not he, but they who were responsible for the

τολμηθέντων ὑπαίτιοι. ἀλλ’ ἐκεί|νου τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀσμένως ἀποδέχεται B 125 τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσκαλεῖ, τὴν ἀρχαίαν εὐκληρίαν ἀποδιδούς· συγγνώμην τε ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἀμνηστίαν κακῶν δοὺς τῆς Σινώπης, εἴτε δὴ καὶ Ἀμάστριδος, ποιεῖ ἐκδημεῖν. καὶ ἐπείπερ εἰς πολυπληθίαν ἐνέδωκάν τε καὶ ηὔξησαν ὡς εἰς τρεῖς μυριάδας ἐληλακέναι, οὐ συμφέρον ἐδόκει τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ ἀνειμένους, ἀλλὰ καλῶς σκεψάμενος ἑκάστῳ θέματι χιλιάδας δύο ἀπέστελλεν, ὑπὸ χεῖρα τελεῖν τοῖς εἰς στρατηγίαν τεταγμένοις· ἐφ’ ὧν καὶ τουρμάρχας ἐπιστατεῖν ἐξετίθετο. ὅθεν ἄχρις ἡμῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν Περσῶν αἱ τῶν θεμάτων τοῦρμαι κεκλήρωνται, ἐφ’ οἷς διεσπάρησαν. τοῦτο γοῦν τὸ τόλμημα θρασύτερόν πως καὶ ἰταμώτερον δόξαν τῷ Θεοφίλῳ αὐτούς τε διασπαρῆναι καὶ διανεμηθῆναι ἐποίησεν καὶ τὸν Θεόφοβον μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἀπήγαγε τῆς ζωῆς. ἐγένετο δέ τι καὶ δεύτερον αἴτιον, ὃ δηλώσει πάντως ὁ λόγος κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρόν.

30. Ὁ δ’ ἀμεραμνουνὴς τοσοῦτον ἐτρώθη τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τε καὶ πορθήσει τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ ὡς πανταχοῦ θεσπίσαι τε καὶ κηρῦξαι πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τε καὶ τῆς κάτω Λιβύης συναθροιζομένην ἐπὶ ταῖς | ἀσπίσιν αὐτῶν ἐγγράψαι ‘Ἀμόριον’ τὴν κατ’ f. 42v αὐτοῦ διάβασιν μετὰ θρασύτητος αἰνιττόμενος. συνήγετο γοῦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ταρσὸν πολὺς ἐξ ὀλίγων ἐγένετο, μανίᾳ ἐπὶ | τῇ τῆς πατρίδος B 126 αἰσχύνῃ πυρπολούμενος τὴν ψυχήν. ἀντεπεξῄει δὲ καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος κατὰ τὸ Δορύλαον, τριῶν ἡμεροδρομιῶν πόρρω που τοῦ Ἀμορίου διακείμενον. πολλῶν οὖν συμβουλευόντων μετοικίσαι τὸν ἐν Ἀμορίῳ οἰκοῦντα λαὸν καὶ τέως ὑπεκδραμεῖν τὴν ἄσχετον φορὰν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν – πολὺς γὰρ ηὔξητο καὶ λαὸν ἐπήγετο ἄληκτον –, ἄτοπον μὲν ἐφαίνετο τοῦτο τῷ Θεοφίλῳ καὶ ἄνανδρον, καλὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν εὔοδον τὸ μᾶλλον ἐποχυρῶσαι αὐτὸ καὶ στρατηγοῦ γενναίου διασῶσαι βουλαῖς. Ἀέτιος ἦν οὗτος ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν στρατηγός. ἐπεὶ δὲ καί τινος

30.5–6 : exercitus Mamunis apud Tarsum primo vere a. 838 convenit et expeditionem in Amorium parat

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Cap. 30: Acta Mart Amor passim; Gen 45.51–60, 46.89–90, 47.3–6; Log A 226.225–227.232 | PsSym 638.12–16; Scyl 74.24–75.41

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19 εὐκληρίαν edd Scyl 74.16 : ἀνευκληρίαν V 22 πολυπληθείαν V 22 ἐπέδωκάν in app. coni. Bekk 23 εἶναι V 24 ἀπέσταλκεν edd 27 τούρμαι V **30.**1 δὲ edd 2 θεσπίσαί τε V 3 κηρύξαι V 3 ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τε καὶ τῆς κάτω Λιβύης V Boor, cf. Gen 47.5 ἐξ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ Παλαιστίνης : ἔκ τε Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κοίλης Συρίας Παλαιστίνης τε (τε, Comb) καὶ τῆς κάτω Λιβύης edd e Scyl 74.26–27 4 ἐπιταῖς V 8 Δορύλαον V Boor, cf. Gen 49.68 et infra III.33.5 : Δορύλαιον edd e Scyl 75.31 8 ἡμεροδρομίων V 9 μετοικίσαι Boor e Scyl 75.32 : μετοικῆσαι V edd 10 ὑπ’ ἐκδραμεῖν V 11 ἐπείγετο V 12 ἀνδρίαν Bekk

rebellious acts. The emperor, however, both gladly accepted Theophobos's submission, summoning him to the Palace and restoring him to his former prosperity, and granted to all the others pardon and amnesty of wrongs, making them depart either from Sinope or Amastris. And since thay had grown populous and increased to as many as thirty thousand, it did not seem advantageous to the emperor that they should be free and unrestrained; but after careful consideration he dispatched two thousand to each theme, to be enlisted in the service of the appointed generals, and he also chose turmarchs to have charge amongst them. For this reason down to our own day the tourmai of the themes to which they were scattered have inherited the name of Persians. Thus, because this rebellion seemed somehow to Theophilus quite daring and audacious, he caused them to be scattered and divided up, and not long afterwards he deprived Theophobos of his life. There was also a second reason, which the narrative will most certainly reveal at the proper time.

30. Now the ameramnounes was so wounded in his soul by the loss and pillage of his homeland that he ordered and proclaimed everywhere that men of all ages gathered together from Palestine and Nether Libya should inscribe 'Amorion' on their shields, alluding with boldness to his campaign against it. Thus, he assembled his force and from a few men he emerged at Tarsus with a numerous host, burning with fury in his soul over the shame of his homeland. Theophilus in turn marched out to Dorylaion, which lay some three days' journey from Amorion. Though many counselled him to dislodge the population inhabiting Amorion and escape meanwhile the irresistible tide of the Saracens – for the other had greatly increased his numbers and led a boundless host in train –, this seemed unfitting and unmanly to Theophilus, whereas it seemed good and in keeping with manliness to fortify the city and preserve it through the designs of a noble general. This was Aetios, patrikios and general of the Anatolics. And since he requested a great number of men,

πολυχειρίας ἐδέετο, καὶ ταύτην ἀπέστελλεν ὁ Θεόφιλος ὡς πανταχόθεν ἀντιστησομένους καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐκνικήσοντας. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐδίδου δὴ ἡγεμόνας καὶ ἄρχοντας τοὺς μετὰ βραχὺ μαρτυρήσοντας, Θεόδωρόν τε τὸν Κρατερὸν καὶ Θεόφιλον καὶ τὸν Βαβούτζικον· οἵτινες οὐ μόνον ἐκείνου τοῦ λαοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν τεσσαράκοντα δύο μαρτύρων γεγόνασιν ἀρχηγοί.

31. Ἐπεὶ γοῦν κατὰ τὴν Ταρσὸν ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐπέστη μετὰ φρονήματος καὶ λαοῦ ἡγεμών, οὐκ ἀθρόως τούτῳ μαντευομένῳ καὶ συμβουλευομένῳ ἐφαίνετο καλὸν χωρεῖν πρὸς Ἀμόριον, ἀπόπειραν δὲ πρότερον λαβεῖν τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρος λαβόντος καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως χωρήσαντος. “εἰ γὰρ οὗτος”, φησί, “νικήσειεν, ἕψεται πάντως ἡ νίκη καὶ τῷ πατρί· εἰ δὲ μή, καλὸν ἡσυχάζειν, οὐκ ἐπακολουθησούσης τῆς νίκης μοι”. λαβόντος γοῦν αὐτοῦ Ἄμερα τὸν τηνικαῦτα | διέποντα τὴν Μελιτινὴν καὶ Τούρκους ὡσεὶ χιλιάδας δέκα, B 127 μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων στρατιᾶς καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, κατὰ τὸν Δαζημόνα προσέβαλε μετὰ στρατοπέδου. ἀπῄει γοῦν καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος κατ’ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔχων οὐκ ἀγεννές, ἔκ τε Περσῶν καὶ τῶν δυτικῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον συνιστάμενον. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀνζῆν οὕτω χῶρον καλούμενον ἐγίνετο, ἰδεῖν | ἐπεθύμει τὸ τῶν f. 43r ἐναντίων ἄθροισμα πρὸ τῆς προσβολῆς. ἐπί τινα γοῦν λόφον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερβεβηκότα χῶρον ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν λαβὼν ἀνήνεγκε Μανουήλ, καί πως ἐκ στοχασμοῦ βραχύτερον ἐδόκει τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν· οὐ μὴν πρὸς τοῦτο συντιθεμένου τοῦ Μανουήλ, ὁ τῶν δοράτων ἴσος ἐδόκει ἑσμός. “ἀλλ’ ὦ”, φησί, “βασιλεῦ, τὸ καρτερὸν στοχαζόμενος, τὸν ἐκ δοράτων καλαμῶνα ἀμφοτέρων διάθρει”. ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἰσχυρότερός πως οὐκ ὁ ἴδιος ἀλλ’ ὁ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐδόκει στρατός, βουλὴν ἐδέοντο ἀρτύειν νεανικήν· ἡ δὲ ἦν ἔκ τε Μανουὴλ συνισταμένη καὶ Θεοφόβου, νυκτὸς ἐπιτεθῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀλλ’ ἕτεροι κρεῖττον εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἀντέφησαν, οἷς

Cap. 31: Gen 47.21–48.49 | Scyl 75.41–76.76

15 ἐδέτετο V 15 ἀπέσταλκεν edd 16 ἀντιστησομένους – ἐκνικήσοντας Boor : ἀντιστησομένους – ἐκνικήσαντος V : ἀντιστησομένος – ἐκνικήσοντος edd **31.**5 λαβόντος τοῦ στρατοῦ edd 5 χωρήσαντες edd 7 ἐπακολουθησούσης Boor : ἐπακολουθήσης V : ἐπακολουθούσης edd 7 μοι ante τῆς νίκης edd 8 Μελιτηνὴν edd e Gen 47.25 et Scyl 75.49, fort. recte 9 ἐξαρμενίων V 10 Δαζημῶνα Gen (L var.) 47.25 : Δαζυμῶνα Gen : Δαζιμῶνα Scyl 75.51 10 προσέβαλε μετὰ στρατοπέδου Boor : προσέβαλε μετὰ στρατοπέδον V : προσέβαλεν edd, cf. B qui στρατοπέδον — κατ’ αὐτοῦ om. 10 γοῦν om. edd 12 τοῦ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα Boor : τοῦ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντος V : τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀνίσχοντα edd, cf. Scyl 75.54 τῶν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα 13 Ἀνζὴν edd., cf. Gen 48.34 (L) 15 ἀνήνεγκεν edd 16 ἔκ V 16 βραχύτερον : βαρύτερον Scyl 76.58, sed ἐλάττονα Gen 48.37 16 Σαρακηνῶν πλῆθος edd e Scyl 76.59 18 ἑσμός V edd 18 φησὶν V 18 fort. στοχασόμενος 19 τὸν… ἀμφοτέρον V 19 γοῦν V 19 οὐχ V 22 ἡμέραντέφησαν V

Theophilus dispatched them, so that they would everywhere resist and vanquish the enemy. To these same he gave as leaders and commanders Theodore Krateros, Theophilus and Baboutzikos, who would soon afterwards become martyrs, having been commanders not only of this host but also of the company of the Forty-Two Martyrs.

31. Now, when the leader of the Saracens arrived at Tarsus with arrogance and troops, after consulting an oracle and seeking advice, he deemed it not good to advance forthwith against Amorion but first to make trial of the Roman force through the agency of his son who, taking part of the army, advanced against the emperor. 'If he should gain the victory,' he said, 'victory will by all means come also to his father; otherwise, it is best to lie quiet, since victory will not come to me.' And taking with him Amer, the then ruler of Melitene, and some ten thousand Turks, together with all the host of the Armenians and the prince of princes, he arrived with his army at Dazemon. Theophilus, in turn, set off against him with an army of no modest proportions, made up of Persians as well as men from the West and the region of the rising sun. Now, when he came to the place called Anzes, he wanted to see the assembled enemy before the attack. So the domestikos of the scholai Manuel led the way to a place on a hill higher than the others, and it seemed somehow by estimation that the host of the Saracens was smaller; though when Manuel disagreed with this, the swarm of spears appeared equal. 'But, O emperor,' said he, 'in order to estimate the strength, observe closely the reed-bed of spears on both sides.' And since the mightier of the two appeared somehow not to be their own but rather the army of the enemy, they needed to devise a bold plan. Contrived by both Manuel and Theophilus, this plan was that an attack should be made on the enemy by night. But others argued, to the

καὶ ὁ βασιλεύων ἐπέπειστο. ὡς δ’ οὖν ἔλαμψεν ἡ ἡμέρα, μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης, ἐκθύμως τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀγωνισαμένων ταγμάτων, οἱ Ἰσμαηλῖται ἐνέκλιναν εἰς φυγήν, ἀφέντες τὸ πολεμεῖν. ἀλλ’ οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐπιμόνῳ χρώμενοι τοξείᾳ, καὶ τὸ καταδιῶκον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνακεκρουκότες, ἱστάναι ἀλλ’ οὐ φεύγειν ἔπεισαν τοὺς Σαρακηνούς· ὅθεν ἑαυτοὺς πάλιν συστησάμενοι, | καὶ τοῖς τόξοις δὴ γενναίως πόρρωθεν βάλλοντες, B 128 ἑτεραλκῆ τὴν μάχην ἐποίησαν. οἷς μὴ δυνάμενος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσεγγίσαι στρατός, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ πόρρωθεν κατιδεῖν τῷ βάλλεσθαι καρτερῶς, νῶτα κλίναντες τὸν βασιλέα κατέλιπον. οὐ μὴν οἱ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταγμάτων ἔξαρχοι μετὰ τῶν Περσῶν τοῦτο δρᾶσαι ἢ ἐννοῆσαι τετολμήκασιν, ἀλλὰ περιστάντες τῷ βασιλεῖ σώζειν ἐβούλοντο, κύκλῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάντοθεν περιστοιχησάντων καὶ βαλλόντων αὐτούς. κἂν ἀπώλοντο πανδημεί, εἰ μὴ νὺξ ἐλθοῦσα καὶ βραχύς τις ὄμβρος ἐπιγινόμενος τὰς μὲν νευρὰς χαλαρὰς εἰργάσατο αἷς ἠμύνοντο καὶ τὸ κράτος εἶχον οἱ ἐναντίοι, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἄνεσιν τὴν ἐκ βελῶν περιεποίησεν καὶ σωτηρίας μόλις ἐνέδωκεν ἀφορμάς.

32. Βαθείας γὰρ ἤδη τῆς νυκτὸς γενομένης, ὡς ἠσχόλητο περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ὁ Μανουήλ, γλώττῃ πως τῇ Σαρακηνῶν τὸν Περσῶν ὅμιλον σπένδεσθαί πως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διήκουσε, καὶ συνθέσθαι τούτους αὖθις τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταπροδοῦναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν | ἐξ ἧς f. 43v ἀπέστησαν χωρεῖν κεφαλήν. δῆλα γοῦν τῷ βασιλεῖ λάθρα ποιεῖ, καὶ ἑαυτὸν σώζειν μετὰ λογάδων ἠξίου ἀλλ’ οὐ περιμένειν τὴν αὔριον. καὶ “πῶς ἔσται τοῦ τοσούτου λαοῦ”, ἐπερωτήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, “ἡ σωτηρία, ἐμοὶ προσμεινάντων;” “σοί”, φησί, “μόνον ἔστω, βασιλεῦ, τὸ σώζεσθαι ἐκ θεοῦ· οὗτοι δὲ ταχέως τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς διοικήσουσιν”. ὀψὲ γοῦν κατὰ τὸ περίορθρον τοῦ βασιλέως φυγῇ χρησαμένου καὶ πρὸς τὸ Χιλιόκω|μον B 129 διασωθέντος, οἱ λειποτάκται τῶν στρατηγῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ προσαπαντήσαντες ἀναξίους ἔφασκον εἶναι τῆς ζωῆς, βασιλέα ἐν πολέμῳ καταπροέντες, καὶ ἅμα τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐγυμνοῦντο ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ὑπετίθουν αὐτοῦ, δάκρυσι βρεχόμενοι παρειάς. ἀλλ’ ὁ Θεόφιλος τρωθεὶς ἐκείνων μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ θεάματος, “εἰ ἐγώ”, φησί, “σέσωσμαι ἐκ θεοῦ, σώθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατὰ τῶν ἐχ-

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Cap. 32: Gen 48.50–49.66; Log A 227.232–234 | PsSym 638.16–17; Scyl 76.77–77.94

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24 ἀγωνισαμένον V 25 Ἰσμαηλίται V 27 ἑστάναι coni. Bekk Boor fort. recte 34 περιστοιχισάντων Boor, sed cf. Gen 48.47 περιστοιχήσαντες 34 ante καὶ βαλλόντων αὐτούς add. αὐτοὺς edd 35 πανδεμεῖ V 35 ἐπιγεινόμενος V: ἐπιγενόμενος edd 38 ἐφορμάς Comb **32.**6 ἀλλ’ οὐ V : καὶ μὴ edd 6 αὔριον V : ἅλωσιν edd 6 πὼς V 8 φησιν V 8 τὸ edd : τῷ V 10 Χιλιόκωμον coni Bekk in app Boor e Gen. 48.60 : Χιλιοκόκωμον V edd 13 καταπροέντας edd 15 θεάματος V : πράγματος edd 16 φησιν V 16 σώθητε nos, cf. Scyl 77.90 : σωθήσετε V : σωθήσεσθε Boor edd

contrary, that it was better by day, and the ruler was persuaded by them. Thus, when the day dawned, a fierce battle being fought, with the imperial divisions struggling bravely, the Ismaelites turned to flight, abandoning the fight. But the Turks, ploying persistent archery and beating back the pursuit of the Romans, persuaded the Saracens to stand their ground and not to flee; whereupon these latter, supporting one another and shooting valliantly with their bows from afar, turned the battle around. Unable to approach them or even to look upon them from afar because of the fierce shooting, the Roman army turned their backs and abandoned the emperor. However, the leaders of the imperial divisions together with the Persians durst not do or think of this, but standing round the emperor they wanted to save him, with the enemy surrounding them on all sides in a circle and shooting at them. They would have perished in a mass if night had not come followed by a brief rain which slackened the bowstrings by which the enemy retaliated and derived their strength, whereas it provided the Romans respite from the missiles and only just afforded means of salvation.

32. For when the night had advanced, whilst Manuel was occupied with the watch, he somehow heard in the language of the Saracens that the Persian company had made some accord with them and that they had agreed to betray the army of the Romans and go back to the leader whom they had deserted. He informed the emperor of this secretly, and he begged him to save himself with the elite officers and not wait till morning. When the emperor asked, ‘How will the great host of men who have remained with me find safety?’, said the other, ‘Suffice it, O emperor, to save yourself, with God’s help; these men will swiftly look after themselves.’ Late then, towards dawn, the emperor took flight and sought safety in Chiliokomon; and when the generals who had left the ranks met the emperor there, they said they were unworthy to live, having betrayed an emperor in battle; and stripping themselves of their swords they threw themselves at his feet, wetting their cheeks with tears. But Theophilus, touched even more than they in his soul at the strangeness of the spectacle, said, ‘If I have been saved with God’s help, then save

θρῶν”. τοῦτο οὖν τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατήγημα καὶ ἡ νυκτερινή πως λαλιὰ τῶν Περσῶν, ταὐτὸν δὲ καὶ σπονδὴ εἰπεῖν, τοῖς μὲν Θεοφόβου ἐχθροῖς καὶ θάνατον ψηφιζομένοις αὐτοῦ δευτέρα τις γέγονεν αἰτία καὶ ἀφορμή, τῷ δ’ ἀμεραμνουνῇ ἀκηκοότι νίκης οὐ μικρᾶς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀμορίου καταδρομῆς.

33. Ἥνωντο γοῦν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πατρίδα ἀμφότερα τὰ στρατόπεδα, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ἀμεραμνουνῆ καί, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ προπολεμῆσαν σφοδρῶς, τοῦ υἱοῦ· ἥνωντο γοῦν καὶ χάρακα περιέβαλλον καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπήρχοντο. καὶ τέως ἀπόπειραν ἐποίει ἀποστραφεὶς κατὰ τὸ Δορύλαον ὁ Θεόφιλος τοῦ δώροις αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποστῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα ποιῆσαι παλιννοστῆσαι. ἀλλ’ οὐ πείθεται, ἐνδομυχοῦσαν φέρων τὴν τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ ἅλωσίν τε καὶ πόρθησιν. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐξουθένει καὶ ἀνδράποδον ἐκάλει τε καὶ δειλόν, μυκτηρίζων καὶ διακωμῳδῶν οἷς οὐ πρὸ τούτου τούτῳ ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἑστῶτι ἐπείθετο. εἶχε μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας | πρέσβεις αὐτόθι που τῶν δρωμένων B 130 ἐπόπτας καὶ μάρτυρας.

34. Καὶ δὴ χρόνου παρῳχηκότος διέφυγεν ἂν ἡ πόλις τὸν ὄλεθρον, [τῷ] πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πολιορκίας τῶν μὲν ἐνδεικνυόντων τῶν δὲ κα|ταβαλλόντων, f. 44r καὶ πολλῶν ἀνῃρημένων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀνδρῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀμυνομένων τῶν δὲ πολιορκούντων, ἀπράκτων δὲ τέως μενόντων τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ὀφρύος κατασπωμένων τῷ πλῆθος ἀνῃρῆσθαι λαοῦ – καὶ γὰρ ὡσεὶ χιλιάδες ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκλελοιπότες εὑρέθησαν μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἀριθμούμενοι –, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦν παρελθεῖν τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ μάχαιραν ἠπειλημένην ἄνωθεν, οἷς ὑβρίζετο τὸ θεῖον αὐξανομένης δὴ τῆς αἱρέσεως. διὰ τοῦτο ἀνήρ τις τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων – Βοϊδίτζης οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ ἄθλιος – μέλλουσιν ἤδη πως ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν μετ’ αἰσχύνης παλιννοστεῖν “τί”, φησίν, “ὦ οὗτοι,” γράμματα διὰ βελῶν πεπομφώς, “τοσοῦτον τεταλαιπωρηκότες μέλλετε ἀποφοιτᾶν, κεκμηκότες

Cap. 33: Gen 45.60–67, 49.66–71 | PsSym 639.4–8; Scyl 77.94–17 || 9 cf. Homerus Il. 10.173, Theognis 1.557 et etiam Hesychius E no. 5023, Photius Lexicon E no.1651, Etymologicum Magnum p. 49 ln. 15 et p. 362, ln. 24–26 etc. cf. infra IV.41.36–37 Cap. 34: GeorgMon 797.21–798.1; Gen 45.67–46.80, 46.85–95, 49.70–73; Log A 227.234–248 | PsSym 638.17–639.4; Scyl 77.17–79.53.

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17 τῶν om. edd 17 στρατῆγημα V 18 ταυτὸν V 19 τίς V 20 post ἀφορμὴ add. εὔκαιρος εἰς διαβολήν edd e Scyl 77.92 21 Ἀμορίοι V 21 καταδρομῆς nos: καταδρομή V edd Boor : lacunam post μικρᾶς coni. Boor, cf. Scyl 77.92–94 τῷ δ’ ἀμερμουμνῇ ἀκηκοότι τὴν νίκην ἔδοξε μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλ’ ἀπιέναι πρὸς τὸ Ἀμόριον **33.**1 Ἥνωντο Boor, cf. infra III.33.3 et Gen. 49.70 : ἥνων V: ἥνωτο edd 3 ἥνωντο γοῦν del. edd Boor 4 τὸ om. edd 5 Δορύλαον V Comb Boor, cf. Gen 49.68 : Δορύλαιον Bekk, cf. Scyl 77.8 (EMN) Δορυλαίῳ 6 πάλιν νοστῆσαι Comb : παλινοστῆσαι Bekk 7 ἅλωσιν V 8 τὲ V 9 προτούτου V **34.**1 δὴ : τοι coni. Bekk in app. 1 ὅλεθρον V 2 τῷ nos delendum putamus : τῶ V : τῷ edd Boor 5 ὀφρῦος V 7 ἅλωσιν V 9 διατοῦτο V 9 ἀνὴρ τίς V 10 πῶς V 11 παλινοστεῖν edd 11 φησιν V

yourselves in combat against the enemy.' This strategem of the enemy and the nocturnal conversation, that is to say, accord of the Persians was yet another motive and incitement, on the one hand to the enemies of Theophobos who were pressing for his death, but also to the ameramnounes, when he heard about this important victory, for an attack on Amorion.

33. The two armies, then, that of the ameramnounes and that of his son which had already fought fiercely, joined together near the emperor's home city; they joined together, dug a trench round themselves and commenced the siege. Meanwhile, returning to Dorylaion, Theophilus attempted with gifts to make the other depart from thence and return to his own country. But the ameramnounes paid no heed, guarding in his inner thoughts the sack and pillage of his home city. Rather, he reviled and called him a slave and coward, sneering and mocking at the fact that Theophilus had not heeded him earlier but only now when he stood on the razor's edge between success and failure. Thus did Theophilus have the envoys who had been dispatched there as observers and witnesses of what was going on.

34. Now, with the passing of time the city would have escaped ruin, for every sort of siegework that had been brought to bear by the one side was beaten back by the other, and many men were slain on both sides, those defending and those laying siege; and the Hagarenes, who remained yet unsuccessful, showed great distress on account of the multitude of the slaughtered host, for nearly seventy thousand men were counted missing after the conquest. But it was impossible for those who insulted the Godhead through the long increase of their heresy to escape the sword of God which threatened from above. Thus, a certain man – the wretch was called Boiditzes – from amongst the inferior ranks, said to the Hagarenes, sending letters with arrows as they were about to withdraw and return in shame to their own land: 'Why, O men, do you intend to leave after suffering such hardship, having toiled and

ἄπρακτα καὶ πεπονηκότες; ἔλθετε τοιγαροῦν κατὰ τοὺς πύργους ἐκείνους, ἔνθα μὲν βοΐδιον ἄνωθεν λίθινον ἔξωθεν δὲ λέων ἐκ μαρμάρου ἐφίσταται· κἀκεῖσέ μοι περιτυχόντες, τὰ ὑμέτερα δηλαδὴ φρονοῦντί τε καὶ διευθετοῦντι, καὶ ἄλλως ἀσθενεστέρων πεφυκότων ἐνθαδὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων, ἐγκρατεῖς τε τῶν ἔσω γενήσεσθε καὶ ἐμὲ πολλοῦ ἄξιον κρινεῖτε". ἦλθον κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐκείνου, καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἅμα τῇ προσβολῇ, παίοντες καὶ τιτρώσκοντες τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους. οὐκ ἦν δὲ ὅστις τῶν ἀποθνησκόν|των B 131 οὐκ ἦν. πάντες δὲ ἀνῃροῦντο καὶ ἔπιπτον ποταμοὺς κινοῦντες ἐξ αἵματος. οὕτω μὲν οὖν αἱρεῖται τὸ Ἀμόριον καὶ χερσὶν ἀνόμων ἀνομωτέρως προδίδοται, ἐκείνων μόνων ζώντων τῶν μέχρι τοῦ Βαγδὰδ παραπεμφθέντων, τῶν κατὰ τὰ θέματα τελούντων μεγιστάνων τε καὶ κραταιοτέρων ἀνδρῶν, οἷς καὶ οἱ τεσσαρακονταδύο μάρτυρες συνηρίθμηντο. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἅπαντες μαχαίρας πολεμικῆς ἐγίνοντο τρόπαιον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οὕτως ἔπεισε τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὁ Θεόφιλος πρέσβεις δευτέρους ἐπαποστείλας, ἐπὶ κεντηναρίοις διακοσίοις ἐξωνήσασθαί τε καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λυτρώσασθαι τὸν αἰχμαλωτισθέντα λαόν, εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ τούς γε τέως πρὸς γένος αὐτῷ πλησιάζοντας καὶ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἀποσταλέντας ἐκεῖ. ἀλλὰ μέγα | f. 44v μὲν οὖν γαυριῶν μέγα δὲ καὶ φυσῶν ἐκείνους τε τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους τούτους ἀνταπέστειλε πρέσβεις, καταμωκώμενός τε καὶ πλύνων ὕβρεσι, "τοσούτοις μόνοις", φάσκων, "ἐξωνήσασθαι βούλεσθε κεντηναρίοις, ἔνθα τῶν χιλίων μέχρι φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα καὶ δωρεᾶς ἡμῖν κατανάλωται;" οἷς τὴν καρδίαν παθὼν ὁ Θεόφιλος, καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πυρός τινος ἀναζέων ἢ ἐλαυνόμενος, ἐδεῖτο τοῦ περιψύχοντος ὕδατος ἐκ χιόνος προσφερομένου. χλιαροῦ δέ πως τῷ τῆς καρδίας καύσωνι δοκοῦντος, συνέβη κἀκεῖνον ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς πόσεως δυσεντερίας νόσῳ περιληφθῆναι καὶ ἄκοντα, καὶ τῇ νόσῳ ταύτῃ τοῦ βίου γενέσθαι ἐκτός.

35. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸ Ἀμόριον οὕτως. | κατὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν B 132 παλινδρομήσας ὁ Ἀγαρηνὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους ἀρχηγοὺς ἐν φρουρᾷ τινι

34.21 : die 12 Aug. a. 838 Amorion expugnatum est. 38 : die 20 Ian. a. 842 Theophilus obiit, cf. infra III.41.1–2

Cap. 35: Acta Mart Amor A, praes. 1.10–2.1, 4.29–5.17; Acta Mart Amor Z, praes. 65.11–25, 71.14–72.23

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15 κακεῖσέ V 16 φρονοῦντί τε καὶ διευθετοῦντι nos : φρονοῦντά τε καὶ διευθετοῦντα V edd : φρονοῦντι καὶ διευθετοῦντι Boor 16 ἔνθα δὴ edd 17 πολλοῦ τε V 17 κρινεῖτε Boor : κρίνετε V edd 18 ἐκείνοι coni. Boor dubitanter in app. 22 μόνον edd 22 ζῶντων V 23 τὲ V 24 μβʹ edd 26 ἐπ' ἀποστείλας V : ἀποστείλας edd 27 τὸν ἐχθῶν V 28 αἰχμάλωτον edd 28 γένους coni. Bekk 29 post συμμαχίαν add. αὐτῷ edd 30 δὲ καὶ : δέ γε edd 32 βούλεσθαι V 33 ἕνεκα V 33 ὑμῖν edd 34 post οἷς add. καὶ edd 35 πυρὸς τινὸς V 37 κακεῖνον V 37 ἐξεκείνης V 38 βίου om. edd **35.**1 κατὰ τὸ : κα|τὸ V 2 ἀρχηγοὺς edd Boor, cf. Acta Mart Amor (Z) 65. 11–12 : ἀρχηγὸς V

laboured in vain? Come therefore to the towers where the stone ox stands above and a marble lion outside, and there, meeting me who think the same as you and favour your cause, because the battlements are weaker in this place than elsewhere, you shall gain mastery over those within and shall judge me to be of great worth.' They came according to his word, and they entered with an assault, smiting and wounding those who were caught. There was no one who was not amongst the dying. All were slain and fell, shedding rivers of blood. In this way was Amorion captured and betrayed most impiously into the hands of the impious; those alone remained alive who had been sent to Bagdad, being officials and more important men in the themes, amongst whom were also the Forty-Two Martyrs. All the others became a victory mound of the sword of war. For Theophilus did not convince the enemy, even though he dispatched also second envoys with two hundred kentenaria in order to ransom and win the release of the captured host from the enemy or, if not, at least of those related to him by family who had been dispatched there in alliance. But with great vaunting and great swelling of pride the other sent back both the former and these second envoys. Mocking and heaping insults upon them he said, 'You wish to ransom for so few kentenaria that on which we spent thousands for the sake of honour and bounty?' By these words was Theophilus stricken at heart and, as if boiling or afflicted with fever, he required the chilling water from snow which was brought to him. But although this seemed to him somehow warm because of the burning heat of his heart, it came to pass because of this drink that he was overcome, involuntarily, by the disease of dysentery, and through this disease he lost his life.

35. Such were the events in Amorion, and returning to his own land the Hagarene imprisoned the abovementioned leaders, he shut them up in a dark

σκοτεινῇ τῷ ξύλῳ ἀσφαλισάμενος καθεῖρξεν, βραχεῖ τινι ὕδατι καὶ ἄρτῳ τούτους ἐντειλάμενος ἀποζῆν. ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ σκότει καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ κατείχοντο ὡς μήτε κατὰ τὴν σταθερὰν μεσημβρίαν μικρόν τι αὐγάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ τῇ ἀλλήλων φωνῇ γινώσκεσθαί τε μόνῃ καὶ μόνων τῶν φυλάκων ἀπολαύειν, τῶν ἄλλων στερουμένους ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ βαθυτάτῃ διάγειν. τούτοις τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ὅλοις ἔτεσι προσεκαρτέρησαν. ἄρτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς ὁ τὸ Ἀμόριόν τε προδοὺς καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνησάμενος Βοϊδίτζης κατὰ τὴν φυλακὴν γενόμενος, Κωνσταντῖνον ἄνδρα <λόγιον> καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐντεθραμμένον φωνήσας – Κωνσταντίνῳ δὲ οὗτος ἦν ὑπηρετῶν τῷ πατρικίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν λόγῳ γραφήν –, οὐ χρῄζειν ἔφη τινὰ τῶν ἐντὸς παρεῖναί σοι καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τυγχάνειν μυστηρίων ἀκροατήν. ὡς δ' οὐδένα παρεῖναι ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος καθωμολόγει, "ἄγε δή", ἔφησεν, "ὦ φιλτάτη μοι καὶ γλυκεῖα ψυχὴ – γινώσκεις γὰρ τὸν ἀρχῆθεν πόθον σου συμφυέντα μοι –, βουλήθητι μετὰ τοῦ πατρικίου τῷ πρωτοσυμβούλῳ συνεύξασθαι καὶ μαγαρίσαι τὴν αὔριον, ἵνα μὴ παρανάλωμα γένησθε μαχαίρας καὶ αἰκισμῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντι καὶ μελετῶντι συμφέρον ἡγησάμην σοι ὡς φίλῳ δηλοποιῆσαι πιστῷ. θέλησον γοῦν αὐτῷ μὲν κατὰ τὸ φανερὸν συ|νεύξασθαι, θεῷ δὲ τῷ τὰ κρυπτὰ | ἐτάζοντι πίστευε κατὰ ψυχήν, καὶ f. 45r τῆς αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσετε αἰωνίου ζωῆς. τούτοις οὐ μαλακισθεὶς οὐδὲ B 133 φρεναπατηθεὶς ὁ ἀήττητος "ἀπόστηθι", ἔφη, "ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐργάτα τῆς ἀνομίας, ἀπόστηθι". καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ ἀπεφοίτησεν, διηγησάμενος ἰδίᾳ τῷ πατρικίῳ τῶν λεχθέντων μὲν οὐδὲν φανερόν, ἵνα μή τις δειλανδρίας ἐναποτεχθῇ αὐτῷ λογισμός, μόνον δὲ ὅτι "θανάτου ψῆφος καθ' ἡμῶν ἐς αὔριον ἐξενήνεκται". εὐχαρίστησεν ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ θεῷ ὁ πατρίκιος, καὶ διαθέμενος τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοὺς συμπαρόντας ἅπαντας εἰς πάννυχον ὑμνῳδίαν ἀνίστησιν.

36. Ἕωθεν δὲ μετὰ σοβαρᾶς τις φαντασίας ἄρχων ἐληλυθὼς τοὺς προεξάρχοντας μόνους τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελθεῖν ἐπιτρέπει. καὶ δὴ ἐξιᾶσιν ἄνδρες

Cap. 36: Acta Mart Amor A, praes. 5.17–22, 6.16–36; Acta Mart Amor Z, praes. 72.24–31, 75.15–76.18

3 τινὶ V 4 καὶ om. edd 11 <λόγιον> addidimus, cf. Acta Mart Amor (Z) 72.1–2 ἄνδρα λόγιον καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένον : ἄνδρα φρόνιμον καὶ σοφίᾳ edd : ἄνδρα τῇ σοφίᾳ coni. Boor in app. 12 Κωνσταντίνῳ Boor ex Acta Mart Amor (Z) 72.2 νοτάριον τελοῦντα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πατρικίου : Κωνσταντῖνος V edd 14 οὐδ' ἕνα V 15 δὴ : μοι edd 15 μοι om. edd 18 γίνησθε edd 20 φήλω V 20 αὐτὸ V 21 τῷ om. edd 21 πιστεύετε coni. Boor in app. 22 οὐχ (sic) V 22 μηδὲ edd 27 ἐς αὔριον καθ' ἡμῶν edd 28 τοῦ om. edd **36.**1 σοβαρᾶς : φοβερᾶς in Acta Mart Amor (Z) 72.24–25 1 τίς V 1 ἐξεληλυθὼς edd 2 προἐξάρχοντας V 2 ἐξιᾶσιν V Comb : ἐξίασιν edd Boor

gaol, confining them in wooden stocks, and commanded that they should subsist on a little water and bread. They were kept in such darkness and security that even at high noon there was hardly any light; they recognised each other by voice alone and had only the company of their guards, deprived of all other men and living as in the most remote desert. In these dreadful conditions they persevered for seven whole years. Then, on the fifth day of March, Boiditzes, the man who had betrayed Amorion and renounced Christ, came to the prison and called out to Constantine, a man <of eloquence> and nurtured in wisdom – this same was in service to Constantine the patrikios for the writing of documents. 'None of those inside must be with you,' he said, 'who might hear my secrets.' When Constantine declared that no one was present, the other said, 'Come now, my dearest, sweet soul – for you know the love which unites me with you –, consent, together with the patrikios, to pray with the protosymboulos and apostatise to-morrow, lest you be delivered to the sword and torments. For I have thought it profitable to inform you, as a trusted friend, of this thing for which he is very eager and is making preparations. Agree, then, to pray with him in public, but in your soul believe in God who examines things which are hidden, and you shall not fail in obtaining His eternal life.' However, neither softened nor swayed by these words the invincible one said, 'Get away from me, you worker of iniquity, get away!' And with this word he went off, recounting in private to the patrikios nothing exact of what had been said, lest some cowardly thought might be engendered in him, but only that 'the sentence of death has been brought against us for to-morrow.' The patrikios thanked God for this, and having arranged his affairs through the service of Constantine he roused all those with him to all-night hymnody.

36. In the morning an official of stern appearence came and commanded that only the most prominent officers should come out, without the others.

δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ εὐθὺς κλεισθῆναι προστάττει τὴν φυλακήν.
ἠρώτα γοῦν πόστον ἔτος αὐτοῖς ἐστιν κατὰ τὴν φρουράν, καὶ ἄλλας ἐκίνει
βαττολογίας, κατηκόους τούτους βουλόμενος τῶν αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι φλυα-
ριῶν. ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι τό τε ἔτος ἀποκριθέντες, ὡς ἕβδομον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
ἐκείνων ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς λόγους, ῥωμαλέως καὶ μετὰ γενναίας ἀντιταχ-
θέντες ψυχῆς, τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον φέρουσαν κατεκρίθησαν. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν
Εὐφράτην ἐγένοντο – καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ᾠκοδόμηται
Σάμαρα –, ἐλέγχειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὸν Κρατερὸν Θεόδωρον ὁ ἀλιτήριος, εἴ πως
ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε πείσει τὸν θάνατον ἐξαρνήσασθαι. καὶ "πῶς", ἔφη, "σὺ
Θεόδωρε, παρρησιαζόμενος διὰ θανάτου φοιτᾶν ἐλπίζεις πρὸς θεόν, οὗ
τὰς σωτηρίας, ὡς φατέ, οὐκ ἠγάπησας | ἐντολάς; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐξ ἱερατι- B 134
κοῦ κλήρου, ᾧ πάλαι σὺ ἐγκατείλεξο, πρὸς σχῆμα ἦλθες τῶν λαϊκῶν· οὐδὲ
χεῖρας ἀθῴους οὔσας αἱμάτων σου νῦν ἐν πολέμοις ἐπλήρους πάλιν αὐτὰς
τῶν μολυσμάτων τε καὶ μιασμάτων". καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος οὐκ ἐμβραδύνας,
οὐδέ τινα χρόνον ἀναβαλλόμενος, "διὰ τοῦτο μέν", ἔφη, "καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν
ἐκχέαι αἷμα οὐ κατοκνήσω, ἵνα μοι λύτρον τε καὶ λουτρὸν τῶν πεπλημ-
μελημένων ἀναφανὲν τὴν βασιλείαν δώῃ αὐτοῦ, ᾗ καὶ ἀποδράσας τίς σου
τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ αὖθις ἐπανακάμψας τήν σοι φίλην λειτουργίαν ἐκτελοίη,
εἰς τὴν συγγνώ|μης χώραν ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνης χωροίη". καὶ ἅμα εἰς f. 45v
τὸ τῆς ἀθλήσεως εἰσῄει ὥσπέρ τις Ὀλυμπιονίκης στάδιον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν
πατρίκιον Κωνσταντῖνόν φησι, τὴν ὑφέρπουσαν ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ δειλίαν
καὶ φόβον ἀποσοβῶν, "ἄγε δή, ὦ στρατιῶτα Χριστοῦ, τὸ πρόκριτος εἶ-
ναι πάντων ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλέα λαχών, πρῶτος καὶ τὸν τοῦ
μαρτυρίου ἀναλάμβανε στέφανον". ὁ δ᾽ ἱερὸς Κωνσταντῖνος "σοὶ μᾶλλον
ὡς καρτερῷ καὶ γενναίῳ", ἔφη, "τὸ τοιοῦτον προσῆκεν ἀξίωμα, ὅθεν
ἀκόλουθον ἕξεις ἐμέ, σαυτὸν πρῶτον εἰς θάνατον προδιδούς". ἐπιρρώ-
σαντες οὖν ἀλλήλους τοῖς παρακλητικοῖς, κατὰ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἀξίας πρὸς
τὸν διὰ μαρτυρίου ἕκαστος ἐχώρει δὴ θάνατον, πάντων θαυμαζόντων
τὴν μετὰ πεποιθήσεως καὶ γενναίας τούτων ψυχῆς ἄθλησιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν ὕστερον.

36.29–30 : die 6 Mart. a. 845, in Samarra quadraginta duo captivi Amorienses martyrium accipiunt

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||18–19 Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Februarii dies 8, canon 9, oda 4, ln. 73

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4 πόσον B edd 4 ἔτως V 4 ἐστὶν edd 7 λόγους om. edd 8 μετὰ γενναίας ἀντιταχθέντες ψυχῆς Boor : μετὰ γενέας ἐκ τῆς θείας ἀντιταχθέντες ψυχῆς V : μετὰ γενναίας ψυχῆς ἀντιταχθέντες λόγους edd 8 ἐπιθάνατον V 9 γὰρ om. B edd 9 αὐτὸν : αὐτῶν V 11 συ V 13 σωτηρίους Boor 14 σὺ πάλαι edd 14 ἐγκατελέξω edd 15 οὔσας V 16 οὐκεμβραδύνας V 17 οὐδὲ : μηδέ edd 17 ἀναλαβαλλόμενος V 17 μὲν om. edd 18 κατοκινήσω V 19 ᾗ καὶ nos : ἦ καὶ V : ᾗ edd : ᾗ εἰ coni. Bekk in app. : ἢ <οὐχὶ> καὶ Boor, cf. Acta Mart Amor (Z) 75.30 ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ 20 καὶ : κἂν coni. Boor 20 τὴν σοὶ V Comb 23 φησί V 25 πρὸς τοῦ … βασιλέως coni. Boor in app. 27 γενναίῳ καὶ κρατερῷ edd 28 με edd 28 παραδιδούς B edd

Forty-two men came out, and he ordered the prison to be shut forthwith. Then he asked which year it was of their imprisonment and uttered other vain words, wishing to make them obedient to his nonsense. But replying that it was their seventh year, and arraying themselves staunchly and with noble soul from Divine Scripture against the words of the others, they were condemned to death. And when they arrived at the Euphrates – for their city Samarra is built near it – the impious one attempted to test Theodore Krateros, to see whether he might somehow convince him to renounce death. 'How, O Theodore,' said he, 'do you, with your bold speech, hope by means of death to enter the presence of God, whose commandments of salvation, as you call it, you have not kept? For you would not have come to the state of laymen from the priestly order, in which you were formerly enrolled, nor would you now again have filled your hands, which had been innocent of blood, with the defilement and pollution of war.' Without hesitating, nor delaying for any moment, Theodore said, 'It is for this reason that I shall not shrink from shedding my blood, that it might be the ransom and washing away of my sins and might grant me His kingdom. Even so, if one of your servitors ran off and, coming back again, performed a service dear to you, he would find forgiveness, not animosity.' And as he entered the stadium of contest like an Olympic champion, he said to the patrikios Constantine, as if to shake off the timidity and fear which was stealing over him, 'Come, O soldier of Christ, you who have received the foremost place before the emperor on earth, be also the first to receive the crown of martyrdom.' But the holy Constantine said, 'Such a great dignity befits rather you, who are strong[2] and noble, whereby you will have me as a follower, having given yourself first over to death.' Thus fortifying each other with exhortations, each went off to death by martyrdom in the order of their worldly rank whilst all marvelled at their confidence and their nobility of soul in the contest. But these things happened later.

[2] Greek καρτερός: perhaps a play on Theodore's name Κρατερός.

| **37.** Τότε δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόφιλος οὐ φέρων τὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν B 135 ἧτταν καὶ ἀδοξίαν, τὸν πατρίκιον Θεοδόσιον, ὃς οὕτως ἐλέγετο ὁ Βαβούτζικος, πρὸς τὸν ῥῆγα Φραγγίας στρατεύματα ἐκεῖ ἐξαποστέλλει αἰτῶν γενναῖά τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπα. οὐδὲ γὰρ χειρῶν ἀσθενείᾳ ἢ ψυχῆς μαλακότητι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κέκρικεν ἡττᾶσθαί ποτε, φυγομαχίᾳ δὲ καὶ ταὐτὸν εἰπεῖν προδοσίᾳ τοῦτο πάσχειν ἀεί. ἀλλὰ κἂν ἔλαβε πεῖραν καὶ τῶν ὧν προσεκαλεῖτο ἐθνῶν δύναμιν καὶ ἰσχὺν – μετ᾽ εὐφροσύνης γὰρ τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα ἐπικουρίαν ὁ ῥὴξ ἀπεδέδεκτο – καὶ αὖθις κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐστράτευσεν ὁ δυστυχὴς Θεόφιλος – ταύτην δὲ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀεί πως ἡττᾶσθαι κατὰ πόλεμον ἐκληρώσατο –, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς Θεοδόσιος ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἔξω γενέσθαι προέφθασεν. ἐκείνου τε γὰρ ἡ ἀποβίωσις τὸν στρατὸν ἐκεῖνον πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐλθεῖν οὐ πεποίηκε, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικρατήσασα ἡ τῆς δυσεντερίας νόσος θανατᾶν ἐποίει ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πρὸς ὅπλα χωρεῖν.

38. Ὥρα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοφόβου εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ πᾶσι καταστῆσαι σαφῆ. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς εἰρημένης ἤδη κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐν νυκτὶ τὸν πόλεμον στήσεσθαι αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νύκτα γενομένης λαθραίας ὁμιλίας πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακηνούς, ὡς ἔφαμεν, καὶ ἄλλοθεν δέ ποθεν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ λοιδορίαι καθοσιώσεως ἐπιφυεῖσαι καὶ αὐξηθεῖσαι μισητὸν εἰργάζοντο τὸν ἄνδρα | καὶ φοβερόν. καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ οἷός τε ἦν ἀντισχεῖν, f. 46r εὐεξαπά|τητον ὄντα εἰδὼς τὸν Θεόφιλον, φυγαδείᾳ χρησάμενος πρὸς τὴν B 136 Ἄμαστριν – πόλις δὲ αὕτη Ποντικὴ – μετὰ τέκνων ὁμοῦ χωρεῖ τε καὶ γυναικῶν καί τινων ἐκκρίτων ἀνδρῶν. ἀνήγετο γοῦν στόλος εὐθὺς κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πόλεμος σφοδρὸς ἐξηρτύετο ὡς πρὸς ἐχθρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κατάδηλον, καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου στόλου ἀρχηγὸς ὁ τῆς βίγλης δρουγγάριος οὕτως Ὠορύφας λεγόμενος. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Θεόφοβος τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον ἐν ἑαυτῷ συλλαβὼν οὐκ ἔφησε δίκαιον εἶναι Χριστιανὸν ὄντα αἵμασιν ἀνθρώπων χαίρειν πιστῶν· ὅθεν ὑπείκει τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅρκοις δελεασθείς, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανάγεται τοῖς ὅρκοις θαρρῶν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Θεόφιλος τούτους θέμενος εἰς οὐδὲν νῦν μὲν εἱρκτῇ τινι καὶ φρουρᾷ τῇ κατὰ τὸν Βουκολέοντα τοῦτον

37.1–4 : die 18 Mai. a. 839 Ludovicus Pius legationem Theodosii Babutzici in Ingelheim accipit

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Cap. 37: Gen 50.13–18, 51.47–51 | Scyl 79.53–61 Cap. 38: Gen 42.59–43.3; Log A 231.314–330 | PsSym 646.9–647.2; Scyl 80.77–85

37.1 δὲ edd 2 τὸν om. edd 2 οὗτος V 3 ἐξαποστέλλει ante στρατεύματα ἐκεῖ edd 4 γενναία τε V 5 ἡττᾶσθαι ποτὲ V 6 ταυτὸν V 6 καὶ ἂν edd 6 ἔλαβεν edd 7 καὶ τῶν : ἐκ τῶν coni. Boor dubitanter in app. 7 post ἰσχὺν add. ᾔσθετο Comb (del. Bekk) 10 εἰττᾶσθαι V 11 ἔξω om. edd 14 θανατεῖν edd, sed θανατᾶν seu δυσθανατεῖν coni. Bekk in app. **38.**3 συστήσεσθαι edd 3 δὲ καὶ : δὲ Comb : καὶ Bekk 8 αὐτὴ edd 8 τὲ V 9 οὖν edd 14 ὅρκεις V 15 θαρῶν V 16 ante εἱρκτῇ add. ἐν Boor, cf. Scyl. 80.79 ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ τίθησιν

37. At that time the emperor Theophilus, unable to bear the defeat and ignominy inflicted by the Hagarenes, dispatched the patrikios Theodosius, who was called Baboutzikos, to the king of Francia soliciting brave and numerous troops. For he believed that his own men were never vanquished by weakness of limb or effeminacy of spirit, but that they suffered this always through flight from battle, that is to say, through treason. And the wretched Theophilus – he had acquired this appellation from almost always being defeated in battle – would have made trial of the force and strength of the foreigners whom he had solicited (for with gladness the king had granted aid to the emperor) and would have once again taken the field against the Hagarenes if his envoy Theodosius had not first been taken from this life. For the demise of this latter stopped the coming of that force to the capital, and the illness of dysentery which had seised the emperor caused him to languish in the throes of death rather than take up arms.

38. But now it is time to place the affairs of Theophobos at the middle of attention and explain them to all. For the reason already mentioned, because of waging war against the Hagarenes in the night, and also on account of the secret conversation which, as we have said, had been held at night with the Saracens, as well as for certain other reasons, accusations of lèse-majesté arose against Theophobos and increased, causing the man to be hated and feared. And because he was unable to resist, since he knew that Theophilus was easily deceived, he took flight and went to Amastris – this is a Pontic city – together with his children and womenfolk and certain chosen men. Forthwith a fleet was raised against him and preparations were made for a fierce war, as if against a declared enemy of the emperor, and the leader of this fleet was the drungarius of the Watch, who was called Ooryphas. But Theophobos, gathering up the fear of God within him, said that it was unjust for a Christian to rejoice in the bloodshed of faithful men. He therefore yielded to the emperor, lured by oaths, and he was brought to him, trusting in the oaths. But Theophilus thought nothing of these latter and at first put him in a dungeon and prison in the Bucoleon, ordering that he be kept under guard; and

τίθησι, φρουρεῖσθαι προστάξας· μιᾷ δέ τινι τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ἑαυτὸν ἤδη ἀποβιοῦντα καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα πνέοντα, κελεύει ἐν νυκτὶ ἐξ αὐθεντίας ἀποτμηθῆναι οἷόν τι πικρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐντάφιον καὶ λυπρόν, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀχθῆναι κεφαλήν. ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἤχθη κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα, τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ῥῖνα λαβών, "νῦν γε", ἔφησεν, "οὔτε σὺ Θεόφοβος οὔτ' ἐγὼ Θεόφιλος". εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Θεοφόβου τῷ Ὠρύφᾳ ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ βασιλεῖ διδόασιν, φάσκοντες ὡς ἅμα τῷ πιστεῦσαι τούτῳ αὐτόν, τὴν κεφαλικὴν ἐπαγαγεῖν τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ λάθρα διὰ νυκτός. ἐκεῖθεν οὖν καὶ διαβεβόηται μέχρι τοῦδε παρὰ Πέρσαις μὴ ὄψεσθαι θάνατον τὸν Θεόφοβον ἀλλ' ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ διαζῆν, τῷ κρύβδην ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναφανδὸν τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον γενέσθαι ποτέ.

| **39.** Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Κρῆτες παντὶ στόλῳ ἀράμενοι τὴν B 137
παράλιον ἐδῄουν τῶν Θρᾳκησίων καὶ ᾐχμαλώτιζον. παρὰ τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐχώρουν τὰ νεανιεύματα καὶ τὰ στρατηγήματα παρ' ὅσον οὐ τὴν αἰγιαλίτιν μόνον ἐπειρῶντο καταδραμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ὅπερ οὕτω καλεῖται Λάτρος, ἐνσκηνούντων καὶ τὸν μοναύλιον βίον ἀσπασαμένων γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει χωρεῖν καὶ Μυσῶν λείαν τὰ ἐκεῖσε ποιεῖν. ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ κατὰ τὸν Κοντομύτην τηνικαῦτα τὴν πρόνοιαν τοῦ θέματος τούτου ποιῶν, ἐπείπερ ἔξω πρὸς τὴν χέρσον | ἐγένοντο, ὡς f. 46v
δελφῖνας τούτους ἀπέσφαξε καὶ γενναίᾳ χειρὶ τῇ ἀφανείᾳ πάντας παρέδωκεν.

Καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας δὲ† χρόνον αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον μῆνα, εἰς ἰνδικτιῶνα ὀγδόην, ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στόλος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Θάσῳ καταναυμαχηθεὶς ἄρδην ἅπας ἀπώλετο.

Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς δὲ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁπάσας, ὁ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν κατασύρων στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο.

Καὶ αὖθις ἐν Ἀβασγίᾳ ὅ τε Θεόφοβος καὶ ὁ τῆς Θεοδώρας ἀδελφὸς Βάρδας ἀποσταλέντες μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἰσχυρῶς ἐδυστύχησαν, ὀλίγων ἄγαν ἐκεῖθεν ὑποστρεψάντων.

39.11–13 : mense Oct. a. 829 strages classis Byzantinae iuxta Thassum insulam accidit 16–18 : expeditio in Abasgia fortasse a. 836 contigit, cf. Signes 2014, 250–256

Cap. 39: GeorgMon 798.1–7; Vita Theodorae § 7.9–16; Gen 52.74–53.80 || 6 Photius, Lexicon M no. 632, cf. Diogenianus, Paroemiae cent. VI, sect. 42, Michael Apostolius, Paroemiae cent. XI, sect. 83, Mantissa cent. II, sect. 28 etc.

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19 λυπηρὸν B edd 21 αὑτοῦ Boor : ἑαυτοῦ edd 21 ῥίνα V 22 οὐδὲ… οὐδ' edd 25 καὶ om. edd **39.**1 Κρήτες V 2 παρατοσοῦτον V 3 παρόσον V 5 τῶν edd 6 ἀσπαζομένων edd 6 Μισῶν V 11 τὸν τῆς : τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς coni. Boor in app. 11 δὲ V edd : primum annum supplendum putavit Boor in app. 11 κατὰ τὸν Ὀ. : καὶ τὸν Ὀ. edd 13 ἅπασας ante corr. (ας expunxit) V 14 τὸν ἑξῆς coni. Boor in app.

then one day, because he knew that he was already dying and breathing his last, he commanded in the night on his own authority that he should be beheaded and that his head should be brought to him – a funeral offering, as it were, bitter and spiteful. When, therefore, it was brought in accordance with the order, he took the other's nose with his hand and said, 'Now neither are you Theophobos (God-fearing), nor I Theophilus (God-loving).' There are also others who attribute the death of Theophobos to Ooryphas and not to the emperor, saying that no sooner had Theophobos been won over by Ooryphas than this latter carried out the capital punishment secretly at night. Hence has it been rumoured until the present day amongst the Persians that Theophobos would not see death, but that he lives on in immortality, since his death occurred sometime in concealment and not in the open.

39. At this same time the Cretans, raising an entire fleet, devasted the coast of the Thrakesian theme and took captives. Their insurrection and war operations advanced so far that they not only attempted to overrun the seacoast but also proceeded with unsheathed sword against those who dwelt and followed the monastic life on the mountain which is called Latros, plundering there like Mysians. But Constantine Kontomytes, who then looked after the affairs of this theme, because they had come out onto the land, slaughtered them like dolphins and with a brave hand delivered them all to destruction.

In the year (?) of Theophilus's reign, in the month of October, in the eighth indiction, the fleet of the Romans was defeated in a sea battle off the island of Thasos and the whole of it perished utterly.

Afterwards, the host of the Ishmaelites ceased not in laying waste to the Cyclades, along with all the other islands.

And again, in Abasgia both Theophobos and Theodora's brother Bardas, who had been dispatched with an army, met with exceedingly bad fortune and only a very few men returned from thence.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐχμοὶ καὶ πάλιν χειμῶνες ἐξαίσιοι καὶ ὅλως ἀνωμαλίαι καὶ δυσκρασίαι κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα γινόμεναι ἐκάκουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐξ ὧν σιτοδεῖαι καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ γῆς ἐκ σεισμῶν ἀνατιναγμοὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅτε μὴ ἐγίνοντο κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἅπασαν τῆς βασιλείας ἡμέραν.

| **40.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅλην ἐκκενώσας τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν τῇ τῆς γα- B 138 στρὸς διαρροίᾳ καὶ φθόῃ, ὡς μηδαμοῦ στῆναι τῆς ψυχῆς ἔτι δυναμένης ἀλλ' ἀποπτῆναι αὐτῆς ζητούσης καὶ ἀποστῆναι, ἐδεδίει δὲ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς, ἐν τῇ Μαγναύρᾳ πάντας ἐκκλησιάσας, ὀψὲ καὶ μόγις <ἐπὶ> κλίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κουφισθεὶς καὶ ἀρθείς, καὶ πολὺ ἀθροίσας πνεῦμα ἐν στεναγμῷ, "ἄλλος μέν", ἔφη, "ἀπολοφυρόμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ νόσῳ καὶ καταιγίδι τὸ τῆς νεότητος ἄνθος ἐξετραγῴδησε καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην εὐδαιμονίαν, αἷς ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φθόνος ἐπιβασκαίνων με δεινῶς τὰ νῦν ἐποφθαλμίζει καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν τῆς γαμετῆς χηρείαν μου προορῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ δυσποτμίαν καὶ ὀρφανίαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ διακόνων ἤθεσι καλοῖς ἐντραφέντων καὶ θεραπείαις καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς συγκλήτου καὶ γερουσίας τὴν στέρησιν, ἀνακλαίομαι, ὦ παρόντες, καὶ ἀποδύρομαι οἷς τε ὑμᾶς χειροήθεις ὄντας καὶ πράους καταλιμπάνων πρὸς ὃν οὐκ οἶδα πορεύομαι βίον, καὶ ἀλλάσσομαι δόξαν ἀνθ' ἧς οὐδ' ὅλως ὅ τι μοι προσαπαντήσεται ἔγνωκα. ἀλλὰ μέμνησθέ μου τέως τῆς ἧς οὐκέτι γλώττης ἀκούσεσθε κἂν ἦν ὅτε πικρὰ τοῦ πρέποντος ἕνεκεν καὶ συμφέ- ροντος· | καὶ τὴν μετὰ θάνατον εὔνοιαν εἴς τε υἱὸν καὶ γυναῖκα διαβαίνου- f. 47r σαν ταμιεύσασθε, ἐκεῖνο πάντως προσενθυμούμενοι, ὡς ὁποῖός περ ἕκαστος τῷ πέλας τούτου γενήσεται, τοιοῦτον καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον συμβήσεται". τοιούτοις ῥήμασι τῆς βασιλικῆς | πάντας κατακηλούσης B 139 γλώττης καὶ ἡμερούσης, οὐκ ἦν ὅστις ἀδάκρυτος ἦν, οὐδ' ἦν εἰκάσαι τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων στεναγμόν τε καὶ ὀδυρμόν.

41. Μικρὸν οὖν ἔτι ἐπιβιώσας κατὰ τὴν εἰκάδα τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν, τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς μῆνας τρεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσιν, πολλὰ τοὺς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως περιεχομένους παρ'

41.1–2 : die 20 Ian. a. 842 Theophilus obiit, cf. supra III.34.38

Cap. 40: Gen 51.52–52.68 | Scyl 79.61–80.74 Cap. 41: Vita Ignatii cap. 8; Vita Ioannicii 372A; Gen 54.10–13; Log A 216.2, 231.325–327 | PsSym 624.16–17, 646.17–19; Scyl 80.74–76

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21 ὥν V 21 σιτοδεῖναι V **40.**3 δὲ del. Bekk : δὴ Boor 4 ὀψὲ nos : ὅτε V Comb : ὅτε del. Bekk : ὅ γε Boor 5 ἐπὶ suppl. Boor, cf. Gen 51.52. 5 πολὺν V 8 τοσούτον edd 9 ante ποεῖ add. με B edd 9 τῆς om. Comb 10 χειρίαν μου V : μου χηρίαν Comb : μου χηρείαν Bekk 10 δυσποτμίαν in marg B edd Boor : δυσποταμίαν V 12 ἀνακλαίομαι edd, cf. Gen 51.59 ἀποκλαίομαι : ἀνακλάωμαι V : ἀνακλάομαι Boor 13 πραεῖς edd 15 πρὸς ἀπαντήσεται V 15 οὐκ ἔτι V Comb 16 κἂν Boor : κἀν V : καὶ edd 18 πρὸς ἐνθυμούμε- νοι V 22 ὁδυρμών V **41.**1 Ἰανουαρίου edd

There were also droughts, and in turn severe winters, and irregularities and disturbances occurring everywhere in the air brought harm to the earth and those upon it. On this account there was not a day in his reign when there were no shortages of food and famine and tremblings of the earth from quakes.

40. Now, because he had emptied the substance of his body through diarrhea of the belly and consumption, so that his soul was no longer able to stand but sought to fly off and depart, and because he also feared for his son and his wife, Theophilus gathered everyone in the Magnaura. And at length, with difficulty relieved and propped up on a couch by his close friends, he took breath with a sigh and he said, 'Another, lamenting in such illness and distress would bewail the flower of youth and good fortune upon which envy, begrudging from the beginning, now casts a jealous eye whilst carrying me off from men. But I, O you here present, weep in foreseeing the widowhood of my wife and misfortune and orphanhood of my son, as well as the loss of attendants bred in good manners and servitors and my senate and council; and I grieve to be leaving you, who are obedient and meek, to go to I know not what life and to exchange glory, knowing not what will come to me instead. But for the while remember my speech, which you will no longer hear, even if it was sometimes harsh for the sake of propriety and expediency; and keep your goodwill, passing it on after my death to my son and wife. At all events keep in mind that even as each man shall be unto his neighbour, so shall the same befall him in future.' With such words did the emperor's speech charm and mollify all; there was no one without tears, nor would it be possible to describe the sighing and lamentation brought forth by those present.

41. Living but a little longer, he exchanged this life on the twentieth of the month of January, having held the empire for twelve years and three months. Throughout his whole life he had greatly loathed those who clung to the

ὅλον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον μυσαττόμενός τε καὶ χειμῶνα πάντα κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν καιροῦ ἐπάγων αὐτοῖς ἀφειδῶς, ἀνθ' ὧν ἕνεκεν καὶ τὸ 'δυστυχὴς' ὄνομα παρὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ὥσπέρ τινα κλῆρον ἐπήγετο, μηδέποτε τρόπαιον στήσας κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βασιλικόν τε <καὶ> ἀξιέπαινον, μήτε μὴν τὴν προτέραν ἧτταν ἀναμαχέσασθαι δυνηθείς, καίτοι γε ὀκτωκαίδεκα πολέμους παρ' ὅλην αὐτοῦ τὴν ζωὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συστήσας, καὶ τοσαυτάκις αὐτοῖς συμπλακεὶς καὶ πρὸς παρατάξεις χωρήσας οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς.

42. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω καταστρέψαντα τὸν βίον ἐνταῦθα καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τὰς καταλοίπους τούτου οἰκοδομὰς αὐτοῦ που περὶ τὰ ἀνάκτορα οὔσας βαδιούμεθα, ἀξιολογωτάτας οὔσας καὶ μνήμης τυχεῖν ἱκανάς. εὐθὺς γοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰσιὼν κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑπαντώσας εὑρήσεις αὐτάς. ὅ τε γὰρ Καριανός, ὃς οὕτω φέρει τὴν κλῆσιν διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς γραδώσεως ἔχειν ἀπὸ λίθου Καριανοῦ οἷόν τινα πλατὺ ποτάμιον, ὁ καὶ χρηματίζων σήμερον βε|στιάριον τῶν ἀποθησαυριζομένων πέπλων B 140
ἐκ σηρικῶν, τῆς ἐκείνου προνοίας ἔργον ἐστίν, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ γείτων αὐτοῦ καὶ κεχρυσωμένην ἔχων τὴν ὀροφὴν Τρίκογχος, ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος τὴν κλῆσιν λαχών· τρισὶ γὰρ κόγχαις μετεωρίζεται, μιᾷ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν συνοικοδομούμενος, ἣ καὶ ἐκ τεσσάρων κιόνων Ῥωμαίων ὑποστηρίζεται, δυσὶ δὲ ἐγκαρσίαις, κα|τὰ ἄρκτον καὶ f. 47v
μεσημβρίαν φημί. τὸ πρὸς δύσιν δὲ τοῦ οἴκου μέρος ὑπὸ δύο μὲν κιόνων ἀνέχεται, <διὰ> τριῶν δὲ πυλῶν τὴν ἔξοδον δίδωσιν. τούτων ἡ μέση μὲν ἐξ ἀργύρου κατεσκεύασται, αἱ ταύτης δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐκ γεγανωμένου χαλκοῦ. ἡ ἔξοδος δὲ εἰς τὸ καλούμενον οὕτω Σίγμα ἐξάγει, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ στοιχεῖον ὁμοιότητος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβόν, ὃ ἴσην τε καὶ ὁμοίαν τοῦ Τρικόγχου τὴν εἰς τοὺς τοίχους ἐπανθοῦσαν ὡραιότητα φέρει· ἐκ γὰρ λακαρικῶν παμποικίλων τοῦτό τε κἀκεῖνος ὀρθομαρμάρωται. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει στερράν τε καὶ λαμπράν, ὅτι καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα κίοσιν ἥδρασται ἐκ λίθου Δοκιμίνου· διὰ στύρακος δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεμέλιον αὐτοῦ κατιὼν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντα τοῦ σχήματος εἰκόνα τε καὶ ὁμοίωσιν εὑρήσεις, ἐννέα πρὸς ταῖς δέκα κίοσιν διαβασταζόμενον, καὶ τὸν περίπατον ἔχοντα κατεστρωμένον ἐκ λίθου πιπεράτου. τούτου δὴ πλησίον τοῦ περιπάτου, ἐνδότερόν που καὶ ἀνατολικώτερον, τετράσε<ι>ρόν τι ὁ τεχνίτης ἐξήγει-

4 παρόλον V 5 ἕνεκεν fortasse delendum putavit Boor Kamb 7 τῶν : τὸν V 7 <καὶ> add. edd Boor 8 ἀναμάχεσθαι edd 8 καί τοί γε V **42.**2 κατὰ λοίπους V 2 τούτου om. edd 2 περὶ Bekk Boor : ἐπὶ V Comb 4 ante πρόσωπον add. τὸ edd 5 ἀπὸ : ἐπὶ coni. Bekk in app. : τὰ coni. Boor in app. 6 πλατὺν V 6 ποταμόν edd 6 ὃ V 7 χρηματίζον V 8 ἐκ V Comb : ἐκ<εῖ> Boor : del. Bekk 9 καὶ κεχρυσωμένην : κεκεχρυσωμένην B : κεχρυσωμένην edd 9 τὴν om. edd 11 σὺν οἰκοδομούμενος V 11 ἢ V 14 <διὰ> coni. Kamb 16 δὲ om. edd 17 τὲ V 19 κἀκεῖνο edd 19 μαρμάρωται edd 24 δὴ : δὲ edd 24 πλησίου V edd 25 τετράσε<ι>ρόν nos : τετράσερόν V edd Boor

Orthodox faith, and he brought all possible tempests upon them in every season relentlessly. He therefore brought upon himself from all men the name 'Wretched,' as if a legacy, having never achieved any praiseworthy imperial victory over the enemy; nor was he ever able to make good his earlier defeat, though he waged eighteen wars against the enemy during the course of his life and engaged with them an equal number of times, going out to no negligible battles.

42. But taking leave here of Theophilus who had thus finished his life, we shall walk to his buildings which remain here and there round about the Palace and are most remarkable and deserving of mention. Straightaway facing you as you enter from the <church of the> Lord you will come upon them. For the Karianos, which has this name on account of it having a sort of broad band of Carian marble in its staircase and which serves to-day as vestry of the robes of silken fabrics kept in it, is a work of Theophilus's solicitude; likewise also the Triconchos beside it, which has a gilded roof and gets its name from its shape, for it is raised up on three conches, being constructed with one conch on the eastern side, which is supported by four columns of Roman marble [porphyry], and two conches athwart, that is, on the northern and southern sides. The western part of the building is held up by two columns, and has exit through three doors. The middle of these latter is made of silver, whereas the ones on either side of it are of polished bronze. The exit leads to the so-called Sigma, which takes its name from its similarity to this letter and whose beauty, flowering on its walls, displays similarity and likeness to that of the Triconchos; for the one and the other are revetted with many-coloured marble panels. Now, the Sigma has a solid and splendid roof, for it is secured by fifteen columns of Docimian marble; and going down the stairway to its basement you will find that it has the same semblance and likeness of form, being held up by nineteen columns, with an ambulatory paved with speckled marble. Near this ambulatory, somewhat further inside and to the east, the

ρεν, τρισὶ καὶ αὐτὸ κόγχαις διειλημμένον κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπικειμένου Τρικόγχου αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν μίαν πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν, τὰς ἑτέρας δὲ δύο μίαν μὲν πρὸς τὴν δύσιν θατέ|ραν δὲ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν συμπεριείληφεν. B 141 τὸ δὲ ἀρκτῷον μέρος ἐκ δύο κιόνων ἀληθινοπιπέρων ἔχει διανειργόμενον Μυστήριον· οὕτω τὴν κλῆσιν ἔχει τοῦτο κατάλληλον. καὶ ἡ αἰτία ὅτι καθάπερ τὰ ἄντρα συνεπηχοῦν ἀβλαβῆ τὴν ἠχὼ διαπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας· καὶ εἴ τις τῷ τοίχῳ πλησιάσας τῆς ἀνατολικῆς κόγχης εἴτε δὴ καὶ <τῆς> δυτικῆς ἐν μυστηρίῳ τι εἴποι καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτόν, ἐκ διαμέτρου τε καὶ ἀντιπέρας ἱστάμενος ἕτερος, εἰ τὸ οὖς τῷ τοίχῳ ἐπιθῆται, τῆς ἐν μυστηρίῳ λαλουμένης ἐκείνης φωνῆς αὐτήκοός πως γενήσεται. τοιοῦτόν τι περὶ αὐτὸ θαῦμα ἐγγίνεται.

43. Τούτῳ δὴ τῷ οἴκῳ παρ<απ>έπηγέ πως καὶ συγκατεσκεύασται ὁ τοῦ Σίγμα περίστυλος, ὁ πρότερον ἡμῖν εἰρημένος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὕπαιθρόν τι καὶ ἐξάερον κέχυται, μέσον μὲν φιάλην ἔχον χαλκῆν ἐξ ἀργύρου τὸ χεῖλος | ἔχουσαν ἐστεμμένον· ἣ διάχρυσον στροβίλιον ἔχουσα οὕτω f. 48 κατωνόμασται μυστικὴ τοῦ Τρικόγχου φιάλη, ἔκ τε τοῦ πλησίον ᾠκοδομημένου Μυστηρίου καὶ τοῦ Τρικόγχου οἰκήματος ἐπωνυμίαν λαβοῦσα. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης αὐτοῦ που πλησίον καὶ ἀναβάθραι ἑστήκασιν ἐκ Προικονησίου λίθου λευκοῦ, καὶ μέσον τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναβαθμῶν τροπικὴ ἐκ μαρμάρων ὑπὸ δύο λεπτοκαλάμων κιόνων στηριζομένη. αὐτοῦ που παρὰ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ πρὸς τὸ εὖρος Σίγμα καὶ δύο χαλκᾶ λεοντοχάσματα ἐμπεπήγεισαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕδωρ ἐκφέροντα τὸ κοῖλον ἅπαν τοῦ Σίγμα ἐπλήρουν τοῦ νάματος, τέρψιν οὐ μι|κρὰν παρέχοντα· B 142 ἡ δὲ δὴ φιάλη κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν δεξίμων, πιστακίων καὶ ἀμυγδάλων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κουναρίων πεπληρωμένη, κονδίτου ἐκ στροβιλίου ἐκδιδομένου, πᾶσιν ἐκίρνα καὶ παρεῖχε τρυφᾶν τοῖς ὅσοι δὴ ἐφέσεως εἶχον τῶν ἑστηκότων ἐκεῖ, πᾶσι μὲν ἀναντιρρήτως τοῖς ἐκ θυμέλης, πλέον δὲ τοῖς δι’ ὀργάνων ψάλλουσι καὶ τὸ σύντονον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὰς ἀναβάθρας ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ἱστάμενος καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα μετὰ τῶν περατικῶν ταγμάτων τὴν τάξιν ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν βασιλικήν, μέσον αὐτῶν δηλαδὴ κατὰ τὴν εἰρημένην μαρμάρινον τροπικήν, εἰ μὲν τύχοιεν, ἔχοντες καὶ τὸν δομέστι-

Cap. 43: De Cer. 600.3–601.19.

27 αὐτῷ ante Τρικόγχου edd 29 κιόν V 31 συνεπηχοῦν coni. Bekk in app. Boor : συνεπηχῶν V edd 31 ἡχῶ V 32 τήιχω V 33 <τῆς> add. Kamb 33 τί V 33 εἴπῃ edd 34 ἱστάμενος V 35 ἐπὶ θῆται V 35 ἀυτῆκοός V **43.**1 παραπέπηγέ nos : παρέπηγέ V : παρεπεπήγει edd : παρέστη γε Boor 3 ἔχυται ante corr. (κ sscr) V 3 χαλκήν V 4 ἐστεμμένον edd : ἐστεμμένην V 4 ἧ V 4 στροβήλιον V 6 οἰκοδομημένου V 8 Προικοννησίου edd 8 εἰρημένον V 9 ἐστηριγμένη edd 10 χαλκὰ B edd 11 ἐπεπήγεισαν edd 12 σῖγμα V 13 δοξίμων edd 14 στροβηλίου V 15 δὴ : δι’ edd 16 δι’ : ἐξ edd 17 post ψάλλουσι (et non post σύντονον) punxit V 18 περατικῶν : ὑπηρετικῶν coni. Comb in marg. 19 ἀνεπληροῦν V : ἀπλήρουν B : ἐπλήρουν edd

artist has erected a kind of quatrefoil, this too comprising three conches in likeness to the Triconchos which lies above it. But it encompasses one conch on the eastern side, whereas of the other two one is on the western and the other on the southern side. The northern part, detached by two columns of speckled porphryry, contains the Mystery, for thus is this part appropriately called. The reason is that, resounding after the manner of caves, it transmits an undistorted echo to those who listen; and if anyone draw near the wall of the eastern conch, or the western, and say something in secret to himself, another person standing directly opposite, if he put his ear to the wall, will be witness to the speech uttered in secret. Such is the marvel that occurs in this place.

43. Annexed, as it were, and constructed together with this building is the peristyle of the Sigma, already mentioned by us. From this latter issues forth a sort of open terrace in the middle of which there is a bronze fountain with a silver rim. This fountain has a gilded pine-cone and is called the mystical fountain of the Triconchos, taking its name from the Mystery constructed beside it and the building of the Triconchos. In the same place, not far from this fountain, steps of white Proconnesian marble have been raised up; and in the middle of the said steps there is an archway of marble held up by two columns as thin as reeds. Here also, on the long side of the Sigma, two bronze lion's-head spouts have been affixed. These same brought forth water and filled the entire hollow of the Sigma with their stream, affording no little delight; and at the time of receptions the fountain was filled with pistachios and almonds, and also pine-nuts, whilst spiced wine came forth from the pine-cone, mixing the cup for all and affording revelry to everyone standing there with appetite, most certainly all the performers, but even more those who played the organs and sang. All the factions and the citizens together with the suburban divisions stood on the steps and performed the imperial ceremonial, having at their centre, that is under the aforementioned marble archway,

κον τῶν σχολῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἐκσκουβίτου καὶ τῶν δύο δημάρχων, τοῦ τε πρασίνου καὶ τοῦ βενέτου, πλησίον μὲν τοῦ δομεστίκου ἱσταμένου τοῦ τῶν βενέτων δημάρχου, πλησίον δὲ τοῦ ἐκσκουβίτου τοῦ τῶν πρασίνων, εἰ δὲ μὴ τύχοιεν ὅ τε δομέστικος καὶ ὁ ἐκσκούβιτος, ἀλλὰ τέως τούς γε δημάρχους ἔχοντες. τούτων ἔφορος ἦν ἁπάντων ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ θυμηδίας ἁπάσης πληρούμενος, ἐν χρυσῷ διαλίθῳ θρόνῳ καθήμενος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἐξανιστάμενος, ὡς καὶ τακτικὰ βιβλία καὶ βασιλικὰ διαγορεύουσιν, ἢ τῶν σκιρτημάτων ἐκείνων ἐπαπολαῦσαι διὰ τῆς θέας καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐξαλμάτων. οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Θεοφίλῳ κατεσκευάσθησαν, τοσοῦτος δὲ ἔρως ἦν τούτων αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τὰς συνήθεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιλήψεις καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν προελεύσεις | ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ f. 48v Τρικόγχῳ ἐκτελεῖν. οὗ καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς ἐξ ἀρ|γύρου κατεσκευ- B 143 ασμένης τῶν πυλῶν ἀνεστηκυῖά ἐστιν ὀροφὴ τέσσαρσι κίοσι μετεωριζομένη ἐκ Θετταλικοῦ, τοῦ καὶ πρασίνου, λίθου. ἀντικρὺ δὲ ταύτης καὶ κατὰ μέτωπον, πλησίον δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναβαθμῶν, κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δυσμὰς μέρος τοῦ Σίγμα τρίκλινοι πεφυκότες τῷ Θεοφίλῳ ἐξῳκοδόμηνται· Πυξίτης ὄνομα τῷ ἑνί τε καὶ κατωτέρῳ, ἅτερος δὲ ἀνώνυμος μὲν ἀνώτερος δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸν βασίλειον κλῆρον ἐν ἑαυτῷ διαιτᾶσθαι λαχών. τούτου δὴ τοῦ Πυξίτου κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν στίχοι λελατόμηνται, ἀσηκρῆτις ὄντες γεννήματα Στεφάνου μὲν ἔχοντος τοὔνομα, οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Καπετωλίτου προσαγορευομένου. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Σίγμα περίδρομον ἐγκολαφθέντες τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ διδασκάλου – Ἰγνάτιος οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο – τυγχάνουσι. κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον δὲ μέρος, ὡς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ Σίγμα, ἕτερός τις τρίκλινος ἐξήρτηται, ὃς Ἔρως μὲν ἐπικέκληται, ὁπλοθήκη δὲ αὐτῷ ἐχρημάτιζεν. ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἱστορημένας ἀσπίδας καὶ ὅπλα παντοῖα ἴδοι τις ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ταύταις τοὺς τοίχους διαμορφουμένους, ὡς τὸ εἰκός. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τρικόγχου ἄχρι δὴ τῶν δυσμῶν οὕτως ἔνεστιν ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἀνεγηγερμένους οἴκους ἐκεῖ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρος ἴδοις μὲν καὶ τὸν Μαργαρίτην προσαγορευόμενον. τρίκλινος οὗτος ἐκ βάθρων τῷ Θεοφίλῳ ἀνεστηκώς, ὃς ὀκτὼ μὲν κίοσιν ῥοδοποικίλοις τὸν ὄροφον ὑποστηρίζεται, τοὺς τοίχους δὲ ζῴοις πεποικιλμένους παντοδαπῶς <καὶ> τὸ ἔδαφος ἔχει ἐκ Προικονησίου λίθου καὶ συγκοπῆς ἅπαν

21 ἐσκουβίτου edd 22 καὶ τοῦ : τοῦ τε edd 22 μὲν Bekk : δὲ V Comb 23 ἐσκουβίτου edd 24 τύχοι ἐν ὅτε B : τύχοι ἐνίοτε edd 24 ἐσκούβιτος edd 28 post καὶ add. τῶν B edd 31 μεθ’ ἡμέραν Comb 31 προέλεύσας V 31 τῷ om. edd 33 ἀνεστηκυῖα ἐστὶν V 33 τέσσαρκίοσι V 34 μετεωριζομένην V 38 post ἀνώτερος δὲ (et non post καὶ αὐτοῦ infra) punxerunt edd Boor : καὶ delendum putavit Boor 38 διατᾶσθαι V 39 τοῦ om. edd 39 στῖχοι V 40 δὴ : δὲ edd Boor 43 τυγχάνουσιν V edd 45 ἄλλό τι V 46 εἴδοι V 46 διαμορφομένας V edd 49 μᾶρ|γαρίτην V 50 ἐνεστηκώς· ὁ Comb 51 στηρίζεται edd (ὑπό|στηρίζεται B) 51 πεποικιλμένους edd Boor : πεποικιλμένοις V 52 καὶ add. Bekk Boor 52 Προικοννησίου edd

the domestikos of the scholai together with the head of the excubitors, if they happened to be present, and the two demarchs, the Green and the Blue, the demarch of the Blues standing near the domestikos and that of the Greens near the excubitor; if however the domestikos and the head excubitor were not present, nevertheless the demarchs stood there. The emperor was observer of all these things and, filled with great delight whilst sitting on a bejewelled golden throne, he did not get up – so the imperial ceremonial books recount – until he had taken his pleasure in the sight of these boundings and leapings of the citizens. It was for this reason that these things were constructed by Theophilus, and his love of them was so great that he also conducted the usual transaction of affairs and the daily processions in this same Triconchos. Now, in front of the door of the Triconchos which is made of silver a roof rises up, held aloft on four colums of Thessalian, or green, marble; and right opposite this, near the aforementioned steps on the western side of the Sigma, there are halls built by Theophilus. Pyxites is the name of the one lower down; another which has no name and is higher up than the Pyxites has been designated as the residence of the imperial clergy. In the stone on the side of this Pyxites verses have been carved, the creations of the a secretis named Stephen, surnamed Kapetolites, whereas the verses inscribed in the ambulatory of the Sigma are those of the patriarchal academician – Ignatius was his name. On the left side, to the east of the Sigma, yet another hall has been built, which is called the Eros and which served Theophilus as an armory. For this reason one would see nothing in it but depictions of shields and all manner of arms and the walls adorned with these same, as one would expect. So much then for what can be seen of the buildings erected beginning from the Triconchos and going toward the west. On the eastern side you would see the Margarites, as it is called. This is a hall erected from the foundations by Theophilus of which the roof is held up by eight variegated pink columns; and it has walls embellished with all manner of animal pictures and its whole floor paved with Proconnesian marble and *opus sectile*. And you

κατεστρωμένον. ἴδοις δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐν | αὐτῷ κοιτῶνος ἐκ τεσσάρων μὲν B 144
κιόνων Βαθυΐνων τὸν χρυσοκατάστικτον κύκλον τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀνεχόμενον,
ἐκ τεσσάρων δὲ Θετταλικῶν τὰς στοὰς ἀνεγηγερμένας τε καὶ βαστα-
ζομένας, τοῦ τε ἀνατολικοῦ μέρους καὶ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ, τοὺς τοίχους δὲ
καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ὁμοίως τοῖς Μαργαρίτου κατεστρωμένους λαμπρῶς. οὗτος
μὲν ὁ κοιτὼν εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ διαιτώμενον τὸν Θεόφιλον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαρινῆς
ἰση|μερίας μέχρι καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μετοπωρινῆς· ἄρτι δὲ τῆς χειμερινῆς γειτ- f. 49
νιαζούσης τροπῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον μετῳκίζετο κοιτῶνα τὸν κατὰ τὸν Κα-
ριανὸν τρίκλινον, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ᾠκοδομημένου, διὰ τὰς τῶν
νότων ἰσχυροτάτας καὶ βιαιοτάτας πνοάς· ὃ καὶ νῦν τοῦ παπίου ἐστὶν
ἰδεῖν καταγώγιον. οὐχ ἧττον δὲ κατόψει καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖσε δὴ ἡλιακὸν ὑπ'
ἐκείνου καταβεβλημένον κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ βορρᾶ, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ὡρᾶτο καὶ
τὸ παλαιὸν τζουκανιστήριον, ἐκεῖσε τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνον, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ Νέα
ἔκτισται ἐκκλησία καὶ αἱ δύο φιάλαι εἰσὶν καὶ τὸ μεσοκήπιον ὑπὸ Βασι-
λείου τοῦ ἀοιδίμου γενόμενα βασιλέως.

Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος αὗται αὐτοῦ αἱ οἰκοδομαί· πρὸς δὲ
τὸν νότον πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τὰ ἡλιακὰ πλατύνας, ὡς ἡμῖν πρότερον
εἴρηται, καὶ τοὺς νῦν ὄντας κήπους ποιήσας κουβούκλεια προσεδείματο
τόν τε Καμιλᾶν οὕτω λεγόμενον καὶ τὸ πλησίον ἐκείνου κουβούκλειον
δεύτερον καὶ τὸ τούτου πάλιν κατὰ τάξιν πλησίον τρίτον, ὃ καὶ νῦν τῆς
αὐγούστης ἐστὶ βεστιάριον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Καμιλᾶς ἓξ κίοσιν ἐκ Θετταλικοῦ
λίθου τοῦ καὶ πρασίνου τὴν χρυσοκατάστικτον ὀρο|φὴν μετεωριζόμενος, B 145
τῶν δὲ τοίχων τὰ κάτω μὲν ἔχων ἐξ ὁμοίων κατεστρωμένα πλακῶν, τὰ
δ' ἄνω ἐκ χρυσοαυγῶν ψηφίδων ἀγάλματά τινα τρυγῶντα καρπούς,
ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὔδαφος ἐκ λίθων Προικονησίων, συνῳκοδομημένον ἔχει
καὶ εὐκτήριον, δύο περιέχον βήματα, ἓν μὲν εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ὑπεραγίας
δεσποίνης θεοτόκου, θάτερον δὲ εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ.
ὑποβεβηκὸς δὲ τούτου μεσόπατόν ἐστιν, ὃ τὴν μὲν σκοπιὰν διὰ μαρ-
μαρίνου κλουβίου πρὸς τὸν Χρυσοτρίκλινον ἔχον εἰς βιβλιοθήκην ἀφ-
ώρισται παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου πορφυρογεννήτου βα-
σιλέως· οὗπερ κάτω τὸ Ἀριστητήριον αὖθίς ἐστιν ἐκ λίθων μὲν Βαθυΐνων
τοὺς τοίχους ἔχον λελαμπρυσμένους, ἐκ συγκοπῶν δὲ καὶ διαφόρων
χροιῶν τὸ ἔδαφος πᾶν. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸν Καμιλᾶν κουβούκλειον δεύτερον,

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54 χρυσῷ κατάστικτον edd 55 στοᾶς V 55 τε om. edd : τὲ V 57 post καὶ coni. τοῦ Boor in app. 57 κατεστρωμένους Boor : κατεστρωμένοις V : κατεστρωμένα edd 58 κοιτῶν V 59 μεσημερίας edd, sed coni. ἰσ- Bekk in app. 59 μέχρι καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μετοπωρινῆς Kamb : μέχρι τῆς μετοπωρινῆς καὶ αὐτῆς V : μέχρι τῆς μεσοπωρινῆς καὶ αὐτῆς B : μέχρι τῆς μεσοπωρινῆς, καὶ αὖθις Comb : μέχρι τῆς μετοπωρινῆς, καὶ αὖθις Bekk 61 αὐτὸν … ᾠκοδομημένον Comb 62 ἰσχυροτέρας καὶ βιαιοτέρας edd 62 παππίου edd 63 τὸν : τὸ edd 65 cf. τζυκανιστήριν/ίῳ ThCont VI 438.22 et 472.17–18 65 τῆνικαῦτα V 69 νῶτον V 69 πλατύνας : προτείνας edd 76 χυσοαυγῶν V 76 ἀγάλματα τινὰ V 77 Προικοννησίων edd 83 κάτω om. B edd 83 αὖθις ἐστὶν V 84 καὶ delendum putavit Boor in app.

would see the gold-bespeckled ceiling of the dome of the bedchamber in the Margarites, which is held up by four columns of Bathy marble, and also the porches on the eastern and southern sides which are each raised up and supported on four columns of Thessalian marble, as well as the walls and floor which are splendidly revetted in similar wise to the Margarites. Theophilus resided in this bedchamber from the equinox in spring until that in autumn, and only when the winter solstice drew near would he shift to the other bedchamber near the hall of the Karianos, which also had been built by him, for the sake of the quite strong and powerful breezes from the south. This hall can now be seen to be the abode of the papias. You will also see the terrace laid out there by Theophilus facing north. From this terrace one could see the old Tzoukanisterion [polo-field] which was then there, in the place where the Nea Church was built and where the two fountains and the garden courtyard [mesokepion] are, which were constructed by the glorious emperor Basil.

These then are Theophilus's buildings on the eastern side. On the southern side, however, he first broadened the terraces, as was said by us earlier and, having created the gardens which are still there, he constructed also pavilions: the so-called Kamilas and a second pavilion next to it and then, following this latter in order nearby, a third, which is now the vestry of the empress. Now, the Kamilas rises up with its gold-bespeckled ceiling on six columns of Thessalian, that is, green marble, whilst the lower parts of the walls have revetment of slabs of the same marble and the upper parts have shining gold mosaics with figures gathering fruit; moreover, the floor is of Proconnesian marble. The Kamilas has an adjoining chapel comprising two sanctuaries, one in the name of the most-holy Lady the Mother of God, the other in the name of the archangel Michael. Standing beneath this is a mezzanine with a look-out through a marble grill facing the Chrysotriklinos; this has been made into a library by Constantine the Christ-loving emperor born in the Purple. And below this is the Aristeterion, with its brilliant walls of Bathy marble and its entire floor of *opus sectile* of diverse colours. After the Kamilas, the second

τὴν ὀροφὴν ὁμοίαν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔχον καὶ ὑπὸ τεσσάρων κιόνων ἐ-
στηριγμένον Δοκιμίνων, τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκ Προικονησίου λίθου κατέστρωται,
τῶν τοίχων πρότερον τὸν μὲν ἀέρα ἐκ χρυσοειδῶν ψηφίδων ὅλως | κατη- f. 49v
γλαϊσμένον φέρον, δένδρα δέ τινα καὶ ποικίλματα ἐκ πρασίνων ἔχοντα τὸ
λεῖπον ψηφίδων ἀναπληρούμενον. τὸ τούτου δὲ ὑποβεβηκός, ὃ καὶ
Μεσόπατος λέγεται, εἰς οἴκησιν τῶν τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐμπεπιστευμένων
καρτζιμάδων ἐστίν. τὸ δὲ τρίτον μετὰ τοῦτο κουβούκλειον, τὸ καὶ νῦν τῆς
αὐγούστης βεστιάριον χρηματίζον, ὁμοίαν ἔχει τούτοις τὴν ὀροφὴν καὶ
τοὔδαφος ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου Προικονησίου κατεστρωμένον, τοὺς τοί|χους δὲ B 146
ἅπαντας ὑπὸ εἰκόνων ὕστερον ἀλλ' οὐ τότε καταγλαϊσθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ
υἱοῦ Μιχαήλ. τὸ τούτῳ δὲ ἡνωμένον καὶ συμπεφυκὸς κατάγαιον ἑπτὰ μὲν
κίοσι Καριανοῖς τὴν ὀροφὴν στηρίζεται, πέντε μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δύο
δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολήν, τοίχοις δὲ δύο ὠχύρωται, ἐκ πλακῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ
Πηγανουσίων καὶ Καριανῶν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ πρασίνων καλλωπιζομένοις
ποταμίων Θετταλικῶν. Μουσικὸς οὗτος κατονομάζεται διὰ τὴν τῶν
μαρμάρων ἀκριβῆ συγκοπήν, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐδάφους λείωσιν ἐκ
διαφόρων μὲν σχημάτων ἐκ διαφόρων δὲ καὶ ὡραίων λίθων ἐξηρτυμένην
ἔχει· εἴποις ἂν αὐτὸ ἰδὼν λειμῶνα εἶναι διαφόροις ἄνθεσι βρύοντα. τούτῳ
πρὸς μὲν δύσιν κατὰ πλευρὰν κουβούκλειον ἥνωται τὴν τῶν μαρμάρων
ὡραιότητα κατὰ πάντα φέρον ἐφόμοιον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κίοσι πέντε Καριανοῖς,
τρισὶ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δύο δὲ πρὸς δυσμάς, τὴν ὀροφὴν βαστάζου-
σιν. ἕτερον δὲ πρὸς πόδας τούτου ἐστίν, εἰς δύο μὲν δόμους διῃρημένον,
τῷ αὐγουστιακῷ δὲ πλησιάζον κοιτῶνι· ἔνθα καὶ Λέων ὁ φιλόχριστος
βασιλεὺς εὐκτήριον τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης ἐδείματο καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκ τεσσάρων μὲν
κιόνων Βαθυΐνων τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀνεγειρόμενον, τὸ ἔδαφος δὲ ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ
Προικονησίου, πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους ἐκ Βαθυΐνων πλακῶν διαμορφούμενον.
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ τῆς αὐγούστης πλησιάζει κοιτῶνι, ὡς ἔφαμεν· ἐκεῖνο
δὲ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τοῦ Μουσικοῦ τὴν μὲν κάθοδον ἐν τῷ προρρηθέντι ἔχει
κοιτῶνι διὰ κλίμακος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον· εἰσάγει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν
Καινούργιον κοιτῶνα καὶ τρίκλι|νον, ὃν Βασίλειος ὁ ἀοίδιμος ἔκτισε βα- B 147
σιλεύς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόρτικα τοῦ πέμπτου | κουβουκλείου, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ f. 50r
ἁγίου Παύλου εὐκτήριον ὑπὸ Βασιλείου τοῦ ἀοιδίμου ἵδρυται βασιλέως.

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86 οἱμοίαν V 87 Προικοννησίου edd 88 post τοίχων add. ὡς τὸ edd : lacunam coni. Boor 89 φερων (sic) V 90 τούτου Boor, cf. supra III.43.80 : τούτῳ V 91 γυναικωνίτιν V 91 πεπιστευμένων edd 92 μετὰ τοῦτο κουβούκλειον Boor, cf. supra III.43.85 : μετὰ τοῦ κουβούκλειου (sic) V 93 αὐγουστῆς V 94 Προικοννησίου edd 94 κατεστρωμένον edd Boor : κατεστρωμένου V 96 κατάγαιον Boor : κατάγεον V : κατώγεον edd 103 εἰδὼν V 104 καταπλευρὰν V 105 ἐφ' ὅμοιον V 106 ὄροφὴν V 107 post βασ-τάζουσιν coni. καλλωπιζόμενον vel simile quid Boor in app. 108 αὐγουστηακῶ V 111 Προικοννησίου edd 111 τύχους V 114 διακλίμακος V 115 τὸν κινούργιον V Comb : τὸ καινούργιον Bekk 117 ἀοιδήμου V

pavilion has a ceiling similar to that of the former, held up by four columns of Docimian marble, and its floor is paved with Proconnesian marble. The background of the walls was formerly adorned completely with golden mosaic, whilst certain trees and ornaments of green mosaic filled in the rest. Beneath this is the Mezzanine, as it is called, which is for lodging the eunuchs entrusted with the women's quarters. After this, the third pavilion, which now serves as a vestry of the empress, has a ceiling similar to the other two and a floor paved with white Proconnesian marble, and all the walls were adorned later – not at that time – with images by Theophilus's son Michael. The basement which is connected and forms part of this pavilion has its ceiling held up by seven columns of Carian marble, five on the southern and two on the eastern side, and it is reinforced by two walls embellished with slabs of Roman [prophyry] and Peganusian and Carian marble and also bands of green Thessalian marble. This is called the Mousikos, on account of the precise joining of the marbles, whereby the paving of the floor was also confected from various beautiful stones of various shapes. Upon seeing it one would say it was a meadow abounding in various flowers. Adjoined to the Mousikos on the western side is a pavilion displaying in every wise similar beauty of marbles, including the five columns of Carian marble, three to the south and two to the west, which bear up the ceiling. At the foot of this pavilion there is another, which is divided into two rooms and adjoins the empress's bedchamber. There the Christ-loving emperor Leo built the chapel of St Ann, the ceiling of which is held up by four columns of Bathy marble, whilst the floor of white Proconnesian marble is articulated with the walls made of slabs of Bathy marble. This pavilion is next to the empress's bedchamber, as we have said; and the other one, which is to the west of the Mousikos, has a way down through a staircase into this aforementioned bedchamber as well as its own entrance; and it leads also to the Kainourgios bedchamber and hall, which the glorious emperor Basil built, and to the porch of the fifth pavilion in which the chapel of St Paul was constructed by the glorious emperor Basil.

44. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις κατά τε βορρᾶν καὶ νότον ὑπὸ Θεοφίλου μὲν ἀνῳκοδόμηνται, ὑφ’ ἡμῶν δὲ ἱστορίᾳ παραδίδονται, ὅτι μὴ βουλόμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου ἔργα, ὁποῖά ποτ’ ἂν ᾖ, λήθῃ παραδίδοσθαι, εἰς διάγνωσιν τῆς ἐκείνου περὶ τὸν βίον προαιρέσεως.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τρικλίνους, τόν τε οὕτω καλούμενον Λαυσιακόν, προσέτι δὲ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἐκεῖνος τοῖς χρυσοειδέσι ψήφοις ἐκόσμησε· καὶ τὴν καλάθωσιν ἐκ τῶν Βασιλίσκου τοῦ τυράννου παλατίων μεταγαγὼν τῷ Λαυσιακῷ περιέθηκεν.

Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ τρίκλινον μετὰ τεσσάρων κουβουκλείων σεμνῶν τε καὶ λαμπρῶν, ὧν τὰ δύο μὲν πρὸς τὸ μεσόπατον τοῦ δευτέρου κουβουκλείου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Καμιλᾶν, ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἁψίδων τὴν χρυσοειδῆ ὀροφὴν ἔχοντα, πρὸς τὴν Πορφύραν εἰσίν, ἥτις οὕτω λέγεται διὰ τὸ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐκεῖσε ἔκπαλαι διανέμειν τὸ ὀξὺ ταῖς ἀρχοντίσσαις κατὰ τὸν τῶν Βρουμαλίων καιρόν· ἕτερα δὲ δύο πρὸς τὸ μέρος τοῦ Λαυσιακοῦ, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει κατασκοπήν, εἰργάσατο μέν, ἐκ λίθου Προικονησίου τὰ ἐδάφη καταστρώσας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκ χρωμάτων ἀλλ’ οὐ μαρμάρων τοὺς τοίχους ὡραΐσας, ὑπὸ ἐμπρησμοῦ δὲ ὅμως ἀφανείᾳ παρεδόθησαν.

Καὶ Θέκλα δὲ ἡ τούτου πρώτη θυγάτηρ τὸ κατὰ τὰς Βλαχέρνας κουβούκλειον, ἔνθα καὶ | τὸ τῆς πρωτομάρτυρος Θέκλης εὐκτήριον ἵδρυται, B 148 ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἤγαγεν εὐμορφότατον· ἐκεῖσε δὲ καὶ τὸν βίον οὖσα κλινοπετὴς ἐξέλιπεν.

44.1 νῶτον V 3 ὁποῖα πότ’ ἂν V 6 πρὸς ἔτι V 13 διὰ νέμειν V 15 Προικοννησίου edd 20 εὐμορφώτατον V 21 κλινοπετῆς V

44. These buildings, then, were erected by Theophilus on the north and south side in the palace, and they have been committed to History by us because, for the purpose of discerning his way of life, we do not wish that his deeds, of whatever sort they might be, should fall into oblivion.

Theophilus also adorned the two halls, that called Lausiakos and likewise that of Ioustinianos, with golden mosaics; and transporting the coffering from the palace of the usurper Basiliscus he put it up in the Lausiakos.

He constructed also another hall together with four small and splendid pavilions, of which two give on to the mezzanine of the second pavilion, after the Kamilas, and have golden ceilings supported by four apses; they are near the Porphyra, which is so called because of the old practice whereby the empress distributed purple cloth there to the noblewomen at the time of the Brumalia. The other two pavilions are near the Lausiakos and have a view of it. Theophilus paved the floors of these pavilions with Proconnesian marble and adorned their walls with paints, not marbles; but they have been destroyed by fire.

And Thecla, Theophilus's first daughter built from the foundations a most beautiful pavilion at Blachernae, where the chapel of St Thecla was also constructed, and there, bed-ridden, she ended her days.

Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαὴλ τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου. Λόγος δʹ

1. Τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει τοῦ βίου ὁ Θεόφιλος ἐχρήσατο, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Μιχαὴλ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς διεδέξατο, τρίτον ἔτος διανύων ἀφ᾽ οὗ εἰς τὸν βίον προήχθη, σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρᾳ. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ὑπῆρχον φροντισταὶ καὶ ἐπίτροποι οὓς ὁ Θεόφιλος κατέλιπεν, ὅ τε Θεόκτιστος ὁ εὐνοῦχος, τηνικαῦτα κανίκλειος καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου τυγχάνων, καὶ ὁ πατρίκιος | Βάρδας ὁ τῆς αὐγούστης ἀδελφός, καὶ Μανουὴλ ὁ f.50v μάγιστρος ἐξ Ἀρμενίων καταγόμενος, ὃς καὶ θεῖος ἀπὸ πατρὸς τῆς δεσποίνης ὑπῆρχεν. ἐπεπήγει μὲν οὖν τὰ πολιτικά, καὶ καλῶς τέως τὰ πράγματα διηυθύνετο, ἔμελλε δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων προσκύνησις ἀνακαινίζεσθαί τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν παλινδρομεῖν αὖθις τιμήν. καὶ δὴ Μανουὴλ νόσῳ πιέζεται δεινῇ καὶ χαλεπῇ· πρὸς ὃν εἰσρέοντες μοναχοὶ τῶν Στουδίου – καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ πίστις οὐκ ἀγεννὴς πρὸς αὐτοὺς – | B 149 ἀνάκλησιν τῆς ὑγιείας ὑπισχνοῦντο ῥᾳδίαν τε καὶ ταχεῖαν γενέσθαι, εἰ μόνον τὴν τῶν ἁγίων προσκύνησιν εἰκόνων αὐτός τε θελήσοι καὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας πείσοι θεσπίσαι ἁπανταχοῦ. οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὁρῶν πολλοὶ τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων προσφιλεῖς τούτῳ τυγχάνοντες, ἐκεῖθεν τὰς ἀρχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν λαβόντες ὅτε τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν ἐστρατήγει, προσφοιτῶντες καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις παρακαλοῦντες ἔπεισαν ὀρθὰ φρονῆσαί ποτε καὶ τὸ ποθούμενον ὑποσχέσθαι αὐτοῖς, εἰ μόνον ῥᾴων γένοιτο· ὃ καὶ γέγονε τῇ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐχῇ καὶ σπουδῇ.

2. Ἐπεὶ γοῦν οὗτος τῆς νόσου ἀπήλλακτο καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα σπουδῆς οὐκ ἠμέλουν, ἀλλὰ παρακλήσεσι χρώμενοι τῶν πρὸς θεὸν ὑποσχέσεων ἠξίουν μεμνῆσθαι, πλήρη τοῦτον τοῦ θείου ζήλου εἰργάσαντο· καὶ δὴ τοῖς συνεπιτρόποις ἀνακοινώσας τὰ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ

1.1 : de die obiti Theophili cf. III.34.38 et III.41.1–2   2–3 : die 9–10 Ian. a. 840 Michael natus est et 20 Ianuarii a. 841 iam tertium annum aetatis suae inibat, cf. III.18.22–23

Cap. 1: Gen 55.15–20, 56.38–61; Log A 232.10–11 | Scyl 81.86–91, 81.3–82.34   Cap. 2: Acta Davidis 249.11–23; Gen 56.61–57.80, 58.2–10; Log A 232.3–6 | PsSym 647.5–9, 647.19–648.8; Scyl 82.34–83.50

1.1 δὴ om. edd   1 τοῦ om. edd   3 προήχθη σὺν Boor, cf. Scyl 81.88 ἀναδέχεται σὺν : προήχθησαν V : προήχθη edd   7 ἐξαρμενίων V : ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων edd   11 εἰς ῥέοντες V   12 τῶν : τοῦ edd   13 ἀνάκλισιν V   13 ταχείαν V   13 εἰ : ἦν edd   14 ἀγίων V   14 θελήσῃ edd   16 ἄλλων : ἁγίων coni. Boor in app.   16 ὁρῶν V   16 πρὸς φιλεῖς V   20 ῥᾴων edd : ῥάω V   **2.**4 εἰργάσατο V   4 συνεπιτρώποις V

Concerning the Reign of Michael, Son of Theophilus. Book 4

1. Such was the end of Theophilus's life, and his son Michael, who was in his third year since entering this life, succeeded to the empire with his mother Theodora. But for the affairs of state there were as procurators and guardians, whom Theophilus left behind, the eunuch Theoktistos, who was then keeper of the Inkpot and logothete of the Course, the patrikios Bardas, brother of the augusta, and the magistros Manuel, of Armenian descent, who was also a paternal uncle of the empress. Now, the political situation had stabilised and the affairs of state were at the time well managed; and the worship of the divine images was about to be restored and regain its former honour. Manuel was suffering from a serious and grave illness, and monks from the monastery of Stoudios – for he had no slight faith in them – streamed in to him and promised that an easy and speedy return to health would result if only he himself was willing and convinced the rulers to ordain the worship of the holy images everywhere. Moreover, many God-bearing fathers from the other [?] mountains who were kindly affectioned to him, beginning from the time when he served as general of the Armeniacs, visited him and, entreating him on similar terms, at length convinced him to come to the right thinking and to promise them what they desired, if he should get better; and this came to pass through their prayer and earnestness toward God.

2. Now after Manuel had been delivered from his illness, the monks did not slacken in their attention to the matter but, repeating their entreaties, exhorted him to remember his promises to God and filled him with divine zeal. Manuel then communicated his plan to his fellow guardians and persuaded

πείσας ὥς ἐστι καλὸν ἀρχὴν δεξιὰν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ μεταρρυθμίσας αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βούλημα ἀγαγών, πρὸς τὴν Θεοδώραν εἰσῄει τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως κοινολογησόμενος. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ὄντως βασίλεια, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἤκουσε, "τοῦτο", ἔφη, "καὶ δι᾽ ἐπιθυμίας εἶχον ἀεὶ καὶ μελετῶσα διέλειπον οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τῶν πολλῶν με συγκλητικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τῇ τοιαύτῃ προσανακειμένων αἱρέσει πληθὺς ἐκώλυεν ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπερμαχοῦντες μητροπολῖται, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ πατριάρχης, ὃς μικρὰν | ἔχοντα τῆς τοιαύτης αἱρέσεως τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα τὴν ῥίζαν ἐκ B 150
τῶν γονέων ἐπὶ πλεῖον | ηὔξησέ τε καὶ στερεωτέραν εἰργάσατο ταῖς f. 51
αὐτοῦ εἰσηγήσεσί τε καὶ πυκναῖς παραινέσεσιν, εἰς χαλεπὰς αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους ἐκτραπῆναι τοῦτον ποιήσας, ἃς ἐκεῖνος ὁσημέραι κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐφεύρισκεν, ἀλείπτης τε καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ὁ ἄθλιος γεγονώς". "καὶ τί γοῦν οὕτω, δέσποινα, φρονοῦσάν σε καὶ βουλευομένην τὰ κάλλιστα τὸ κωλῦον ἐστίν", ἀντέφησαν, "μὴ καὶ εἰς ἔργον ταῦτα ἀχθῆναι καὶ τὴν πάνδημον ταύτην κελεῦσαι εἰς πέρας ἐλθεῖν ἑορτήν;" εὐθὺς γοῦν μετακαλεσαμένη τὸν τῆς βίγλης δρουγγάριον – Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ οὗτος ἦν, ὁ τοῦ πατρικίου Θωμᾶ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγονότος λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου πατὴρ – δηλοῖ τῷ πατριάρχῃ ὡς "πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν συνεληλυθότες εὐλαβεῖς τε <ἄνδρες> καὶ μοναχοὶ δέησιν ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν τοῦ τὰς πανσέπτους κελεῦσαι ἀναστηλωθῆναι εἰκόνας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁμόλογος εἶ τούτοις καὶ σύμφωνος, καὶ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν κόσμον ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία ἀπολαμβανέτω· εἰ δ᾽ ἀμφίβολος καὶ τὴν γνώμην οὐκ ἔχων εὐθῆ, τοῦ μὲν θρόνου ἔξω γενοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως, κατὰ δὲ τὸ προάστειόν σου μικρὸν διάβηθι, μέχρις ἂν ὁ σύλλογος τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων γένηται μετὰ σοῦ· οἵδε γὰρ ἕτοιμοι διαδικάζεσθαί τε καὶ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πείθειν σε περὶ τούτων κακῶς λέγοντα".

3. <Ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης ἢ μᾶλλον φατριάρχης> κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ Θετταλὸν – τρίκλινος δὲ οὕτω κατονομαζόμενος – τηνικαῦτα ἀνέκειτο ἐπὶ σκίμποδος, τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀγγελίας δεχόμενος· ὃς ἅμα τῇ

||28 cf. Ps 50.12 Cap. 3: Vita Theodorae 266.30–42; Acta Davidis 249.23–250.29; Gen 57.81–58.2, 58.10–28; Log A 232.6–10 | PsSym 647.9–11, 647.15, 648.8–649.3; Scyl 83.61–84.83 ||1 GeorgMon 802. 14–15

5 ὡς ἐστὶν V : fortasse ὡς ἔστι scribendum 5 ὑποθεῖναι coni. Bekk in app., sed cf. supra I.19.1 6 ἀγαγῶν V 7 κοινολογησόμενος edd : κοιονολογησάμενος V 7 ἀλλ᾽ : καὶ edd 7 ἡ om. edd 9 εἶχον : ἦγον edd 10 με om. edd 10 συγκλιτικῶν V 12 μητροπολίται V 14 ἐπιπλεῖον V 17 ἀγίων V 17 εὕρηκεν edd 17 τοι οὕτων V 19 ἀντέφη[σαν] coni. Kamb 21 γοῦν V 24 <ἄνδρες> supplevimus e PsSym 647.21 28 γενόμενος PsSym 648.5 29 ὁ om. edd 30 οἶδε V 31 αλέγεσθαι V **3.**1 <Ὁ δὲ – φατριάρχης> supplevimus e PsSym f 245r (φρατριάρχης 648.8–9), cf. infra IV.38.1

them that it was a good thing to give a clever start to affairs of state; and having converted them and brought them over to his way of thinking, he went in to Theodora to deliberate on the subject. But that God-loving and true empress, when she heard talk of Orthodoxy, said, 'This is what I always desired and never ceased taking thought for. But the majority of those in the Senate and government who are devoted to this heresy have hindered me down to this day, no less than the defenders of the Church, the metropolitans, and especially the patriarch, who with his instructions and repeated exhortations increased and rendered yet more solid the small root of this heresy which my husband had from his parents; he caused him to stray toward harsh tortures and torments which he devised every day against holy men, becoming, unhappy man, trainer and teacher of such evils.' 'What then, O mistress,' they replied, 'hinders you, who are so minded and desire to do what is best, from commanding these things to be put into effect and this feast of all the people to come to fulfilment?' Forthwith, then, she summoned the drungarius of the Watch – this was Constantine, father of the patrikios Thomas who later became logothete of the Course – and informed the patriarch that 'Many pious <men> and monks from many places have come together and made entreaty unto our imperial Majesty to command that the all-venerable images be set up. If you are in agreement and accord with these these things, then let God's Church regain its former adornment. But if you are in doubt and have no straightforward opinion, then leave your see and the city, and go over to your estate for a little, until the assembly of the holy fathers comes to you, for they are eager to dispute and discuss and persuade you that you speak wrongly concerning these things.'

3. Now the patriarch, or rather fratriarch, was at the time reclining on a couch in the Thessalos – the hall so called – in the Patriarchate when he received the imperial messages. And wounded in his soul upon hearing these

ἀκοῇ τῶν | λόγων βληθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν μὲν ἀποκομιστὴν τούτων, B 151 οὐδὲν ἕτερον φήσας ἢ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτων καλῶς, ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ ἀπέστελλεν, καὶ θᾶττον ἢ λόγος ἐγχειρίδιόν τι λαβὼν τὰς κατὰ γαστέρα φλέβας ἀπέτεμεν, ἃς ᾔδει δειλίαν μὲν καὶ οἶκτον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ αἵματος δαψιλοῦς ἐκχύσεως ἀποτεκεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς, θάνατον δὲ ἤ τινα κίνδυνον οὐδαμῶς. θροῦς οὖν καὶ βοὴ εὐθύς τις περιήχει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀκοάς, προφθάνουσα τὸν δρουγγάριον, ὡς ἡ δέσποινα ἐκ κελεύσεως τὸν πατριάρχην κατέσφαξεν. τῶν γοῦν λεγομένων ἐταστὴς ἀκριβὴς ὁ πατρίκιος | Βάρδας ἀποσταλεὶς αὐτάς τε τὰς πληγὰς f. 51v ἐκ προνοίας γενομένας ἠρέμα πως κατεφώρασεν, καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα τὸν ἔλεγχον οὐ διέφυγεν, αὐτῶν τῶν θεραπόντων κατειπόντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ τῆς τομῆς ὄργανα – φλεβοτόμα δὲ ἦν – εἰς μέσον καθυποβαλλόμενα. ἔκτοτε γοῦν οὐδενὸς λόγου ἀξιωθεὶς ὡς ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ αἰτίᾳ καὶ γνώμῃ αὐτοφώρῳ ἐπειλημμένος, ἀπηλαύνετο μὲν καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξωθεῖτο ὁ ἀλιτήριος, κατὰ τὸ προάστειον αὐτοῦ τὸ οὕτω λεγόμενον περιορισθεὶς τὰ Ψιχά, εἰσήγετο δὲ ὁ πολλοῖς πόνοις καὶ κόποις τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς σώσας ἀδιαλώβητα, καὶ τῆς ἐγχρονίου μὲν καθείρξεως, καὶ ταύτης σαπρώσης, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὴν τῶν τριχῶν ἀπόρροιαν κληρωσάμενος, παρὰ θεοῦ δὲ καὶ τῆς βασιλίδος Θεοδώρας τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κυβέρνησίν τε καὶ πηδαλιούχησιν· Μεθόδιος οὗτος ἦν ὁ μέγας καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀήττητος πρόμαχος. | B 152

4. Σκόπει δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἐν ταὐτῷ συναγαγούσης τῆς γενναίας καὶ τῷ ὄντι βοηθοῦ γεγονυίας τῷ ἀνδρί, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐναντίας, τοὺς ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς ὄντας ὀρθοδόξους, καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν ἀναλαβέσθαι θεσπίσασα, "ἄγε δή", ἔφησεν, "ὦ κλῆρος θεοῦ καὶ πατέρες, ἐμοῦ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ πανσέπτων ἀναστήλωσιν εἰκόνων ὑμῖν χορηγούσης καὶ διδούσης ὅτι μάλιστά μου μετ᾽ εὐμενείας, ἀντεπιθεῖναί μοι δικαίαν χάριν καὶ αὐτοὶ δεσποίνῃ οὔσῃ βουλήθητε, οὐ ταπεινήν τινα καὶ μικράν, ἵνα μὴ δὲ χάρις νομίζοιτο, οὐδὲ

3.17 : die 4 Mart. a. 843 Ioannes a sede patriarchali depositus est 19–24 : die 4 Mart. Methodius patriarcha designatus est et die 11 a synodo confirmatus est

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Cap. 4: De Theophili absolutione 30 col. 1.1–18, col. 2.4–21; Acta Davidis 244.22–26 | PsSym 650.21–651.5

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5 βουλεύσασθαι V, cf. PsSym 648.11 : βουλεύεσθαι edd : βουλεύσεσθαι coni. Boor in app. 6 ἀπέσταλκεν edd 7 ᾔδη V 7 οἶκτον V 8 ἢ τινὰ V 13 γενομένης V 13 πῶς V 15 φλεβότομα V 15 καθ᾽ ὑποβαλλόμενα V PsSym f 245v : καθυποβαλλόντων coni. Boor in app. : καθυπεβάλλοντο coni. Kamb 16 οὖν edd 16 λόγου ἀξιωθεὶς om. B edd 16 ἐπιτοιαύτη V 16 αὐτοφώρῳ nos e PsSym 649.1 (αὐτὸ φόρω f 245v) : αὐτοφόνῳ edd : αὐτοφώνω V 17 ἐπειλημμένος post corr. V, ante corr. ἐπυλημμένος : PsSym 649.1–2 ὑπειλημμένος 20 τῆς ἐγχρονίου edd : τῆς ἐκχρονίου V : ἐκ τῆς χρονίου Boor 21 ἀπόρριαν V **4.**1 ταυτῶ V 2 γεγονυῖας V 2 ὅποι V 6 ἀντ᾽ ἐπιθεῖναί V 6 αὐτῇ edd

words, he dispatched with his response the messenger who had brought them, saying nothing except that he had deliberated in thorough wise concerning these matters; and faster than can be recounted he took an implement and cut the veins in his belly which, he knew, would induce fright and pity on the part of the many, because of the profuse flow of blood, but in no wise death or any danger. Forthwith a rumour and shout went through the Church, reaching also the imperial ears even before the drungarius returned, that the empress had ordered the murder of the patriarch. Dispatched, then, as careful examiner of what was being said, the patrikios Bardas discovered that these wounds had been made somehow gently, with care; nor did the stage-effect escape censure, for the servants denounced him, and the instruments of the incision – these were lancets – were brought in evidence. Thereupon this offender was granted no opportunity to speak, having been caught out in such manifest motive and intent, and was driven out and expelled from the Church, exiled to his estate called Psicha; and he who had preserved his virtue unscathed through many toils and pains, was brought in: he who received as his lot from his long and, so it seems, fetid confinement the falling out of his hair, but from God and the empress Theodora the governance and direction of the Church. This was Methodios, the Church's great and invincible champion.

4. Now, behold how the empress, being the noble and true helper of her husband, not his opponent, and yet at the same time gathering together the Orthodox from whereever they might be on earth, ordained that they should recover their boldness of speech and declared: 'Come, O clergy of God and fathers, seeing that I bestow and grant you with utmost goodwill the restoration of the the holy and all-venerable images, deign you to return the favour to me your empress: not one humble or slight, lest it should not be con-

τοῖς διδοῦσιν ὑμῖν ἢ ἐμοὶ τῇ αἰτουμένῃ ἀνάρμοστόν τε καὶ ἀσύμφορον, ἐπιτηδείου δὲ καὶ μονίμου καὶ παρὰ θεῷ εὐαποδέκτου καθεστώσης καὶ νομιζομένης. ἡ δέ ἐστιν ἡ εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ βασιλέα περὶ τούτων διαβαίνουσα συγγνώμη τε καὶ συγχώρησις καὶ ἀμνηστία παρὰ θεοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης διαμαρτίας· ὡς εἰ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, οὔτ᾽ ἐμὲν σχοίητε ἐπακολουθοῦσαν ὑμῖν οὔτε τὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων προσκύνησιν καὶ ἀνάρρησιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνάληψιν".

5. Καὶ ἅμα τὸν λόγον κατέπαυσεν· "ὅτι μὲν οὖν δίκαια", ἡ ὀρθόδοξος ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἐξάρχων Μεθόδιος ἔφασαν, "δέσποινα, ἐξαιτῇ, οὐδ᾽ ἡμεῖς | ἔχομεν ἀπαναίνεσθαι· δίκαιον γὰρ τοῖς εὐεργέταις καὶ ἄρχουσι τὰς f.52 προσηκούσας χάριτας ἀντεπιτίθεσθαι δαψιλῶς, ὅταν μὴ τύραννος ἄρχῃ χείρ, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι γνώμη θεοφιλής. ἀλλ᾽ οὔπω θεοῦ δίκην ἡμεῖς τὸν πρὸς ἄλλον | βίον διαβεβηκότα δυνατοὶ ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς φανταζόμε- B 153 νοι. δυνατοὶ μὲν ἡμεῖς, καὶ κλεῖς οὐρανῶν πιστευθέντες παρὰ θεοῦ, τοῖς βουλομένοις πᾶσιν ἀνοιγνύναι αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν βίον ἔτι οἰκονομουμένοις, πρὶν ἀλλαχοῦ μεταστῶσιν. ἔστιν δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ τοῖς μεθισταμένοις, ὅταν τε μικρὰ τὰ σφάλματα ᾖ καὶ μετάνοια τούτοις προσῆν· τοῖς δ᾽ ἤδη μετὰ πονηρῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπάρασι καὶ πρόδηλον φέρουσι τὴν κατάγνωσιν οὐχ οἷοί τε τὰς εὐθύνας διαλύειν τούτοις ἡμεῖς".

6. Καὶ ἡ δέσποινα, εἴτ᾽ ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναθερμανθεῖσα φίλτρῳ – ὅπέρ ἐστι, καὶ ἡμεῖς συγκατατιθέμεθα –, ἦ μὴν ἐνωμότως τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνον θίασον ἐβεβαίου ὡς "μεγάλα τραγῳδούσης καὶ κατολοφυρομένης καὶ πάντα ἐκτραγῳδούσης κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐξόδου τούτου καιρόν, καὶ διαγραφούσης ὡς οἷα ἐπακολουθήσει ἡμῖν μεμισημένοις ἐν τηλικαύτῃ πόλει περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης αἱρέσεως, εὐχῶν στέρησις, ἀρῶν ἐπέκτασις, λαοῦ ἐπανάστασις, εἰσῄει τούτῳ μετάμελος τῆς αἱρέσεως. καὶ ταύτας ἅμα αἰτησάμενός τε καὶ κατασπασάμενος ζεούσῃ ψυχῇ, ἐμοῦ ἐν χερσὶ καθυποβαλούσης, τοῖς ἀπάγουσιν ἀγγέλοις τὸ πνεῦμα παρέδωκεν". ταύτης ἐκεῖνοι ἀκηκοότες δὴ τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ τὸν

Cap. 5: De Theophili absolutione 30 col. 1.18–22, col. 2.21–25 || 6–7 cf. Matt 16.19
Cap. 6: De Theophili absolutione 20 col. 1.19 – 21 col. 1.15, 20 col. 2.19 – 21 col. 2.11, 30 col. 1.22 – 32 col.1.20, 30 col. 2.21 – 33 col. 2.3, 37 col.1.27 – 39 col. 1.28, 37 col. 2.28 – 39 col. 2.29; Vita Theodorae 264.3–265.41 | Scyl 84.92–93; PsSym 649.6–10, 651.5–22

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8 τῇ om. edd 10 δὲ ἐστιν V 10 τούτῶν V 11 τὲ V 12 οὔτ᾽ V 12 ἐμὲν sic V : ἐμὲ edd **5.**4 χαρίτας V 4 ἀντ᾽ ἐπιτίθεσθαι V 4 ὅτἂν V 4 τυραννὶς edd 5 οὐ τῆς θεοῦ δίκης coni. Comb in marg. 8 ἀνοιγνύναι edd : ἀνοιγνῦντες V Boor 8 αὐτοὺς scil. τοὺς οὐρανοὺς coni. Boor in app. (fortasse recte) 8 τοῦτον τὸν βίον : βίον τοῦτον edd 10 ὅτἂν V **6.**4 κατωλοφυρομένης V 5 δια<ζω>γραφούσης coni. Kamb 5 οἶα V 8 αἱρέσεως : καθαιρέσεως τῶν εἰκόνων coni. Boor in app., coniecens repetitionem esse αἱρέσεως e l. superiore et verbum ταύτας mentionem imaginum praecessisse demonstrare

sidered a favour, or else one inappropriate or prejudicial to you who grant or me who entreat, but rather should stand and be considered suitable and permanent and acceptable to God. It is this: pardon and forgiveness extending to my husband and emperor with regard to these matters and amnesty from God for this gross fault. For if this is not done, you shall not gain my compliance nor the worship and proclamation of the venerable images, nor yet the recovery of the Church.'

5. When she ceased speaking, the Orthodox Church and its leader Methodios said, 'Because what you request is just, O empress, we shall not reject it; for it is right to render fitting thanks in abundance unto benefactors and rulers when it is no tyrannical hand that rules and the intent is God-loving. But we cannot now, imagining ourselves greater than we are, like God, absolve one who has passed on into the other life. We are able, being entrusted by God with the keys of heaven, to open these unto all those who desire it – but to those who are still engaged in this life, before they pass away elsewhere. Sometimes this is possible also for those who are passing away, when their errors are small and they had regret for them; but for those who have already departed with evil expectations and incur manifest condemnation, we cannot release them from being called to account.'

6. And the empress, be it in truth, or else – and we concur that this is the case – fired by affection for her husband, assured that holy gathering verily with oaths that 'Whilst I was greatly declaiming and lamenting and decking everything out in tragic phrase at the time of his departing this life, as well as describing all that would happen to us, hated as we were in this city on account of such a heresy, namely, privation of prayers, extension of curses, rebellion of the populace, repentance of his heresy came to him. And having requested these [same] and kissing them with fervent soul as I held them before him in my hands, he commended his spirit to the angels.' Hearing her speech

τρόπον τῆς αὐγούστης εὐλαβηθέντες – ἦν γάρ, εἰ καί τις φιλόχριστος –, καὶ ἅμα τὴν τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ζητοῦντες τιμήν, κοινῇ ψήφῳ καὶ γνώμῃ τῆς μὲν ἁμαρτίας ταύτης, εἰ οὕτως τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν, συγγνώμην ἔφασαν εὑρήσειν παρὰ θεῷ, καὶ ἅμα | δι᾽ ἐγγράφου ἀσφαλείας τὴν πίστιν τούτου B 154 τῇ δεσποίνῃ ἐδίδοσαν. ἐφ᾽ οἷς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπολαβόντες καὶ Μεθοδίῳ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ τὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀποδεδωκότες τιμήν, τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἁγίων νηστειῶν κυριακῇ σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ δεσποίνῃ πάννυχον ὑμνῳδίαν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὰς Βλαχέρνας ἱερῷ τεμένει τῆς ὑπεραγίας ἡμῶν δεσποίνης καὶ θεοτόκου τετελεκότες, τῇ ἕωθεν μετὰ λιτῆς τῷ μεγάλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τεμένει καταλαμβάνουσι· καὶ τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς αὖθις ἀναλαμβάνει ἡ ἐκκλησία, τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας τε|λειωθείσης ἁγνῶς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ὀρθό- f.52v δοξος οὕτως προέκοπτεν ἐκκλησία, ἀνακαινιζομένη ὡς ἀετός, τὸ τῆς γραφῆς, πάντων τῶν αἱρεσιωτῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑφηλίῳ καθαιρέσει ὑποβληθέντων μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῶν· Ἰωάννης οὗτος ἦν, ὁ διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσέβειαν Ἰαννὴς παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν μετονομασθείς, οὐκ ἔπηλύς τις καὶ ξένος, αὐτόχθων δὲ καὶ τῆς βασιλίδος ταύτης τῶν πόλεων βλάστημα – φύεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀμπέλῳ βάτον ἠκούσαμεν –, οὐδ᾽ ἐξ ἀσήμου τινὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εὐγενοῦς καταγόμενος σειρᾶς, τῆς οὕτω τῶν Μοροχαρζανίων λεγομένης.

7. Οὗτος οὖν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡ ἱστορία δηλώσῃ, τῆς μονῆς τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Σεργίου καὶ Βάκχου τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ὁρμίσδου διακειμένης ἡγούμενος ἄνωθεν καὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ κλήρῳ καταριθμούμενος, διαφερόντως παρὰ Μιχαὴλ ἠγάπητο τοῦ τραυλοῦ, εἴτε μόνῳ τούτῳ τῷ κοινωνὸς εἶναι τῆς τούτου αἱρέσεως, εἴτε καὶ τῷ διαφέρειν ἐπὶ λογιότητι δόξαν τινὰ ἐσχηκώς. πλὴν ἠγάπητο | καὶ τοῦ Θεοφίλου διδάσκαλος ἐγ- B 155 καθίστατο. καὶ οὗτος ἐπεὶ τὰς τῆς βασιλείας ἔσχεν ἡνίας, σύγκελλον μὲν πρότερον τοῦτον τιμᾷ, εἶθ᾽ ὕστερον καὶ πατριάρχην καθίστησι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, προγνώσεις τινὰς διὰ λεκανομαντείας καὶ γοητείας αὐτῷ ἀπαγγέλλοντα. καὶ ἡ γοητεία τοιαύτη· ἔθνους ποτὲ τρισὶν ὑφ᾽ ἡγεμόσι στρατηγουμένου ἀπίστου τε καὶ σκληροῦ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώραν κα-

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6.16–19 : die 11 Mart. a. 843 sollemnis instauratio orthodoxiae **7**.8–9 : de electione Ioannis Grammatici ut patriarchae cf. III.26.43–44

||22–23 cf. Ps 102.5; 27 Gregorius Nazianzenus, In laudem Athanasii vol. 35, p. 1.097 φύεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀμπέλῳ βάτον ἠκούσατε Cap. 7: | PsSym 649.10–650.20; Scyl 85.94–86.34

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14 ἐγράφου V 16 τῷ ante Μεθοδίῳ edd 19 ἐν τῷ coni. Bekk in marg., sed cf. PsSym 651.18 21 θείας : ἁγίας edd 22 οὕτω edd 23 ὑφ᾽ ἡλίῳ edd 24 μετὰ καὶ nos e PsSym 651.21 : καὶ V edd : μετὰ coni. Bekk in app. 25 ὀνομασθείς edd 26 ἔπηλύς τις Boor e PsSym 649.7 (f 245v ἐπιλύς) : ἔπηλύστης V : ἐπηλύστης Comb : ἐπηλύτης Bekk 29 Μοροχαρζανίων sic V Scyl 84.93 (B), sed Μωροχαρζανίων Scyl 84.93 (ACEVN) et Μοροχαρζαρίων Scyl 84.93 (M) : Μοροχαρζαμίων edd : Μωροχαρδανίων PsSym f 245v (Μωροκαρδανίων 649.10) **7**.2 ἁγίων om. edd 9 διαλεκανομαντείας V 9 γοντείας V

and holding the empress's manner in honour – for she was Christ-loving, as anyone ever –, as well as desiring the reverence of the holy images, by common vote and agreement they declared that, if this was so, Theophilus would be forgiven by God for this sin, and at the same time they gave the empress guarantee of this through written assurance. Whereupon, receiving the Church and bestowing on the most holy Methodios the dignity of hierarch, in the presence of the empress herself on the first Sunday of holy Lent they celebrated the all-night service of hymns in the holy sanctuary of our most holy Lady the Theotokos at Blachernae, and in the morning they went in procession to the great sanctuary of God the Word; and the Church again recovered its adornment whilst the divine mysteries were celebrated in hallowed fashion. Thus did the Orthodox Church progress, being renewed as an eagle, as Scripture has it, whilst all members of heresy in all the earth were subjected to annulation of their orders, together with their hierarch. This was John (Ioannes), who on account of his impiety was re-named Jannes by pious men: not some newcomer or foreigner, but a native and offspring of this queen of cities – we have heard that bramble grows even in a vinyard –, nor descended from some obscure race, but rather from one quite noble, called the Morocharzanii.

7. This John, then, in order that our history might also relate the facts concerning him, was formerly abbot of the monastery of the holy martyrs Sergius and Bacchus in the quarter of Hormisdas and was on the rolls of the imperial clergy. He was particularly beloved of Michael the Stammerer, either simply because he shared in his heresy, or also because he had somehow distinguished himself for his eloquence. In any case he was beloved and was appointed as teacher of Theophilus. And when this latter took up the reigns of the empire, he first granted him the dignity of syncellus and then made him patriarch of Constantinople because he had explained to him certain signs of the future through divination with dishes and sorcery. And the sorcery was as follows. When once a certain nation, faithless and cruel and commanded by three leaders, was overrunning and laying waste to the land of the Romans

τατρέχοντός τε καὶ καταληϊζομένου, καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς ἀθυμοῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Θεοφίλου καὶ τοῦ ὑπηκόου παντός, ἀποσκευάσασθαί που τὴν ἀθυμίαν οὗτος συμβουλεύει καὶ θάρρους πληρωθῆναί τε καὶ χαρᾶς, εἴγε μόνον τῇ τούτου ἐπακολουθοίη βουλῇ. ἡ δὲ ἦν τοιαύτη· ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸν εὔριπον τοῦ Ἱπποδρομίου ἱδρυμένοις χαλκοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ἐλέγετό τις εἶναι ἀνδριὰς τρισὶ διαμορφούμενος κεφαλαῖς, ἃς κατά τινα στοιχείωσιν πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχηγοὺς ἀνῆγεν. σφύρας οὖν μεγίστας σιδηρᾶς ἰσαρίθμους ταῖς κεφαλαῖς προσέταττε γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐγχειρισθῆναι ταύτας τρισὶν ἐπὶ χειρῶν γενναιότητι διαφέροντας· κατὰ δέ τινα ὥραν νυκτερινὴν πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον ἀνδριάντα πλησίον στάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς σφύρας ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἐν μετεώρῳ ἔχοντας, ἡνίκα τούτοις κελεύσειεν, μεθ᾽ ὑπερβαλλούσης δυνάμεως ὁμοῦ ταύτας κατενεγκεῖν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς κρούματός τε καὶ πλήξεως | τὰς τοιαύτας ἀποτεμεῖν κεφαλάς. τούτοις τοῖς f.53 λόγοις εὐφρανθείς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Θεόφιλος ἐκέλευσε τὸ ἔργον ἐπαγαγεῖν. ὡς οὖν παρῆσαν πόρρω δὴ τῶν νυκτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες τὰς σφύρας κατέχοντες, ὁ δὲ | Ἰωάννης διὰ λαϊκοῦ ἐνδύματος ἑαυτὸν πε- B 156 ρικρύπτων, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται, καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἰωάννης τοὺς στοιχειωτικοὺς λόγους ἐπειπὼν καὶ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν τοῖς ἄρχουσι δύναμιν εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα μεταγαγών, ἢ μᾶλλον τὴν οὖσαν πρότερον ἐν τῷ ἀνδριάντι καταβαλὼν ἐκ τῆς τῶν στοιχειωσάντων δυνάμεως, παίειν ἕκαστον προστάττει νεανικῶς τε καὶ ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο τὰς δύο τοῦ ἀνδριάντος κεφαλὰς ἀπέκοψαν· ὁ δ᾽ ἕτερος μικρὸν μὲν κατέκλινεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ὅλην τοῦ σκηνώματος ἐναπέτεμεν. τούτοις οὖν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐπηκολούθει· ἔριδος γάρ τινος κραταιᾶς ἐπεισπεσούσης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμφυλίου μάχης, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς οἱ δύο τῶν ἡγεμόνων πίπτουσι κατὰ τὴν <τῶν> κεφαλῶν ἐκτομήν, τοῦ τρίτου μόνου διασωθέντος μέν, οὐχ ὑγιῶς δὲ οὕτως εἰς τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ ἔθνος χωρῆσαν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα αὖθις μετὰ φυγῆς ἀφώρμα καὶ συμφορᾶς.

8. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῆς γοητείας οὕτως. τῷ δὲ γόητι τούτῳ ἀδελφὸς ἦν σαρκικός, ὄνομα Ἀρσαβήρ, τὴν τύχην πατρίκιος παρὰ Θεοφίλου τιμηθείς. τούτῳ γοῦν προάστειον κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος τοῦ ἐκπλεομένου

Cap. 8: VBas 94.16–21; Log A 224.167–176 | PsSym 635.1–14; Scyl 86.35–48

13 ἀποσκευἄσασθαί V : ἀποσκευάζεσθαι edd 16 ἱδρυμένοις V 20 αὐτὰς edd 20 fortasse διαφέρουσι scribendum (ex errore propter στάντας in l. sequenti?) 21 αὐτοῦ edd Boor 22 κελεύσαιεν Comb, quod corr. Bekk 24 κρούσματος B edd 29 ἐπειπὼν Boor e Scyl 85.24 et PsSym 650.11 : ὑπειπὼν V PsSym 246r 31 καταβαλλὼν V 32 post δύο add. ἰσχυροτάταις χρησάμενοι καταφοραῖς edd e Scyl 86.26 33 post ἕτερος add. μαλακώτερον ποιήσας τὴν πληγὴν edd e Scyl 86.27 34 σκηνώματος ἐναπέτεμεν V, cf. PsSym 651.14 : σώματος ἀπέτεμεν, post quae verba add. τὴν κεφαλήν edd e Scyl 86.28–29 36 πίπτουσι B edd : πίστουσι V 37 <τῶν> add. Boor e PsSym 650.17

and, understandably, Theophilus and all the subjects of the empire had therefore lost heart, this John advised him how to be rid of this disheartenment and to be filled with courage and joy, if only he would follow his cousel. And this counsel was as follows. Amongst the bronze statues set up on the spina of the Hippodrome there was said to be a statue formed with three heads, the which, by some sort of spell, he had connected with the rulers of this nation. He ordered then that very large hammers be made, equal in number to the heads, and that they be given to three men who excelled in the vigour of their arms; and that at a certain hour of the night these same men, standing near the aformentioned statue and holding the hammers in their hands up high, when he gave them the command, should bring down the hammers with overwhelming force, all together, so as to cut off the heads with one stroke and blow. At once gladdened and astonished by these words Theophilus commanded that the deed be done. And as the men stood by late in the night holding the hammers, John, concealing himself in lay attire, lest he should be discovered, pronounced to himself the magical words, transferring the power of the rulers to the statue, or rather, driving out that which was previously in the statue through the power of those who had cast a spell on it, and commanded each of the men to strike vigorously and with all force. And two of them severed two of the statue's heads; the third, however, only caused it to incline, but did not cut it off completely from its dwelling place. Now, the fortunes of the leaders concurred with these things. For strife broke out amongst them and civil war; and two of them were killed by the other, as with the cutting off of the heads, and only this third one found safety, though not in sound wise. Thus this nation, reduced to nothingness, rushed back to its country in flight and calamity.

8. Such, then, was his sorcery. And this same sorcerer had a brother by the flesh named Arsaber who had been honoured by Theophilus with the rank of patrikios. This Arsaber had an estate on the left side when sailing out from

Εὐξείνου ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Φωκᾶ προσῆν, οἰκοδομὰς μεγίστας ἔχον καὶ πολυτελεῖς στοάς τε καὶ βαλανεῖον καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δεξαμενάς. ἐκεῖσε δὴ ὁ πατριάρχης συχνὰς ποιῶν τὰς καταγωγὰς λέγεταί τι ὑπόγειον κατασκευάσαι ἐνδιαίτημα τῷ Τροφωνίου παρόμοιον, ὄπισθεν δὲ τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρας κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον πυλίδα εἶναί τινα | διὰ βαθμίδων οὐκ B 157 ὀλίγων ἐκεῖσε δὴ τοὺς θέλοντας παραπέμπουσαν. ἐκεῖνο γοῦν αὐτοῦ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐργαστήριον. ἐκεῖσε δὴ τούτῳ τινὲς νῦν μὲν ἐταμιεύοντο θαλαμηπολούμεναι, μονάζουσαί τε καὶ ἄλλως τὸ κάλλος γυναῖκες μὴ διαφθείρουσαι, αἷς συνεφθείρετο· νῦν δὲ μαντεῖαι δι᾽ ἡπατοσκοπίας καὶ λεκανομαντείας καὶ γοητείας καὶ νεκυομαντείας ἐνηργοῦντο, ταύταις προσχρωμένου κοινωνοῖς τε καὶ βοηθοῖς. ὅθεν πολλάκις | καί τινα προλέ- f.53v γειν τούτῳ συνέβαινε τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων συνεργίᾳ ἀληθῆ, οὐ τῷ Θεοφίλῳ μόνῳ ἀλλα καὶ ἑτέροις τοῖς τούτου ὁμόφροσιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τούτου τὸ μιαρὸν ἐνδιαίτημα ὀψέ ποτε πρὸς Βασίλειον τὸν τηνικαῦτα παρακοιμώμενον ἀπεμποληθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ εἰς ἱερὸν μετηνέχθη φροντιστήριον, οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, καθὼς αὐτῷ διαφέροντα ἦν· καὶ ἐκ βάθρων ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος ἀνιδρύθη μονή.

9. Τότε δὲ οὗτος καὶ πᾶσα ἡ αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἴρηται, συμμορία τῇ καθαιρέσει ὑποβληθέντες οὐχ ἡσυχῇ παραπέμπειν τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον ἐδοκίμαζον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἐνεανιεύοντο. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν καθαίρεσιν ὑπερόριος ἔν τινι μονῇ γεγονώς, εἰκόνος θείας κατὰ τὸν ὄροφον ἱστορημένης καὶ ἀτενῶς οἷον ἀτενιζούσης αὐτῷ, μὴ φέρων οὗτος ὁρᾶν τὴν ἐκείνης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπικατιοῦσαν θέαν, καθαιρεῖσθαι ταύτην διά τινος οἰκέτου προστάττει καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατορύττεσθαι, τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιλέγων, ὡς “τὴν αὐτῆς οὐ δύναμαι μορφὴν ἐνορᾶν”. ἤκουστο γοῦν | B 158 ταῦτα τῇ δεσποίνῃ, καὶ τῇ προσηκούσῃ μάστιγι καὶ παιδείᾳ διὰ σκυτάλης καθυποβέβλητο.

10. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἦν ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἐρᾶν, μῶμον δέ τινα καὶ ὣς ἐπειρῶντο τῷ ἐν ἁγίοις Μεθοδίῳ προσάπτειν· καὶ μῶμος εἰς

||7 εἰς Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται Suda EI no. 323, T no. 1065, Photius, Lexicon E no. 334, cf. Plutarchus Paroimiai cent. I, sect. 51 Cap. 9: GeorgCont (Istrin) 3.13–18; Gen 58.27–59.39 | PsSym 647.10–15, 652.1–10; Scyl 84.84–92, 86.48–49 Cap. 10: GeorgCont (Istrin) 3.23–4.7; Gen 59.40–60.83 | PsSym 652.10–653.2; Scyl 86.49–88.14

8.5 βαλανεῖα Scyl 86.38 6 τὰς om. edd 7 τῷ Boor e Scyl 86.40 : τῶν V 8 διαβαθμίδων V 9 τὸ om. edd 10 ἐνγαστήριον V 12 γυναῖκες διαφέρουσαι coni. Boor in app., cf. Scyl 86.43 γυναῖκες τὸ κάλλος διαπρεπεῖς 12 ἥπατοσκοπιας V 15 συνεργείᾳ edd 20 post μεγαλομάρτυρος fortasse <Φωκᾶ> addendum, cf. Scyl 86.47–48 εἰς μονὴν κατεσκευάσθη ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι Φωκᾶ τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος **9.**4 ὑπερορίας edd 4 θείας : μιᾶς edd 6 θέαν B edd Boor PsSym 652.6 : θεσάν V 8 ταύτης edd **10.**2 μῶμον edd Boor

the Euxine, in the monastery of the holy Phokas, which comprised very large buildings and lavish porticoes and a bath, as well as cisterns. Making frequent sojourns there, it is said that the patriarch fitted out for himself an underground dwelling place, similar to that of Trophonius; and behind the door that opened to the outside, there was a postern which led thither those who desired by means of not a few stairs. That was his evil laboratory; and sometimes certain chamber-maids were kept there by him, monastics and women who did not otherwise fake beauty, with whom he would corrupt himself; and at other times divinations were practised through inspection of the liver and dish-divining and sorcery and necromancy, and he used these women as partners and assistants. Whereby it often happened that certain true things were foretold by him through the co-operation of the demons, not only to Theophilus but to others of like mind. But this foul dwelling-place of his was sometime later sold by his brother to the then parakoimomenos Basil and was converted into a holy monastery – and not only that place, but everything else that belonged to him; and the monastery of the holy Great Martyr was erected from the foundations.

9. When however, as has been said, he and all of his band had had their orders annulled, they did not think fit to pass their life in quiet, but still behaved with insolence against the holy images. For after his exclusion from orders, being banished to a monastery, there was a divine image depicted on the ceiling which, as it were, stared upon him intently; and not bearing to behold its gaze descending upon him, he ordered that it should be destroyed by one of the servants and its eyes gouged out, remarking only that 'I cannot bear to look upon its form'. Word of this reached the empress, and he was subjected to an appropriate beating and chastisement with the rod.

10. However, not even thus was he willing to keep quiet; but in such wise did they try to bring reproach upon Methodios of saintly memory. The re-

γυναικὸς φθορὰν παῖδα κεκτημένης μονογενῆ – Μητροφάνης οὗτος ἦν, ὁ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σμύρνης καθηγησάμενος –, ἣν καὶ χρυσίων ἱκανῶν ἐξωνησάμενοι καὶ ἄλλα καθυποσχόμενοι, εἰ μόνον τούτοις συμφήσειεν, πολλὰ κατελέγοντο πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτροπεύοντας τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς. βῆμα γοῦν εὐθέως καὶ κριτήριον φρίκης γέμον ἐκ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν συγκροτούμενον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν. οὐ τῶν εὐσεβῶν τις ἀπῆν, οὐ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, οὐ τῶν μονήρη βίον ἐπειλημμένων, οὐκ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἀκούειν ἢ δυναμένων λαλεῖν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ πρὸς τὸ ξένον τῆς λοιδορίας κατηφιῶντας οἷον ἐνῆγεν αἰδώς, τοὺς δ᾽ ἡ τοῦ κροτεῖν καὶ χαίρειν ὑπ᾽ ἀκρασίας ἡδονή. ἤγοντο γοῦν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες εἰς μέσον, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἡ ἄνθρωπος ἔλεγχος. ὁ δὲ ἅμα τῇ παραστάσει τῆς γυναικός, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος οὐδαμῶς, "ὅπως τε ἔχεις κυρία" ταύτην ἐπηρώτα εἰς ἐπήκοον – καὶ γὰρ | ἦν αὐτῷ γνώριμος ἐκ πολλοῦ δι᾽ ἀρετήν –, καὶ ὅπως ὁ f.54
δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, περὶ τοῦ ταύτης ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτῇ· οὕτως τούτῳ ἐπήνθει τὸ ἄπλαστον. οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκβοήσαντες ἐγαυρίων ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς, τὰ τῆς κατηγορίας ἐπαύξοντες καὶ σαφῆ τὸν ἔλεγχον δόντες λοιπόν. ὡς δ᾽ οὗτος μόλις τῆς κατηγορίας ἐπῄσθετο, ζήλῳ πυρωθείς, ὡς ἂν μὴ δι᾽ | αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κινδυνεύοι καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄλλον μὲν B 159
εἶναι καιρὸν αἰδοῦς ἄλλον δὲ ὑποστολῆς καὶ σεμνότητος, μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου μετεωρίσας αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸν κόλπον συναγαγὼν γυμνὴν ἐδείκνυεν τὴν αἰδώ, τεθαυματουργημένην ἔχων καὶ οὐ κατ᾽ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἅμα διηγεῖτο τὴν θαυματουργίαν, ὡς πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην γενόμενος, σφριγώντων ἔτι καὶ τῶν παθῶν ἐνακμαζόντων, ἔρως τις αὐτὸν ἐξέκαιεν θερμότερον ἢ κατὰ πάθους ὁρμήν. ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἐκινδύνευεν καὶ περιγενέσθαι τούτου οὐκ ἦν οἷός τε, τὸν κορυφαῖον Πέτρον τὼ χεῖρε πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἐκπετάσας ἐξελιπάρει τυχεῖν τινος ἐπικουρίας καὶ ἀρωγῆς. καὶ δὴ τῷ κόπῳ τῆς εὐχῆς ὀψὲ πρὸς ὕπνον κλιθείς, φανῆναί οἱ τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους ἁπτόμενον καὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς σβεννύοντα τῶν παθῶν, τοῦτο μόνον προσεπιλέγοντα τὸ "ἀπολέλυσαι δὴ τῆς τῶν παθῶν ἐπικρατείας, Μεθόδιε". τούτοις ἐκεῖνος τὸν μακρὸν ἐκεῖνον πέπεικε σύλλογον, αἰσχύνης πλήσας τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας

10.3–4 : a. 857 Metrophanes ut Syracusae episcopus iam constat

||7 κριτήριον φρίκης γέμον apud Anonymus Professor 30, ln. 44 et Theodoretus Interpr. in xiv epist. Pauli, vol. 82, p. 705, ln. 19

4 ἦν V 5 ἄλλα : ἅμα edd 8 τίς V 9 ἄλλός τις V 10 λαλεῖν δυναμένων edd 11 τοῦ edd Boor : τὸ V 17 ἐκβοήσαντες edd : ἐμβοήσαντες V 20 καὶ expungendum coni. Boor in app. 21 εἶναι καιρὸν αἰδοὺς V : εἰδὼς εἶναι καιρὸν αἰδοῦς coni. Comb : εἶναι καιρὸν εἰδὼς αἰδοῦς coni. Boor in app. 23 γυμνὸν Comb 24 προπολλοῦ V 26 ἐνακμαζόντων τῶν παθῶν edd 26 ἢ καὶ edd (καὶ expungendum coni. Boor in app.) 28 τῶ V 28 τινὸς V 31 ὀρμᾶς V

proach was the seduction of a woman who had an only son – this was Metrophanes, who not long afterwards became bishop of Smyrna. Bribing this woman with ample gold and promising yet other things, if only she would agree with them, they recounted many things at length to the empress and her son's guardians. Forthwith a court and tribunal, full of terror, was assembled with men of state and church. No one from amongst the pious was absent, nor from amongst the impious, nor those who had embraced the monastic life, nor anyone else who could hear or speak. For shame on account of the strangeness of the abuse induced some to come, as it were, with downcast mien, whereas for others, it was the pleasure of applauding and revelling in intemperence. The accusers brought their case, and the woman was proof of their statements. But Methodios, undaunted in any wise whatsoever in the woman's presence, asked her, in the hearing of all, 'How are you, Madame?' – for he was long acquainted with her in all honour – and 'How is so-and-so and so-and-so?', with regard to her husband and those who were related to her. Thus did ingenuousness blossom upon him. Now the others, crying out, exulted with pleasure, adding to the accusations and deriving clear proof for the rest. But as soon as Methodios perceived the accusation, he was fired with zeal, lest through him the affairs of the Church and Christ should risk becoming sometimes occasion for shame, sometimes for reserve and solemnity; and rising a bit from his throne he drew up the folds of his garment and laid bare his privy parts. These latter had been miraculously transformed and were not like those of a human being, and at the same time he related the miracle: how when he was in the old Rome long before this, when the passions still swelled and raged, a desire burned within him more intensely than even the urge of passion. Because, then, he was at risk and was unable to escape this, he implored the supreme leader Peter, stretching out his hands toward the church, that he might receive some aid and succour. And when at length wearied by prayer he lay down to sleep, the apostle, appearing to him, touched that part and quenched the urges of the passions, adding only this: 'You are delivered from the power of the passions, Methodios.' With these words he convinced that broad assembly, filling with shame the enemies of truth. Now the magis-

ἐχθρούς. οὐ μὴν ὁ μάγιστρος Μανουὴλ τούτοις ἠξίου λύεσθαι τὰς κατηγορίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ἠπείλει ἦ μὴν ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς ζωῆς, εἰ μὴ τὴν πᾶσαν διδάξῃ ἀλήθειαν. καὶ ἥ γ᾽ εὐθέως ἔκπυστον καὶ σαφῆ τὴν πᾶσαν δραματουργίαν ποιεῖ, τόσου καὶ τόσου λέγουσα χρυσίου ἐξωνηθῆναι, καὶ "ἔτι ἔν τινί μου τῶν κιβωτίων, οὕτως ὡς ἐδόθη, σεσημασμένον ἐστὶ καὶ πεφύλακται σφραγῖδι αὐτῶν". αὐθωρὸν οὖν ἀποστείλαντες ἐκεῖνό | τε, ὡς B 160 ἔφησεν ἡ γυνή, εὗρον τὸ χρυσίον κατὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ ἤγαγον. καὶ οὗτοι τῇ τοῦ πατριάρχου συμπαθείᾳ καὶ παρακλήσει πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας οὐ ποινῶν καὶ βασάνων, ὧν ἦσαν ἄξιοι, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης ἠξίωντο, τοῦτο μόνον εἰς ἔκτισιν λαβόντες καὶ τιμωρίαν, τὸ ἀνὰ | πᾶν ἔτος f.54v ἐν τῇ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας πανηγύρει μετὰ λαμπάδων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Βλαχέρναις σεβασμίου σηκοῦ τῆς θεομήτορος πρὸς τὸν θεῖον καὶ περιώνυμον τῆς Σοφίας ἀφικνεῖσθαι νεὼν καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐνηχεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ὠσὶν ἀνάθεμα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς θείας εἰκόνας ἀπέχθειαν· ὃ καὶ τηρούμενον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν μέχρις ἐταμιεύθη ζωῆς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἱκανὸν αὐξηθεῖσα τοιαύτη αἵρεσις τοιοῦτον δὴ ἔσχε καὶ τὸ πέρας ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀνέλαμψαν δὲ αἱ θεῖαι τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων μορφαί, οὐ θεϊκῶς ἡμῖν τυπούμεναί τε καὶ λατρευόμεναι κατὰ τὰς ἀχαλίνους γλώσσας αὐτῶν, σχετικῶς δὲ καὶ σεβασμίως τὴν δι᾽ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ πρωτότυπα ἡμῶν τιμήν πως διαπορθμεύουσαι.

11. Ταύτην ἄγουσα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἡ Θεοδώρα δι᾽ ἡδονῆς εἱστία ποτὲ ἐν ταὐτῷ τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλήρωμα πᾶν κατὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Καριανοῦ ἀνάκτορα, ἅ, ὡς εἴρηται πρότερον ἡμῖν, τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκεν θυγατέρων ὁ Θεόφιλος ἀνεδείματο. οὐκ ἦν γοῦν ὅστις μὴ παρῆν ἐκεῖ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ ὁμολογητῶν. τούτοις ἐναρίθμιοι Θεοφάνης τε ὁ τῆς Σμύρνης καὶ ὁ αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος ἀδελφός. ὡς οὖν τὰ τῆς εὐωχίας παρήκμασεν καὶ εἰς βρῶσιν τὰ τραγήματα μετὰ τῶν πλακούντων παρέκειντο, συνεχῶς ἀτενιζούσης τῆς βασι|λίδος καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ γράμματα τῶν πατέρων καθορώσης καὶ B 161 στεναζούσης, συνέβη πως καὶ τούτους ὡς ἐξ ὁμολόγου ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι καὶ ταύτην ἐνιδεῖν ἀτενιζούσης αὐτοῖς. φησάντων γοῦν ὡς "τίς ἄρα, δέσποινα, ἡ αἰτία τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς σου ὁράσεως ἀτενοῦς;" τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἔφη θαυμάζειν καρτερίαν ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ταῦτα δράσαντος

Cap. 11: | PsSym 653.3–654.5; Scyl 88.14–89.36

35 ἢ V 36 διδάξει V 39 σφραγῖδι edd Boor : ἐσφραγίδι V : ἐν σφραγῖδι coni. Boor in app. 44 λαμπάδων edd Boor, sed cf. Scyl 88.8 μετὰ λαμπάδων : λαμπάδως V 45 καὶ περιώνυμον edd Boor, cf. infra IV.45.2–3 et VBas 79.1: τοῦ περιωνύμου V 46 αὐτοῖς : αὐτῶν τοῖς coni. Boor in app. 48 ἐπιπολὺ V 49 εἶχε edd 51 τυπούμενά τε – γλώσσας αὐτῶν : λατρεθόμεναί τε καὶ τυπούμενα edd 52 ἡμῖν edd **11.**2 ταυτῶ V 3 ἕνεκε V Boor : ἕνεκεν edd 4 ἐνεδείματο edd 4 γοῦν V 4 μὴ : οὐ edd, sed cf. PsSym 653.8 οὐκ ἦν ὅστις (ὅς τε f 246v) μὴ 9 πῶς V 9 καὶ om. edd 9 ἐξομολόγου V 10 ταύτῃ – ἀτενιζούσῃ coni. Boor in app., cf. PsSym 653.13 ταύτην – ἀτενίζουσαν

tros Manuel demanded that these same should not be excused for their accusations, and he threatened for a surety to deprive the woman of her life unless she divulged the whole truth. Forthwith she made plain and clear the whole dramatisation, saying that she had been bribed with such and such a sum of gold, and 'It is still marked and preserved with their seal in one of my coffers, just as it was given.' Straightway they sent off and found the gold in the coffer, as the woman had said, and they had it brought thither. Now, through the sympathy and exhortation of the patriarch to the the rulers, these men were not deemed worthy of punishment and tortures, which they merited, but of forgiveness, receiving only the following as retribution and penalty: to go every year on the feast of Orthodoxy with lamps from the holy sanctuary of the Mother of God in Blachernae to the divine and renowned church of Wisdom and to hear resounding their own ears the anathema against them on account of their enmity for the divine images. And this was manifestly observed for a long time, so long as they were given to live. Thus did this heresy which had attained considerable increase come at last to such an end through God: the divine forms of the holy images shone forth, not modelled or worshipped by us as gods in accordance with those men's unbridled tongues, but somehow conveying, in relative and reverential wise, our reverence through them unto the prototypes.

11. Now once, whilst celebrating this feast with pleasure, Theodora gave a banquet at the same time for the collective body of the Church in the palace of the quarter of Karianos, which, as was said by us earlier, Theophilus had rebuilt for his daughters. No one of the priests or confessors was absent. Amongst their number was also Theophanes of Smyrna and his brother Theodore. After the banqueting had run its course and it was time to partake of sweetmeats and cakes, because the empress was staring constantly, observing and bewailing the lettering on the fathers' foreheads, it happened that somehow, as if by argeement, their eyes met and they looked at her as she stared at them. When they asked 'What, O empress, is the reason for your constant gazing at us?', she said she was amazed 'by your endurance of the let-

ἀπήνειαν εἰς ὑμᾶς. καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης Θεοφάνης μηδὲν εὐλαβηθείς τε καὶ τῶν προησφαλισμένων διανοηθεὶς "ὑπὲρ ταύτης", ἔφησε, "τῆς γραφῆς εὖ μάλα τρανῶς ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀδεκάστῳ δικαστηρίῳ σφοδρότερον διαδικάσομαι σὺν τῷ ἀνδρί σου καὶ βασιλεῖ". τούτῳ περίλυπος γενομένη, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ σύνδακρυς "καὶ ταῦτα", ἔφησεν ἡ βασίλεια, "ἡ ὑπόσχεσις καὶ αἱ δἰ ἐγγράφων ὁμολογίαι ὑμῶν, ὡς μὴ μόνον συγκεχωρηκέναι ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀγῶ|νας ἐνάγειν τε καὶ καλεῖν;" "οὔ", φησιν ὁ πατριάρχης αὐθωρὸν f. 55 ἀναστὰς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἱερέων, "βασίλεια, οὔ· ἀλλ' ἕξει βεβαίως τὰ ἡμέτερα, τῆς ὀλιγωρίας τούτων λογιζομένης <εἰς> οὐδέν". οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐσιγάσθη ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθη ἀκύμαντα.

12. Καὶ ἑτέρα δέ τις αἵρεσις ἡ οὕτω τῶν Ζηλίκων λεγομένη ἀναφανεῖσα, σὺν τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀρχηγῷ Ζήλικι μὲν ὀνομαζομένῳ, φέροντι δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀσηκρητῶν ἐν πρώτοις τιμήν, ἐθεραπεύθη τε καὶ πρὸς θεοσέβειαν μετηνέχθη ἐν προόδῳ βασιλικῇ, τῆς τοῦ μύρου μόνου | μετὰ καινῶν B 162 ἐμφωτίων τε καὶ ἐσθημάτων καταξιωθέντων χρίσεως τῶν ἀντιποιουμένων αὐτῆς, καὶ τελειωθέντων λαμπρῶς.

13. Ὅ γε μὴν ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας – Βώγωρις οὗτος ἦν – θρασύτερον ἐξεφέρετο γυναῖκα τῆς βασιλείας κρατεῖν διακηκοώς· ὅθεν καί τινας ἀγγέλους ἀπέστελλεν πρὸς αὐτήν, τὰς συνθήκας λέγων καταλύειν καὶ κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύειν γῆς. ἀλλ' αὕτη μηδὲν θῆλυ ἐννοοῦσα καὶ ἄνανδρον "καὶ ἐμέ", αὐτῷ κατεμήνυεν, "κατὰ σοῦ εὑρήσεις ἀντιστρατεύουσαν. καὶ ἐλπίζω μὲν κυριεῦσαί σου· εἰ δ' – ὃ μὴ γένηται – ἐκνικήσεις με, καὶ οὕτω σου περιέσομαι, τὴν νίκην ἀρίδηλον ἔχουσα· γυναῖκα γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνδρα ἕξεις τὸν ἡττηθέντα σοι". διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἔμεινεν, μηδὲν τολμήσας *νεανιεύσασθαι*, καὶ τὰς τῆς ἀγάπης αὖθις ἀνενέου σπονδάς.

13.9–10 : renovatio foederis cum Bulgaris ca. a. 852 in initio regni chagani Bogoris

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Cap. 12: Gen 60.84–88 | PsSym 654.6–11; Scyl 89.37–41 Cap. 13: Gen 61.89–4 | PsSym 664.5–13; Scyl 90.42–49

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14 εὐμάλα V 15 σφοδρότερον om. edd 17 συνδάκρυς V 17 ταῦτα : αὕτη Scyl 89.29, cf. PsSym 653.21 αὗται αἱ… ὑποσχέσεις 18 ἐγραφων V 19 τε om. edd 20 βάσιλεια V 21 <εἰς> add. Boor e PsSym 654.3 22 ἔθη V edd Boor : ἐτηρήθη coni. Boor in app. : ἐσώθη coni. Bekk in app. 22 post ἀκύμαντα add. διέμεινεν Boor e PsSym 654.5 **12.**1 ἡ om. edd 2 Ζήλικι Boor e Gen 60.85 et PsSym 654.7 Ζηλίκων : Ζήλι V : Ζῆλι edd 2 μὲν om. edd 3 ἀσηκρήτων edd 5 καινῶν ἐμφωτίων τε καὶ ἐσθημάτων V PsSym 654.10 : καινῶν τε καὶ ἐμφωτίων ἐσθημάτων coni. Boor in app., cf. Gen 60. 87–88 ἐμφωτίοις ἐσθῆσιν 5 καταξιωθέντων edd Boor : καταξιωθέντες V **13.**3 ἀπέσταλκεν edd 4 αὕτη Boor : αὔτη V : αὐτὴ edd 5 καὶ : ἢ edd 5 κατὰ σοῦ V : κατ' αὐτοῦ B edd 6 ἐλπίζω μὲν Bekk Boor : ἐλπίζωμεν V : ἐλπίζομεν B Comb 6 κυριεῦσαι σου V 6 εἰ δ' ὃ μὴ : εἰ δὲ μὴ B edd 6 post γένηται add. καὶ edd (ὃ μὴ γένοιτο dubitanter coni. Kamb) 8 τὸν om. edd 8 διατοῦτο V 9 *νεανιεύεσθαι* edd

tering and the cruelty of him who did this to you.' And the blessed Theophanes, showing no reverence nor bearing in mind the covenants previously made, said 'On account of this inscription shall I dispute all the more clearly with your husband and emperor, very harshly, before the impartial court of God.' At this the empress grew sad, and also tearful, and she said, 'So, is this your promise and agreement in writing: not only not to have forgiven, but also to bring suit and issue summons?' 'No empress,' said the patriarch, getting up forthwith with the rest of the priests, 'No. Our words shall stand fast, whereas the contemptuousness of these men shall be considered as naught.' Thus was nothing more heard of these things and the customs of the Church were left undisturbed.

12. And yet another heretical sect which had sprung up, called that of the Zelikoi, together with its chief, named Zelix, who held office amongst the foremost of the a secretis, was healed and brought over to godliness in an imperial procession, its adherents receiving only unction of the myrrhon, with new baptismal tunics and garments, and being thus splendidly brought to perfection in the faith.

13. Now the ruler of Bulgaria – this was Bogoris – comported himself with great insolence when he heard that a woman reigned over the empire. He therefore sent certain messengers to her, saying that he was breaking his treaties and leading an army against the land of the Romans. But the empress, thinking no feminine or unmanly thoughts, informed him, 'You shall find me, too, leading an army, against you. I hope to gain mastery over you; but if – Heaven forbid! – you should vanquish me, even so shall I surpass you, receiving conspicuous victory, for you shall have defeated a woman and not a man.' Bogoris therefore remained quiet, daring no insolent action, and renewed once again the treaties of friendship.

14. Καὶ δὴ ζήτησίν τινα καὶ πολλὴν ἔρευναν περί τινος μοναχοῦ οὕτω καλουμένου Θεοδώρου, τὸ ἐπίκλην Κουφαρᾶ, εἴτε ἔκ τινων ὀνειράτων καὶ ὄψεως εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως πως, πρὸ πολλοῦ αἰχμαλωτισθέντος ἡ Θεοδώρα πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Βουλγαρίας ἐποίει, καὶ αὐτὸν ἠξίου διὰ γραμμάτων ἀνερευνῆσαι καὶ τιμῆς ὅσης καὶ βούλοιτο ἀπολυτρώσασθαι τοῦτον αὐτῇ. ἠξίου δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ἀφορμὴν ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν περὶ οἰκείας αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύειν ἀδελφῆς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὲν αἰχμαλωτισθείσης ποτέ, κατεχομένης δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλῇ. αὕτη δὴ οὖν πρὸς τὴν πίστιν καλῶς μετενεχθεῖσα καὶ γράμματα κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰχμα|λωσίας B 163 παιδευθεῖσα καιρόν, καὶ ἄλλως τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τάξιν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον αἰδῶ τε καὶ δό|ξαν, f. 55v ὡς ἔστιν, θαυμάζουσα διαφερόντως, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐπανόδου τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τετύχηκεν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἐκθειάζουσά τε καὶ παρακαλοῦσα καὶ σπέρματα καταβάλλουσα τῆς πίστεως πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ – ἦν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου Κουφαρᾶ μικρά τινα παιδευθεὶς καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων κατηχηθεὶς – τοῦτον μὲν ἀποστείλας τὴν οἰκείαν ἐλάμβανε μισθὸν ἀδελφήν· πλὴν ἔμενεν ὅπερ ἦν, ἀπιστίᾳ κατισχημένος καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ θρησκείαν τιμῶν. ἀλλά τις πληγὴ ἐπιπεσοῦσα θεήλατος – λιμὸς δὲ ἦν, οὕτω μᾶλλον τῶν παχυτέρων καὶ γαιωδεστέρων, ὡς ἔοικεν, μεταπαιδευομένων καὶ τὰ κακὰ μεταμανθανόντων – τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπολιόρκει καὶ κατέτρυχεν γῆν. καὶ ὃς θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ἠνάγκαζεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄμυναν τῶν δεινῶν, τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοδώρου μὲν πολλάκις καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς θαυμαζόμενόν τε καὶ σεβόμενον, ὡς εἰκός. τυχόντες γοῦν τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν δεινῶν, οὕτω δὴ πρὸς θεοσέβειαν μετατίθεται καὶ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καταξιοῦται· καὶ Μιχαὴλ κατονομάζεται κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως παρὰ τοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποσταλέντος ἀρχιερέως ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων.

15. Καί τι δὲ τοιοῦτον ἐπισυμβῆναι φασίν, ὡς ἔρωτα δεινὸν περὶ τὴν κυνηγεσίαν τὸν Βώγωριν ἄρχοντα κεκτημένον ταῦτα καὶ κατά τινα οἶκον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ συνεχῶς ἀφικνεῖτο, θελῆσαι ἐξιστορῆσαι, νύκτωρ ὡς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ μεθ' | B 164 ἡμέραν τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐντρυφήματα. ὡς γοῦν

14.24–26 : ca. a. 864–866 Bogoris chaganus Bulgarorum in baptismate nomen Michael assumpsit, cf. infra IV.15 **15**.18 : de baptismate Bogoris, cf. supra IV.14

Cap. 14: GeorgCont (Istrin) 8.19–27; Gen 69.42–52; Log A 243.215–223 ❙ PsSym 664.13–665.2, 665.11–18; Scyl 90.50–91.70 Cap. 15: ❙ PsSym 665.18–666.7; Scyl 91.70–92.3

14.1 ζήτησιν τινὰ V 2 τοῦ ἐπίκλην edd 3 ὄψεως : fortasse legendum ὄψεων 3 καὶ om. edd 3 πῶς V 3 προπολλοῦ V 6 τῆς οἰκείας Boor e Scyl 90.53 et PsSym 664.15 11 ἔστιν : εἰκὸς coni. Bekk in app. 13 παρὰ καλοῦσα V 14 καὶ om. edd 17 περιπεσοῦσα edd 19 μεταπεδευομένων V 22 τυχόντες : τυχών τε Boor, sed cf. Scyl 91.66 τυχόντες 23 οὖν edd 24 παλιν|γενεσίας V **15.**1 φὰ|σι V 2 κατὰ τινα V

14. And either because of certain dreams and visions, or for some other reason, Theodora had the ruler of Bulgaria make an enquiry and earnest search for a monk called Theodore, by surname Koupharas, who had been taken captive long before, and solicited him in a letter to search him out and to release him to her for whatever price he might want. And Bogoris also solicited, taking this as an occasion to negotiate on behalf of a sister of his who had once been taken captive by the Romans and was now being held at the court of the emperor. Now, this sister had been happily brought over to the faith and had learned to read during the time of her captivity and, besides this, she particularly admired, as it happens, the Christians' order as well as their awe and honour for the Godhead; and when she obtained her return to her brother, she did not cease inspiring and pleading and sowing the seeds of faith in him. As for Bogoris, who had been taught somewhat and instructed in the Mysteries by the aforesaid Koupharas, he sent him off and received his sister as reward; however, he remained as he was, possessed by disbelief and holding in honour his own religion. But a plague came down, sent by God – famine it was, especially amongst the coarser and more rustic men who are thus, as is fitting, re-educated and unlearn their evil ways – and besieged and exhausted his land. Bogoris then required that prayer for warding off dangers should be made to the God often held in wonder and revered by Theodore and his sister, as was fitting. And when they had obtained deliverance from dangers, he was thus converted to piety and deemed worthy of the font of rebirth; and he was re-named Michael after the name of the emperor by the hierarch sent to him from the Queen of cities.

15. And they also say that such a thing came to pass: that the ruler Bogoris was possessed of a terrible passion for the hunt and desired to have this depicted in one of his houses where he continually went, so that he might have by night and by day such delights for his eyes. When, therefore, such a desire came over him, he summoned a certain monk from amongst us Romans who

ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτὸν ἔρως ὑπεισῆλθεν, μετακαλεῖται μοναχόν τινα τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαίων ζωγράφον· Μεθόδιος ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρί. τοῦτον οὖν στάντα κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔκ τινος θείας προνοίας οὐ τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀνδροκτασίας ἢ τὰς ζῴων καὶ θηρίων ἐπικελεῦσαι γράψειν σφαγάς, ἀλλ᾽ ἃ βούλοιτο, τοῦτο μόνον ἐπειπὼν ὡς εἰς φόβον τοὺς ὁρῶντας ἐκ τῆς θέας ἐνάγεσθαι βούλοιτο καὶ ἅμα παρακαλεῖσθαι πρὸς ἔκπληξιν ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς. μηδὲν γοῦν οὗτος πρὸς φόβον ἕτερον ἐνάγειν ἢ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δευτέραν εἰδὼς παρουσίαν, ταύτην ἐκεῖσε καθυπέγραψεν, καὶ τοὺς δικαίους | ἐντεῦθεν τὰ f. 56 βραβεῖα τῶν πόνων ἀπολαμβάνοντας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς πεπλημμεληκότας τοὺς τῶν βεβιωμένων δρεπομένους καρποὺς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπειλημένην κόλασιν ἀπελαυνομένους τε καὶ ἀποπεμπομένους σφοδρῶς. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν, ἐπειδὴ πέρας ἔσχεν ἡ γραφή, κατιδών, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον ἐν ἑαυτῷ συλλαβὼν καὶ κατηχηθεὶς τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς θεῖα μυστήρια, νυκτῶν ἀωρὶ τοῦ θείου μεταλαγχάνει βαπτίσματος. ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καταφανὴς γεγονὼς τὴν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ καθυφίσταται ἐπανάστασιν, οὓς καὶ μετά τινων ὀλίγων καταπολεμήσας, τὸν τοῦ θείου τύπον σταυροῦ ἐν κόλποις περιάγων αὐτοῦ, τοὺς καταλοίπους οὐκέτι κρύφα, πάντας δὲ ἀναφανδὸν ἐποίησε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας Χριστιανούς. ἐπεὶ γοῦν μετετέθη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν, γράφει δὴ πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν περὶ γῆς στενούμενος πλήθει τῷ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἀξιοῖ περὶ ταύτης παρρησιαστικώτερον ὡς ἤδη ἓν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δύο ὄντων αὐτῶν, πίστει τε καὶ φι|λίᾳ συνδεθέντων τῇ ἀρραγεῖ, καὶ ἑαυ- B 165 τὸν ὑποθήσειν καθυπισχνεῖτο καὶ εἰρήνην ἐργάσασθαι ἀΐδιόν τε καὶ ἀδιάπτωτον. ἡ δὲ εὐμενῶς τε ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ δέδωκεν ἐρήμην οὖσαν τηνικαῦτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σιδηρᾶς, ταύτης δὴ τότε ὅριον τυγχανούσης Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ αὐτῶν, ἄχρι τῆς Δεβελτοῦ, ἥτις οὕτω καλεῖται Ζάγωρα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἅπασα ἡ Βουλγαρία πρὸς εὐσέβειαν μετερρυθμίσθη, θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν μετακαλεσαμένου γνῶσιν αὐτοὺς [καὶ οὕτω] ἐκ μικρῶν σπινθήρων τε καὶ πληγῶν· καὶ οὕτω γῆς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἄλλης τινὸς ἐπαγγελίας ἀξιωθέντες πρὸς κοινωνίαν ἄρρηκτον καθυπέβαλλον ἑαυτούς.

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5 ἐπεισῆλθεν edd 5 μοναχὸν τινὰ V 6 Ῥωμαῖον coni. Boor in app. e Scyl 91.74–75 Ῥωμαῖον τὸ γένος, ζωγράφον τὴν τέχνην 10 μὴ δὲν V 11 θεοῦ : Χριστοῦ Scyl 91.79 13 βραβεία V 14 ἠπειλημένην edd Boor 15 σφόδρῶς V 16 εἶχεν edd 21 οὐκ ἔτι V 21 πάντας Boor e PsSym 665.22 : πάντα V edd 22 χριανούς V 22 μετετέθει V 23 στενουμένῳ coni. Boor in app., cf. Scyl 91.91 στενοχωρουμένων τῶν ὑφ᾽ αὑτὸν (ὑπὸ αὐτὸν AB) et PsSym f 249v διὰ τὸ στενοῦσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τὸ πλῆθος (πλῆθος om. 666.1–2) ἑαυτοῦ 23 πλήθει ante στενούμενος edd 24 περὶ : παρὰ edd 24 παρρησιαστηκώτερον V 27 ἔρημην V 29 Ζάγορα edd : Ζαγορὰν Scyl 92.1 : Ζαγόρια PsSym 666.7 30 ἅπασα V 31 μετερυθμίσθη V 31 ἠκείαν V 31 καὶ οὕτω (οὕτως edd) secl. Boor ut e sequentibus hic intrusum 34 καθυπέβαλον edd Boor

was a painter; and the man's name was Methodios. And as this latter stood before him, by some divine providence, he commanded him to depict not the slaughter of men in battle or killing of animals and wild beasts, but whatever he wanted, adding only that he wanted those who beheld to be frightened at the sight and brought to consternation by the depiction. The monk, then, knowing of nothing else than the Second Coming to excite fear, depicted this there, with the Righteous on one side receiving the rewards of their toils, and on the other side those who had sinned, reaping the fruits of what they had done during their lives and being driven off and dispatched harshly to the threatened punishment. Seeing this, when the depiction was finished, Bogoris was thereby seized within himself by the fear of God and instructed in our divine Mysteries, and at dead of night he partook of divine baptism. But once it became known that he had done this, he was faced with insurrection from amongst all his people. Having defeated these in war with the help of a certain few, bearing the form of the divine cross on his breast he caused the others to become willing Christians, no longer in secret but all openly. When, therefore, he had been converted to godliness, he wrote to the empress in his constraint for land on account of the multitude of his people, and he asked for this with more boldness in as much as they were now one, not two, being bound by faith and indissoluble friendship, and he promised to submit himself and to make eternal and unfailing peace. The empress heard him with favour and granted him the then empty land from the Iron Gate, then the border between him and the Romans, up to Debeltos, which is called by them Zagora. Thus all of Bulgaria was brought over to piety, God having summoned them to knowlegde of Himself through both tiny sparks and through plagues; and thus deemed worthy of the land of the Romans, like some other Promised Land, they submitted themselves in fellowship not to be broken.

16. Εἶχε μὲν οὖν οὕτω τὰ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν λαμπρῶς τε καὶ ἐτεθρύλητο πανταχοῦ. ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀγαλλομένη ἐκείνη, καὶ οἷον τρόπαια ἐπιθεῖναι μείζω δι᾽ ἐφέσεως ἔχουσα, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν Παυλικιάνους ἐπειρᾶτο ἢ μετάγειν ὡς βούλοιτο πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἢ ἐξαίρειν καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖν· ὃ καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐνέπλησεν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πέμψασά τινας τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας – ὁ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Δουκὸς καὶ ὁ Σουδάλης οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ἐλέγοντο – τοὺς μὲν ξύλῳ ἀνήρτων, τοὺς δὲ ξίφει παρεδίδουν, τοὺς δὲ τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης | βυθῷ. f.56v ὡσεὶ δέκα μυριάδες ὁ οὕτως ἀπολλύμενος ἠριθμεῖτο λαός, καὶ ἡ ὕπαρξις αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλικῷ ταμείῳ ἤγετο καὶ εἰσεκομίζετο. ὑπῆρχεν οὖν τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν – Θεόδοτος οὗτος ἦν ὁ κατὰ τὸν Με|λισσηνὸν – ἀνήρ τις εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν B 166 καταριθμούμενος, Καρβέας ὀνόματι, τὴν τοῦ πρωτομανδάτωρος πληρῶν ἀρχήν, τῇ πίστει τῶν εἰρημένων τούτων Παυλικιάνων ἐγκαυχώμενός τε καὶ σεμνυνόμενος. ὡς οὖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οὗτος ἀκήκοε πατέρα ἀνηρτῆσθαι τῷ ξύλῳ, πέρα δεινῶν τοῦθ᾽ ἡγησάμενος καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ προοικονομῶν φυγὰς μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων πέντε χιλιάδων τῆς τοιαύτης κεκοινωνηκότων αἱρέσεως πρὸς τὸν τὴν Μελιτηνὴν τηνικαῦτα κατέχοντα Ἄμερα γίνεται, κἀκεῖθεν πρὸς τὸν ἀμεραμνουνῆ παραγίνονται μετὰ πολλῆς ἀποδεχθέντες τιμῆς. καὶ λόγον ἀσφαλείας δόντες τε καὶ λαβόντες ὁμοίως ἐξέρχονται μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς, καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἕνεκεν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς πολυπληθίαν ἐνεδίδοσαν, πόλεις τε κτίζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν αὐτοῖς, τὴν οὕτω καλουμένην Ἀργαοῦν <καὶ τὴν Ἄμαραν>, καὶ αὖθις πολλῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐπιρρεόντων τῇ αὐτῇ κακίᾳ ἐνισχημένων καὶ ἑτέραν κτίζειν κατάρχουσι, Τεφρικὴν ταύτην κατονομάσαντες· ἀφ᾽ ὧν ὁρμῶντες καὶ πολλοὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ γινόμενοι, ὅ τε τῆς Μελιτηνῆς Ἄμερ, ὃν οὕτω πως συμφθείροντες τὰ στοιχεῖα Ἄμβρον ἐκάλεσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ὁ τῆς Ταρσοῦ Ἀλὴς καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος Καρβέας ὁ δείλαιος, οὐκ ἔληγον αὐθαδῶς τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λυμαινόμενοι

16.16–17 : ca. a. 843–844 Carbeas ad Melitenem fugit

Cap. 16: Petrus Historia §§184–185; Photius Contra Man. §§144–149 | Scyl 92.4–93.44

16.2 οἷς B edd Boor : ἧς V 2 μεῖζω V 3 δὴ ἐφέσεως coni. Boor in app. 3 Παυλικιανοὺς edd 3 ἢ om. B edd 4 ἐξαιρεῖν Bekk 5 ἢ V 6 πέμψασα τινὰς V 6 cf. Scyl 92.11 ὁ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ δὲ ἦν Λέων καὶ ὁ τοῦ Δουκὸς Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ ὁ Σουδάλης 8 παρεδίδων V 9 ταμιείῳ, post quod lacunam statuerant edd 11 Μελισσηνὸν Bekk Boor e Scyl 92.18 : Μελισηνὸν V Comb 13 Παυλικιανῶν edd 15 δεινὸν καὶ πέρα δεινῶν coni. Boor in app., cf. infra IV.44.29 15 προσοικονομῶν B edd 16 τῆς : τοῖς V 16 κεκηνωνηκότων V 17 τὴν Μελιτινὴν V, sed cf. Scyl 92.23 Μελιτηνῆς : τῆς Μελιτινῆς edd 17 κατάρχοντα edd 18 post μετὰ add. δὲ edd 18 ὑποδεχθέντες dubitanter coni. Kamb 19 ἀσφάλείας V 20 τῶν om. edd 20 ἕνεκεν V 21 ἐπεδίδοσαν coni. Bekk in app., cf. Scyl 93.27 22 <καὶ τὴν Ἄμαραν> nos e Scyl 93.26 (Ἀμάραν edd e Cedreno) 23 ἐνισχημμένων V 24 καὶ om. edd 25 Μελιτινῆς V edd 25 πῶς V 26 Ἀλῆς edd 27 ὁ ante Καρβέας edd

16. Thus affairs in the West proceeded in a splendid way and were the common talk everywhere. The empress rejoiced in this, and as if desiring to set up a greater trophy, she made an attempt also on the Paulicians in the east, either to convert them to piety, as she wished, or else to do away with and wipe them out from mankind; and this brought many evils upon our land. For she sent certain men of rank with authority – those dispatched were called the son of Argyros, the son of Doux and Soudales – and they hung some Paulicians on the furca, others they gave over to the sword and yet others to the depths of the sea. The host thus destroyed numbered some hundred thousand, and their property was given over and paid into the imperial treasury. Now, amongst the servitors of the general of the Anatoliacs – this was Theodotos of the family of Melissenos – there was a certain man by the name of Karbeas who held the office of protomandator and who prided himself and exulted in the faith of these aforesaid Paulicians. When he heard that his own father had been hung on the furca he considered this the most terrible of things and, taking thought for his own life, he fled as a refugee together with another five thousand adherents of this heresy to Amer who then occupied Melitene, and from there they went to the ameramnounes and were received with great honour. And having given and likewise received guarantees, they soon set out against the land of the Romans; and on account of their victories, when their numbers had increased, they endeavoured to found cities for themselves, one called Argaoun, <and also Amara>. And again, after many who held fast to the same wickedness had streamed in there, they undertook to found another, calling it Tephrike. Setting out from these cities and assembling together, Amer of Melitene, whom the vulgar, somehow jumbling the letters, called Ambros, and Ales of Tarsus and also the wretched Karbeas, were unrelenting in their willful devastation of the land of the Romans. But Ales, who was dispatched as ruler of some country of the Armenians, ended his life there

γῇ. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Ἀλὴς ἔν τινι τῶν Ἀρμενίων χώρᾳ ἄρχειν ἀποσταλεὶς ἐκεῖσε θᾶττον ἢ βουλῆς εἶχε, τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε σὺν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀκαίρῳ στρατῷ· ὁ δὲ Ἄμερ μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος αὐτοῦ – τοῦ Σκληροῦ οὗτος ἐλέγετο – εἰς ἐμφύλιον στὰς πόλεμον ἐκ φιλονεικίας ἐφθείρετό τε καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄλ|λοις πολεμεῖν ᾤετο δεῖν. εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ τούτοις ἡ ἔρις B 167 ἐπηύξητο καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντεστρατήγουν, ἄχρις ἂν εἰς δέκα μόλις ἔληγεν χιλιάδας ἡ τούτων ἰσχὺς ἐκ πεντήκοντά που καὶ μικρόν τι πρός. ἐπεὶ γοῦν οὗτος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπερίσχυσεν, ἔγνω αὖθις θρασύτητι καταστρατηγούμενος κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα κινεῖν τῷ Καρβέᾳ ἑνούμενος. ἀντεστρατεύετο δὲ αὐτοῖς Πετρωνᾶς, τὴν τοῦ δομεστίκου τότε ἀρχὴν διοικῶν· λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Βάρδα ταύτην δι|έπειν ἐδέδοτο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ μὴ f.57 σχολάζειν οὗτος ἠναγκάζετο ὡς ἐπίτροπος, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἠξίου, στρατηγὸν ὄντα κατὰ τὸν Θρᾳκήσιον, πράγματι ταύτην διέπειν καὶ διοικεῖν.

17. Πλὴν ἀνθορμᾶν κατὰ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καὶ ἀντεπεξιέναι καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ βασιλεὺς – ἤδη γὰρ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραμείψας πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἠπείγετο – ἐβούλετό τε καὶ δι᾽ ἐπιθυμίας εἶχεν ἀεί. ἔγνω δέ πως ταῦτα βουλευόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πρότερον, ὡς οὐκ ὤφειλεν, ἐναπάρξασθαι, οὐκ οἴκοθεν οὐδ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, τῇ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος Βάρδα γνώμῃ τε καὶ βουλῇ· ὅθεν δὲ καὶ ὅπως, δηλώσει καὶ ταῦτα ἡ ἱστορία. κωφὸν γὰρ τῷ ὄντι πως καὶ διάκενον τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἱστορίας, ὅταν ἐστερημένας ἔχῃ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν πράξεων. ἀλλ᾽ ἔνθα μὲν καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καλῶς οὐ διέγνωσται, συγγνώμην πάντως οἱ φιλομαθεῖς ἀπονέμοιεν τοῖς ἀληθεῖς ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πλασματώδεις γρά|φειν ἐθέλουσιν, ὧν B 168 οὐδὲ τῷ τυχόντι ἀπορία καθέστηκεν, ὅπου δὲ γνώριμος, δηλοῦν ταύτην καὶ σαφῆ καθιστᾶν τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοθεν πάντως ἢ ἐκ τούτων χορηγουμένης τῆς ὠφελείας αὐτοῖς.

16.28–30 : a. 851 Ali ibn Yaha al–Armani, ut emirus Tarsi iam constat; postea a. 862 praeses Armeniae designatus est, ubi paulo post, forte a. 863 in proelio cum Byzantinis, occidit 37 : tempus haec expeditionis Petronae contra Amer et Carbeam dubium est, fortasse a. 856 sive 859 **17**.2–3 : 9–10 Ian. a. 854 Michael quartum decimum annum iniit

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Cap. 17: | Scyl 93.44–49

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28 γῇ ante λυμαινόμενοι edd 28 Ἀλῆς B edd 30 ὁ τοῦ Scyl 93.34 30 οὕτως edd 31 στᾶς V 34 χιάδας V 34 μικρίν τι V 36 τῶν : τὴν edd 37 Πετρονᾶς V 38 τῷ om. edd 38 μὴ om. edd 40 κατὰ τὸν Θρᾳκήσιον : τῶν Θρᾳκησίων edd, cf. Scyl 93.43 **17.**1 πλὴν – ἀντεπεξιέναι ad finem cap. 16 inclusit Boor 2 ἤδη : ἄρτι edd Boor 4 ὤφείλεν V 8 ὅ τὰν V 8 ἔχει edd 9 δειέγνωσται V 10 τοῖς Bekk : τοὺς V Comb 11 δηλοῦν δεῖ Bekk : <δεῖ> δηλοῦν Boor, qui ante ὅπου distinxit 12 σαφῆ καθιστᾶν edd : σαφοικαθιστᾶν V

sooner than he planned together with his ill-suited army; and Amer stood in civil war against his joint ruler – who was called the son of Skleros – and overcome by rivalry he thought it necessary to make war on him rather than others. The strife between them increased and they made war on each other to such an extent that from somewhat more than fifty thousand scarcely ten thousand men remained of their forces. When, therefore, Amer had overcome his enemies, he decided again with arrogance to take command and wage war against the Romans, joining forces with Karbeas. Against them Petronas took the field, who then exercised the office of domestikos. Officially, Bardas had been charged to perform this function, but because as imperial guardian he could not, of necessity, spare the time, he asked his brother, who was general of the Thrakesian theme, to direct and manage it in practice.

17. Now, the emperor Michael wished always and was eager to set out and march against the Ishmaelites, for he had already left the age of childhood and strove for that of manhood. Though formerly advised by his kinsmen that he should not do this, he somehow took the decision to make a beginning, not on his own or by himself, but on the counsel and advice of his guardian Bardas; and our history will show why and how. For History's body is indeed insensate and empty when it lacks the reasons for acts. Where we cannot judge properly, because of the elapsed time, the learned will surely make allowance for us who wish to write true, but not fictitious reasons – which anyone has in abundance – where, however, the reason is recognisable, to demonstrate this and make it clear to the readers, in as much as benefit is afforded them surely from nowhere else but from these reasons.

18. Ἐγένετο δὴ τούτῳ τῷ Βάρδᾳ ἔρως τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἀγεννής, καὶ ἔρως οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, νῦν μὲν αὐξανόμενος νῦν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ λογισμοῦ ὁρμαῖς προσεπικοπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ δύσερώς τις καὶ δυσαπάλλακτος. μᾶλλον δέ, ἵνα πορρωτέρω τὸν λόγον ἀγάγωμεν, ἐγένετο δὴ τῷ Μανουὴλ πρὸς τὸν Θεόκτιστον, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιτροπεύουσι καὶ αὐτοῦ που κατὰ τὰ ἀνάκτορα διαιτωμένοις, διαφορά τις, ἣ καὶ καθοσίωσιν ἐπεκάλει, καὶ λάθρα ταχέως εἶχεν ὑπολαλουμένην αὐτῷ. ταύτην δὴ ὁ Μανουὴλ εὐλαβούμενος, καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ δυσκαταγώνιστον ἐνορῶν, ᾠήθη δεῖν τοῦτον ἀκρωτηριάσαι καὶ καθελεῖν, εἰ μόνον γένοιτο πορρωτέρω τοῦ παλατίου. <καὶ> δὴ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κάτεισι κατὰ τὴν Ἄσπαρον ὄντα, ὃν καὶ εἰς σεμνείου τόπον ὕστερον ἐνηγάγετο καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐκεῖσε κατέθετο. ἐκεῖθεν γοῦν ἑκάστοτε ἀφικνούμενος κοινωνὸς ἐγίνετο τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἀνάκτορα διοικήσεων. τοῦτον οὕτως οὐ δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ Θεοκτίστου ἀποσεισάμενος ὁ Βάρδας, ταὐτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀποφορτισάμενος, καὶ τὴν τύχην λαβὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ | σπουδαζόμενον κοινωνόν, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκέτι δι᾽ ἑτέρου δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ δὲ διανύσαι τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τέως καὶ τὸν Θεόκτιστον καθελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω φορᾶς τοῦτο ἔχοι ἐμπόδιον καὶ ἅμα τὸν πολὺν ὄνειδον τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νύμφῃ αὐτοῦ – καὶ γὰρ ὠνείδιζε τοῦτον διηνεκῶς – ἀπορραπίσοι καὶ πορρωτέρω ποιήσεται. f. 57v

19. Ὑπῆρχε γοῦν τῷ βασιλεῖ Μιχαὴλ παιδαγωγὸς ἀνάγωγός τε καὶ πόρρωθεν τρόπων τῶν εὐγενῶν. τοῦτον ἠξίου ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θεόκτιστον καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἀνωτέρω τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἀναγαγεῖν καὶ μείζονα τούτῳ ἐπιβραβεῦσαι τιμήν. οὐκ ἐπείθετο γοῦν τούτῳ ὁ Θεόκτιστος, οὐδὲ ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἀρεσκείαις ἠβούλετο, ἐπαξίως λέγων ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀναξίως τὰ τῆς βασιλείας δεῖν διοικεῖν. τοῦτον οὖν ὄργανον τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ὁ Βάρδας λαβὼν πονηρὸν οὐκ ἐπαύετο ζιζάνιά τινα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνσπείρων καὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχῇ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεων λέγων, ὡς οὐ καλῶς οἰκονο-

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Cap. 18: GeorgCont (Istrin) 3.4–8; Gen 61.5–19 | Scyl 93.49–94.66. Cap. 19: GeorgCont (Istrin) 6.23–7.13; Gen 61.19–64.83; Log A 240.153–241.178 | PsSym 657.12–18; Scyl 94.66–95.4 || 7–8 cf. Matt 13.25 ἐπέσπειρεν ζιζάνια

18.1 δὴ : δὲ edd 3 δυσαπάλακτος V 4 τὸν λόγον ante πορρωτέρω edd 5 ἀφοτέροις V 5 ἐπιτροπεύουσιν edd 7 ὑπολαλούμενα edd 9 ωήθει V 10 <καὶ> add. edd Boor 11 δὴ κατὰ – ὄντα (ἡ Ἄσπαρος, cf. Patria 88.1): κάτεισι εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν κιστέρναν τοῦ (τὴν Scyl) Ἄσπαρος (Ἄσπαρον Scyl M) edd e Scyl 94.57–58 11 καὶ past ὃν om. edd 11 τόπον V Comb Boor Scyl 94.58 : τύπον Bekk 11 ἐνηγάγετο V B corr. in marg. : ἀνηγάγετο B Bekk in app. : μετηγάγετο Boor e Scyl 94.59 μετεσκεύασε 12 κεινωνὸς V 13 τοῦτον edd Boor : τούτων V 14 ταυτὸν V 16 οὐκ ἔτι V 17 πᾶν : σπᾶν V 17 καὶ om. edd 18 τοῦτον edd Boor **19.**2 τε τὸν coni. Boor in app. : τε καὶ V edd 4 ἐπιβραβεῦσαι V 5 ἐβούλετο Boor in app., sicut ubique in libris I-IV 6 ἀλλ᾽ : καὶ B edd 6 οὖν om. B edd 8 ζιζανια (sic) τινὰ V 9 ἄλλά τε V

18. This Bardas had no little desire for the imperial power, a desire unlike that of others which now increases, now holds itself in check through impulse of reason, but a mad and persistant desire. What is more, so that we may proceed further with our account, Manuel had a falling out with Theoktistos, both being regents <for Michael> and lodging somewhere near the Palace, and this then led to an accusation of lèse-majesté which was quickly whispered secretly in his ear. Being wary of this, and considering envy to be something one could not fight or refute, Manuel thought he might cut off and destroy it if only he moved further away from the Palace. He returned then to his own house which was near the <cistern> of Aspar and which he later converted to the site of a monastery and was laid down in earth there. Coming therefore from thence each time to the Palace he would take part in the administration. Thus disposing of – that is to say, getting rid of – Manuel not by himself but through Theoktistos, Bardas took Fortune as accomplice in reaching his goal. But then he resolved no longer to accomplish everything through another, but by himself and, to to begin with, to destroy Theoktistos, so as not to have this obstacle to his way forward, and also so as to fend off and be rid of the reproach in connexion with his daughter-in-law – for Theoktistos reproached him without ceasing.

19. Now, the emperor Michael had a teacher who was unlearned and far removed from good manners. The emperor asked this same Theoktistos and his mother to advance this man higher in the imperial dignities and grant him a greater office. But Theoktistos was not persuaded by Michael, nor did he allow himself to be satisfied by his obsequious arguments, saying that it was necessary to administer the empire in fitting, not unfitting wise. Using this teacher, then, as an instrument of evil Bardas did not cease sowing tares about this man in his and the emperor's soul, saying also many things concerning the affairs of the public administration, to the effect that they were not being managed properly and that 'Although the empire was left to you in inheritance, this man is removing it far from you, and is making plans for the mar-

μοῦνται, καὶ ὅτι “σοὶ καταλειφθείσης ὡς κληρονομίας τῆς βασιλείας πόρρω σου ταύτην οὗτος ποιεῖ, γάμον τῇ μητρί σου ἢ τῶν ταύτης θυγατέρων μιᾷ ἐμμελετῶν, καὶ σοῦ τοῦ ταύτης υἱοῦ πόρρω που ποιῆσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς”. ταῦτα γοῦν ὡς βέλη πήξας ἐν καρδίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως διήγειρέ τε, καὶ ὅπως μὴ ταῦτα γένοιτο, συνετῆς ἔλεγε δεῖν καὶ ταχίστης βουλῆς. ὡς δὲ πολλάκις περὶ τούτου συνήρχοντο πράγματος, μίαν ταύτην ἐκύρουν γνώμην καὶ ἀπέφαινον τοῦ ἐκ μέσου τὸν Θεόκτιστον ποιῆσαι δολοφονίᾳ τινὶ ἢ ὑπερορίᾳ. ἐδέδοκτο οὖν ταῦτα, καὶ πέρας ἔσπευδε τοῖς | βουλευθεῖσιν ἐπάγειν· τὸ δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ τοῦτον μέλλειν πρὸς B 170
τὸν Λαυσιακὸν ἐξέρχεσθαι μετὰ τὴν <τῶν> ἀναφορῶν διοίκησιν, ἐπακολουθῆσαι μικρὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀνακραγεῖν τὸ “ἐπάρατε αὐτόν” τοῖς πραιποσίτοις. τότε ὁ Βάρδας ἐν τῷ Λαυσιακῷ συνεδρίαζεν. ὡς οὖν ὁ Θεόκτιστος προέκυπτεν ἐξιών, τὸ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ σύνθημα προτρέχον ἅμα καὶ προφθάνον τοῦτον ὁρῶν ἔγνω φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν πραγματεύσασθαι. ἡ φυγὴ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἱππόδρομον κατὰ τὰ Ἀσηκρητεῖα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε τότε τὸ τῶν ἀσηκρητῶν ὑπῆρχε καταγώγιον. | ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὁ εἷς συλληφθεὶς μένειν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ φεύγειν κατη- f.58
ναγκάζετο· καὶ ξίφος ὁ Βάρδας γυμνώσας αὐτοχειρὶ αὐτοὺς οἵτινες εἶεν διακωλύσοντες ἀμυνούμενος ἠπείλει, προσ<τάττων> τὸν φόνον τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρά τινι. ἀλλὰ ψαῦσαι μὲν ἐτόλμησε τούτου τότε οὐδείς, ἀπήγετο δὲ πρὸς τὰ Σκύλα, φρουρᾷ τέως παραδοθησόμενος, μέχρις ἂν τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀποφήναιντο. ὡς δ᾽ οὐ ζῆν δέει τῆς αὐγούστης αὐτὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο, ἵνα μὴ καὶ θᾶττον ἀπολυθῇ, τῶν καθ᾽ ἑταιρείαν τινὰ ἐπαπέστειλαν γυμνὸν ἐπισείοντα ξίφος αὐτῷ. ὡς γοῦν εἶδε ξιφήρη τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατὰ τοῦ σκάμνου οὗτος ὑπέδυ, τὰς λαβὰς βουλόμενος ἐκφυγεῖν· ἀλλ᾽ ἔλαθε κατὰ γαστέρα βληθεὶς καὶ θανάτῳ παραδοθείς, τῶν ἐγκάτων ἐκχυθέντων αὐτοῦ. ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ Μανουὴλ φοιβόληπτος ὥσπερ γενόμενος τῷ Βάρδᾳ καθαρῶς λέγεται ἀνειπεῖν· |

“Ξίφος γυμνώσας εἰς Θεοκτίστου φόνον, B 171
ὅπλιζε σαυτὸν εἰς σφαγὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν”.

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11 τῇ om. edd 13 ἐν <τῇ> καρδίᾳ coni. dubitanter Kamb 14 γένοιντο ante corr. V (ν expunctum, ut vid.) Boor : γένοιτο B edd 14 ἔλεγε V : ἔφασκε B in marg. edd 15 τούτου edd : τούτοῦ V : τοῦ αὐτοῦ Boor e Scyl 94.77 15 post συνήρχοντο add. τοῦ B edd 16 ἐκύρουν γνώμην καὶ ἀπέφαινον τοῦ nos : ἐκύρουν καὶ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνον τοῦ V edd Boor : ἐκύρουν γνώμην καὶ ἀπεραίνοντο coni. Bekk in app. 18 ἔσπευδε edd : ἔπευδε V 18 βουληθεῖσιν edd, sed βουλευθεῖσιν coni. Bekk in app. 19 τῶν add. edd e Scyl 95.80 20 ἐπαράτε V 21 πραιποσίτοῖς V 25 ἀσηκρητία V 25 ἀσηκρήτων edd 27 αὐτοχειρὶ αὐτοὺς nos : αὐτοχειρίᾳ τοὺς V edd Boor 28 εἶεν διακωλύ[σ]οντες vel ἴοιεν διακωλύσοντες coni. dubitanter Kamb 28 διακωλύσοντες ἀμυνόμενος V : διακωλύσοντες ἢ ἀμυνούμενοι coni. Boor in app. e Scyl 95.87 κωλύσειν ἢ βοηθήσειν 28 προστάττων Comb : πρὸς V : ante πρὸς lacunam statuit Boor 29 χεῖρα τινὶ V 30 Σκῦλα edd 32 καὶ μὴ B edd 32 ἐξαπέστειλαν edd 33 ὡς δ᾽ οὖν edd 33 post ἄνθρωπον add. ἐπιόντα edd e Scyl 95.92 34 κάτω τοῦ σκάμνου vel κατὰ τὸν σκάμνον coni. dubitanter Kamb 35 βληθεὶς : πληγεὶς edd e Scyl 95.93 37 ἂν εἰπεῖν V

riage of your mother or one of her daughters and to deprive you her son of your eyes.' Driving these things like arrows into the emperor's heart and rousing him, he said that there was need of wise and most speedy counsel, lest these things should come to pass. After they had come together many times comcerning this matter they made up their minds and decided upon getting rid of Theoktistos by some sort of murder or banishment. It was resolved, therefore, to do this, and there was haste to carry out the plan. This latter was the following: as Theoktistos was about to go out towards the Lausiakos, after controlling the official reports, the emperor was to follow a little after him and to shout to the praepositi simply: 'Seize him.' Bardas was then sitting in council in the Lausiakos. Now, as Theoktistos emerged he saw Michael's standard, which preceded and arrived before the latter, and he judged it prudent to seek safety in flight. His flight was toward the [Covered] Hippodrome by way of the Asekreteia, for at that time the lodging of the a secretis was there. But being one apprehended by many he was constrained to stay and not flee; and drawing his sword Bardas threatened that he would requite with murder whoever might hinder the action, <commanding> one of the men in his service to commit the murder. But no one then dared touch Theoktistos, and he was brought to the Skyla, to be kept under guard until it was decided what should be done with him. When, out of fear of the empress, they had decided that he should not live, lest he should be released straightway, they sent one of the members of the Hetaireia brandishing a bare sword against him. And when he saw the man with the sword, Theoktistos crawled under the bench, wishing to flee the blows. But he failed and was struck in the belly and given over to death, with his entrails spilling out. Whereupon, Manuel, as if possessed by Phoebus, is said to have proclaimed clearly to Bardas:

'Having drawn the sword for Theoktistos's murder
Arm yourself day by day for slaughter.'

20. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Θεόκτιστος οὕτω τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἀπείληφεν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ὁ Βάρδας τὴν τοῦ κανικλείου φροντίδα τε καὶ τιμὴν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνελάμβανεν· ἡ δὲ δὴ Θεοδώρα τούτων ὡς ᾔσθετο, λυσίκομος δὴ θέουσα, πολλὰ κατολοφυρομένη ἀνέκλαεν καὶ ὀδυρμῶν τὰ βασίλεια ἐπλήρου, ἀραῖς ἀμφοτέρους καθυποβάλλουσα καὶ "ὦ ἀναιδεῖς καὶ παμμίαροι", λέγουσα, "θῆρες. τί σὺ μέν, ἀχάριστον γέννημα, τὸν δεύτερόν σου πατέρα πονηρὰ ἀντέδωκας ἀγαθῶν; καὶ σὺ βάσκανε δαῖμον καὶ πονηρέ", τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιτραγῳδοῦσα, "τὴν ἐμὴν ἐμίανας ἀρχήν, καθαρὰν φυλαχθεῖσαν καὶ ἄχραντον; ἔστι θεὸς τῶν τολμωμένων ἔφορος, ὃς ἀμφοτέρους οὐκ ἀλλοίῳ ἀλλ᾽ ὁμοίῳ θανάτῳ παραδώσει δήπου καὶ φονικῷ". καὶ ἅμα ἐπεθείασέ πως, τὰς χεῖρας πετάσασα, "ἴδοιμι ἐπιπεσοῦσαν, κύριε, ἴδοιμι τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἐκδίκησιν". ταύτης οὖν ἔκτοτε τὰς πυκνὰς ἀρὰς μὴ φέροντες καὶ ὀνειδισμούς, καὶ ἅμα τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλαύνων ὁ Βάρδας ὁδόν, ἔγνωσαν καὶ ταύτην ἐκεῖθεν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ γυμνῇ χωρεῖν πρὸς ἅπαν αὐτοῖς τὸ δοκοῦν κεφαλῇ. ὅπερ ἐκείνη καταφωράσασα – καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἰδεῖν <καὶ στοχάσασθαι δυνατὴ – ἀντιπράττειν οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν>, φόνους τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ | ὁμοφύλων βλάβας f.58v ἐκφεύγουσα· τὸν δὲ τέως πλοῦτον, τὸν σήμερον ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἀποθησαυριζόμενον, ἔγνω τῇ συγκλήτῳ ποιεῖν φανερόν, τὸν υἱόν τε τῆς | ἀφειδοῦς δαπάνης κωλύουσα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς κηρύττουσα ἀρετήν. καὶ B 172 δὴ εἰς ἐπήκοον στᾶσα ἐξεβόησεν ὡς πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα χίλια μὲν χρυσοῦ τῷ βασιλικῷ ταμείῳ κεντηνάρια ἐναπόκεινται, ἀργυρίου δὲ ὡσεὶ τριῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἶναι τὸν ταύτης ἄνδρα θησαυριστήν τε καὶ ποριστήν, τῶν δὲ αὐτήν, μὴ καταναλίσκειν φιλούσης καὶ κατασπαταλᾶν.

21. Ἀλλὰ καίτοι τοσοῦτος ὁ βασιλικὸς ὢν θησαυρὸς εἰς οὐδὲν ἐχώρησε παντελῶς τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἀκαίρῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ. ταῖς γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἁμίλλαις, εἴπέρ τις ἕτερος, ἀγαλλόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἡνιοχεῖν – ὢ τῆς τότε ταπεινωθείσης τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας – οὐ παραιτούμενος, τῶν συμπαιζόντων αὐτῷ καὶ συνηνιοχούντων ἐκ τοῦ θείου

20.1 : die 20 Nov. a. 855 Theoctistus occisus est 14 : die 15 Mart. a. 856 Michael solus imperator et Theodora regentis auctoritate privata est

Cap. 20: GeorgCont (Istrin) 7.14–18, 7.30–34; Gen 64.87–95; Log A 241.178–184 | PsSym 657.18–23; Scyl 95.5–96.28 Cap. 21: VBas 27.15–17 | PsSym 659.2–660.3; Scyl 96.29–97.58

20.2 τε om. edd 4 κατολοφυρομένην V 4 ἀνέκαεν ante corr. V (λ sscr) : ἀνέκλαιεν edd 5 καθυποβάλουσα V 6 γένημα V 8 ἐπὶ τραγωδῶσα V 10 ἀλλοίῳ V : ἀλλοίως edd Boor 11 ἴδημι V 11 ἐπιπεσοῦσαν edd : ἐπιπεσοῦσα V 14 ἐλαύνας Comb 17 <καὶ στοχάσασθαι – δεῖν> add. edd Boor e Scyl 95.13 – 96.14 17 τε : τῶν B edd 22 ταμιείῳ edd 23 θησαὐριστήν V **21**.1 καὶ τοι V 1 ὧν V 5 παραιούμενος ante corr. V

20. Now, such was the end of Theoktistos's life, and after his murder Bardas took for himself the office and dignity of the keeper of the Inkpot. But when Theodora heard of these things, she ran about with hair unkempt, and with great wailing she wept aloud and filled the Palace with lamentations. Bringing curses upon both she said, 'O shameless and all-foul beasts! Why have you, ungrateful child, repaid your second father's good deeds with evil? And you, jealous and evil demon,' she said descanting in distress upon her brother, 'Why have you defiled my reign which had been kept pure and without blame? God is beholder of these shameless acts, and He shall deliver <you> both to no other, but to the same murderous death.' And she adjured God, spreading out her hands, 'May I see, O Lord, may I see the avenging of this man!' Thereafter they could not bear her constant curses and reproaches, with Bardas all the while following his own path, and they resolved to drive her away and pursue their plans without disguise. Detecting this – for she was adept at observing and guessing – Theodora did not think it fit to oppose them, for she fled the killing of men or harm of those of her own race. But for the present she decided to make known to the Senate the wealth which was then stored up in the Palace, hindering her son's lavish expenditure and proclaiming her own virtue. Standing before the audience she cried aloud that more than ninety thousand kentenaria of gold and some three thousand of silver were laid up in the imperial treasury, her husband having been the collector and provider of one part and she of the other, for she did not like lavish spending or wanton living.

21. But great though the imperial treasure was, it was reduced completely to nought by Michael's senselessness and untimely munificence. For revelling as anyone ever in the races of horses, nor forgoing to take the reigns himself – alas the humiliation suffered then by the empire of the Romans! – he stood as god-father to the children of his playfellows and fellow charioteers and de-

βαπτίσματος τὰ τέκνα υἱοθετούμενος τὸν βασίλειον κατεκένου πλοῦτον, πεντήκοντα δὴ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἑκάστῳ τριάκοντα χρυσίου λίτρας ἐπιχορηγῶν. ποτὲ δέ τινι πατρικίῳ – Ἱμέριος οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ Χοῖρος, διὰ τὴν τοῦ προσώπου οὕτω κατονομαζόμενος ἀγριότητα – ἄλλως αἰσχρολογοῦντι κατὰ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ ψόφον ἐκ τῆς βεβήλου αὐτοῦ γαστρὸς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν συνδειπνούντων ἀφιέντι, ὡς καὶ τὸ φατλίον τὸ τούτους φωταγωγοῦν ἐκ τοῦ τηλικούτου ψόφου ἀποσβέσαι, τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ τοιούτου θαύματος χρυσίου λίτρας δέδωκεν ἑκατόν. καὶ Χειλᾶ δὲ ἄλλοτε τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ ἡνιοχοῦντος τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τοῦ θείου λουτροῦ ἀναδεξάμενος ὁμοίως χρυσίου λίτρας δέδωκεν ἑκατόν. οὕτως ἐκεῖνος | εἰς οὐδὲν δέον τὰ δημόσια κατανά- B 173 λισκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐντὸς ὀλίγου καιροῦ τὸν τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον ταῖς τοιαύταις σκηνικαῖς καὶ ἀθέσμοις κατανάλωσε πράξεσι, δεινὸς ἐραστὴς ὢν τῆς ἱπποδρομίας, ἦλθεν δὲ ὁ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν βασιλικῶν δωρεῶν καιρός, καὶ χρημάτων πόρος οὐκ ἦν δι᾽ ὧν τὰ στρατεύματα φιλοτιμούμενα τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξεις ἀμύνονται, τήν τε χρυσῆν ἐκείνην καὶ | πολυ- f.59 θρύλλητον πλάτανον καὶ τοὺς δύο λέοντας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο γρῦπας ὁλοχρύσους ὄντας καὶ σφυρηλάτους, καὶ τὸ ὁλόχρυσον ὄργανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα ἔργα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐκθέσεως, ὁλκὴν ἔχοντα τῶν διακοσίων οὐκ ἔλαττον κεντηναρίων, χωνεύσας, χαράξαι δέδωκεν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ ταμιείῳ. καὶ στολὰς δέ τινας βασιλικὰς καὶ αὐγουστιακάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, τὰς μὲν ὁλοχρύσους τὰς δὲ χρυσοϋφάντους, οὔσας ἐν τῷ Εἰδικῷ πρὸς τῷ τέλει ἐκδέδωκεν ἐξαπορῶν, ὡς ἂν χαραχθῶσι. πλὴν οὐκ ἔφθασαν χωνευθῆναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, ταύτας δὲ Βασίλειος ὁ ἀοίδιμος τὴν βασιλείαν λαβὼν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔτι ἀλυμάντους τὸ νῦν σενζάτον καλούμενον χαραχθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκ τοσούτου πλούτου μηδὲν ἕτερον εὑρηκὼς ἢ χρυσίου μὲν <κεν>τηνάρια τρία, μιλιαρίσια δὲ σακκία ἐννέα, ἃ καὶ δημοσιεύσας καὶ πᾶσι δῆλα ποιήσας ἀπωδύρετο τῆς συγκλήτου ἐνώπιον τὴν ὅθεν ἔμελλε ποιήσεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας διοίκησιν. | B 174

6 ἐξεκένου edd 7 δὴ edd : δὲ V 7 πεντήκοντα δὴ – τριάκοντα : ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ τοὐλάχιστον πεντήκοντα Scyl 96.34–35, cf. PsSym 659.7 ρ΄ ἢ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ν΄ 8 χρουσίου V 8 ἐπὶ χορηγῶν V 11 τῶ ante corr. V 13 κατασβέσαι edd 13 παραδόξου V 14 δέδωκὲν V : ἔδωκεν edd 14 ἑκατόν sic Scyl 96.41, sed cf. VBas 27.25 πεντήκοντα 16 οὗτος V 18 τῆς post ὢν om. edd 22 πολυθρύλητον edd 22 post δύο add. χρυσοῦς edd e Scyl 97.47, sed cf. PsSym 659.18 22 τὰς δύο γρῦπας V 26 ταμείῳ Scyl 97.51, sicut ubique in libris I-IV 26 αὐγουστηακάς V 30 ἀείδιμος V 31 ἀλυμάντους ἀνεκαλέσατο καὶ edd e Scyl 97.55 ταύτας ἀνεκαλέσατο : ἀλμάντους V 31 ἐκελεύσατο edd : ἐνεκελεύσατο coni. Bekk in app. 32 μὲν <κεν>τήναρια Boor e Scyl 97.56 : μὲν τηνάρια V : κεντηνάρια edd

pleted the imperial wealth, bestowing fifty, or forty, or at the least thirty pounds of gold on each. And once, when a certain patrikios – he was named Imerios the Pig, so called on account of the fierceness of his face – was being generally abusive at table and let out a noise from his foul belly in the presence of the emperor and those dining with him, a noise so great as to extingusih the torch which was giving them light, Michael bestowed on him a hundred pounds of gold, on account of the strangeness of this marvel. And on another occasion he likewise bestowed a hundred pounds of gold when he stood as godfather for the son of Cheilas, a fellow charioteer. Thus did he squander the public funds to no purpose. And since, being the zealous lover of horse-racing that he was, he had in a short time squandered so much wealth on such theatrical and illicit things, when the time came for the distribution of imperial largesse and there was no means of providing the money to reward the armies which kept the lines of the enemies at bay, he melted down that celebrated golden plane tree and the two lions, as well as the two griffins of pure gold worked with the hammer, and the organ of pure gold and other works of imperial exhibition, all weighing not less than two-hundred kentenaria, and gave it to be minted in the imperial treasury. Finally, in great difficulty, he gave up vestments of the emperor and empress and also those of the Senate, some of pure gold and others embroidered with gold, which were kept in the Eidikos, so that they could struck as coin. But they had still not been melted down when he left this life, and when the glorious emperor Basil assumed the imperial office, he found them still intact and commanded that the senzaton, as it is now called, should be minted, for he found nothing else remaining from such great wealth except three kentenaria of gold and nine bags of miliaresia; and producung these latter as evidence and showing them to all, he expressed his despair before the Senate as to how the administration of the state was to be run with these means.

22. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου γεγόνασιν· τότε δὲ εἴθιστο ἡ Θεοδώρα κατὰ τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις θεῖον συχνῶς πως ἐπιφοιτᾶν ναόν, ὁμοῦ μὲν εὐχάς τινας ἀποδιδοῦσα θεῷ, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦ λουτροῦ μετέχουσα. ὡς γοῦν ὀψέ ποτ᾽ ἀφίκετο, τὸν Πετρωνᾶν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ὄντα πέμψαντες ὁ Μιχαήλ τε καὶ Βάρδας ἀποκείρουσί τε ταύτην μετὰ τὰς θυγατέρας ὁμοῦ, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὰ Καριανοῦ ἀνακτόροις τότε μὲν περιορίζουσιν· ὕστερον δὲ οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δὶς ἀποστείλαντες εἰσεκόμισαν τὸν ἐνόντα πλοῦτον αὐταῖς, καὶ κοινῶς πως καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς ἀλλ᾽ οὐ βασιλικῶς εἴασαν ζῆν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνη μὲν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τῶν τῇδε μεθίστατο, καὶ <Βασίλειος ὁ ἐν> βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμος αὐτῆς τε τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς θυγατέρας πρὸς τὸ τῆς μάμμης ἔπεμπε μοναστήριον ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι, οὕτω τῶν Γαστρίων κατονομαζόμενον, καὶ ὁσίως ζῆν τε καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως ἀπεβίω, ὄνομα τῷ υἱῷ, οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, πονηρὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαθὸν ἀπολιποῦσά τε καὶ σεμνόν.

Ἐδήλου δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλος ὅθεν τε κἀκ τίνων ἐξέφυ καὶ ὅπως ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὰς αὐτῇ ὅσαι δὴ θυ|γατέρες ἐκ κοιλίας f.59v γεγέννηνται· δηλώσει δὲ καὶ αὕτη συγγένειαν αὐτῆς τὴν λοιπήν. ἦσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ δηλωθέντες ἄρρενες δύο αὐτῇ ἀδελφοί, ὅ τε Πετρωνᾶς στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸν Θρᾳκήσιον καὶ πατρίκιος τηνικαῦτα, καὶ Βάρδας ὁ δηλωθείς, ὃς καὶ παρὰ Θεοφίλου εἴς τι τῶν οὐ δεόντων καταληφθείς, τῆς συνήθους προελεύσεως ἱσταμένης κατὰ τὸ ὡρολόγιον, ἐτύφθη μαγλάβια ἑξήκοντα· ἀδελφαὶ δὲ | τρεῖς, ἥ τε εὐφήμῳ οὕτω καλουμένη ὀνόματι Κα- B 175 λομαρία καὶ Σοφία καὶ ἡ <Εἰρήνη>. ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν Σοφία εἰς κοίτην ἐδίδοτο Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Βαβούτζικον, ἡ δὲ Καλομαρία Ἀρσαβὴρ τῷ τηνικαῦτα μὲν πατρικίῳ ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μαγίστρῳ, †τῷ Εἰρήνης† τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ἀντιλαβομένου Φωτίου ἀδελφῷ· μεθ᾽ οὗ καὶ δύο τεκνώσασα παῖδας, Στέφανόν τε τὸν

22.5–6 : a. 858 Theodora cum filiis tonsurata est 9–10 et 13 : paulo post a. 867, Basilio Macedone regnante, Theodora obiit 26–27 : die 25 Dec. 858 Photius patriarcha designatus est

Cap. 22: GeorgCont (Istrin) 7.19–25, 7.27–29; Gen 64.84–87; Log A 241.184–242.191, 242.195–196 | PsSym 657.23–658.8, 658.10–13; Scyl 97.59–98.78

22.2 ἡ om. edd 4 ποτε edd 10 <Βασίλειος ὁ ἐν> βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμος nos, cf. VBas 71.26–27, 94.28, cf. Scyl 97.68 ὁ βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος : βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμος V : βασιλεὺς ὁ ἀοίδιμος Βασίλειος edd : βασιλεύσας Βασίλειος ὁ ἀοίδιμος coni. Boor 13 οὖτος V 14 ἀπολιποῦσα τὲ V 15 προταύτης V 17 καὶ om. edd 18 μὲν om. edd 18 αὐτῇ om. edd 19 τὸ edd 21 προ ἐλεύσεως V 21 ἐτύφθη : apud Log A 219.63–64 et PsSym 628.2 Petronas fustibus verberatur 21 μαγγλάβια edd 23 Εἰρήνη suppl. taciter edd, cf. Scyl 98.72 : spatium ca. duodecim litterarum praebet V : lacunam statuit Boor, suspiciens Scylitzae fictionem e IV.22.25 infra 25 τῷ Εἰρήνης V Boor : fortasse <ἡ δὲ> Εἰρήνη Σ<εργίῳ> τῷ vel simile scribendum cf. Scyl 98.73 Εἰρήνη δὲ Σεργίῳ : <ἡ δὲ Εἰρήνη> τῷ Εἰρήνης edd 26 τὸν om. Comb

22. But these things occurred later, when time had gone by. At the time in question Theodora used to go rather often to the divine church of the Blachernae, now offering certain prayers to God, now partaking in the bath. Once, when she arrived somewhat late in the day, Michael and Bardas sent Petronas, who was her brother, and had her tonsured together with her daughters, and they confined them for the while to the palace in the quarter of Karianos; but later they sent them away not only once, but twice, and requisitioned the wealth they possessed, making allowance for them to live in common and in private, but not in imperial fashion. Not long afterwards, however, Theodora departed from this world and Basil, glorious amongst emperors, sent her remains together with her daughters to take up their abode in the monastery of their grandmother, called Gastrion, to live and dwell there in piety. Thus did she depart this life, leaving her son a good and venerable name, not a bad one as did those others.

The Book preceeding this present one made known from whom she was descended, and how she came to the Palace, and how many daughters were born of her womb; and this Book will make known also the rest of her family relations. There were, then, the two aforementioned brothers, Petronas, general of the Thrakesian theme who was then a patrikios, and the aforementioned Bardas, who had been caught doing something wrong by Theophilus and, when the the usual [daily] procession had assembled, was given sixty lashes by the clock [outside the Chrysotriklinos]. And there were three sisters, the one called by the auspicious name Good Maria, Sophia and <Irene>. Sophia was given as wife to Constantine Baboutzikos, Good Maria to Arsaber, who was then a patrikios and later magistros, <and Irene to Sergius>,

μάγιστρον καὶ Βάρδαν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν καὶ μάγιστρον, τὸν τοῦ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Σικελίας [τὸν] τοῦ Κοντομύτου γαμβρὸν – ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κοντομύτου ἐκληρώθη προσηγορία –, τὴν συγγένειαν πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην ἔσωζε Φώτιον· ἐξάδελφοι γὰρ οἱ δύο μάγιστροι οὗτοι τούτου ἐτύγχανον. αὕτη δὴ οὖν ἡ μήτηρ τῶν εἰρημένων, ἐπεὶ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς διὰ θανάτου ἡμάρτανεν, οὐχ εἵλετο καὶ δεύτερον ἰδεῖν μάτην ἀποβιοῦντα, ζῶσα δὲ χήρα καὶ τῇ ἑαυτῆς συνοῦσα ἀδελφῇ κατὰ τὰ βασίλεια, αὐχμηράν τινα καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐστολισμένη στολήν, ἔτι δὲ μὴν καὶ μέλαιναν, τὸν ὕπαρχον ἀπολαμβάνουσα τῆς χειρός, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν τειχιώτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν νούμερον συνεπαγομένη, κατὰ νουμηνίαν ἀπῄει βάδην τε καὶ πεζῇ διὰ τῶν Σχολῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις κατεχομένους τῆς τε Χαλκῆς καὶ τοῦ Πραιτωρίου καὶ τῶν Νουμέρων, τίνος τε χάριν ἀποκέκλεισται ἕνα ἐρωτῶσα καθ᾽ ἕνα καὶ διοικοῦσα τοὺς μὲν δι᾽ ἑαυτῆς τοὺς δὲ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὑπομνήσεως, ἑκάστῳ τῶν φρουρουμένων εὐλογίαν ἐπιχορηγοῦσα οὐ μικρὰν καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν οὕτω. | B 176

23. Ὁ δὲ Βάρδας ἦν ὅλος τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτροπεύων καὶ δι|οικῶν f.60
καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὡς συγγενὴς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγαπώμενος· ἔνθεν καὶ τὴν κουροπαλάτου, οἷον ἆθλον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ, τιμὴν ἀναδέχεται, καὶ κατὰ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἄμερ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἀντιστρατεύονται μετὰ τοῦ Μιχαήλ, ἄρτι τελοῦντος αὐτοῦ εἰς ἄνδρας ἐξ ἀγενείων, δυνάμει πάσῃ τε καὶ χειρί. ὡς δ᾽ οὖν τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπέβησαν γῆς, κατὰ πόλιν Σαμόσατα λεγομένην, δυνάμει τε βρίθουσαν καὶ ἰσχύι ἄγονται, καὶ ταύτην ἐπεχείρουν πολιορκεῖν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐλελήθεισαν οὐ κατὰ Θεοδώρας αἴροντες χεῖρα, κατὰ δὲ πολυτρόπων ἀνδρῶν. ὡς γὰρ τρίτη μὲν ἦν τούτοις τῆς ἐφεδρείας ἡμέρα, ἡ πρώτη δὲ καὶ κυρία τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἔμελλον δὲ τὴν ἀναίμακτον μυσταγωγίαν ἐκπληροῦν ὡς ἂν τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετάσχοιεν, ἐξαίφνης, εἴτ᾽ ἀφυλάκτως τελοῦντες αὐτά, εἴτε καὶ καταφρονητικῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν δι᾽ ἀπειρίαν ὡς μὴ πρὸς βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἆραι

23.3–5 : prima expeditio contra Amer, Bardae consilio prompta, forte a. 859

Cap. 23: GeorgCont (Istrin) 8.6–8, 8.28–33; Gen 64.1–65.21; Log A 242.204–205 | PsSym 658.21–23; Scyl 98.78–99.7 || 9 cf. Homerus, Od.1.1

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29 [τὸν] τοῦ Boor : τοῦ καὶ coni. B in app. 32 δὴ : δὲ edd 33 πρὸτερου V 33 διαθανάτου V 35 αὐχμηρόν B V 38 συνεπαγομένη edd : συνεπεγνωμένη V 38 ἀπεί V 44 γυναικωνίτιν V **23.**2 post τῶν λοιπῶν add. διαφερόντως edd e Scyl 98.79 : ante τῶν λοιπῶν coni. ὑπὸ dubitanter Kamb 6 καταπόλιν V 7 σαμόσάτα (sic) V 8 ἐλελήθεισαν edd : ἐλήθεισαν V 10 ὡς γὰρ τρίτη μὲν ἦν τούτοις τῆς ἐφεδρείας : ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἦν τρίτη τῆς ἐφεδρείας τούτοις edd 11 θείων : ἁγίων edd 13 πόλην V

brother of the mother of Photios who later acceded to the pariarchal throne. By him she had two sons, Stephanus the magistros and his brother Bardas the magistros, the brother-in-law of the patrikios and general of Sicily Constantine Kontomytes – for thereby did Bardas acquire the name Kontomytes – and so she kept alive the ties of family to the patriarch Photios; for these two magistroi were thus cousins of Photios. Now this woman, the mother of the two men mentioned, having lost her former husband through his death, chose not to see another die in vain, but living as a widow and dwelling with her sister near the Palace, clad in an austere and humble garment – and moreover a black one –, taking the eparch by the hand, and also accompanied by the commander of the Walls, and the commander of the Noumera as well, set out at the beginning of each month on foot, step by step, through the Scholai to [visit] those confined in the prisons of the Chalke and the Praitorion and the Noumera, asking one after the other why he had been imprisoned; and she looked after their interests, some by herself and others through mention of them to her sister, bestowing also no small charity and mercy. Such were the affairs in the women's quarters.

23. Now Bardas alone administered the affairs of the empire and managed also other affairs as a beloved relation of the emperor. For this reason he received, as a reward under the authority of his sister, the dignity of curopalates and, as has been said, took the field with all power and force against the Ishmaelites and Amer together with Michael, who had just arrived at the age of manhood from that of adolescence. When they had forced their way into the land of the enemy, they advanced against the city called Samosata bristling with power and might, and tried to take it by storm. But they did not understand that it was not against Theodora that they were raising their hands, but against versatile men. On the third day of their siege, which was the first and chiefest of the week, as they were about to complete the bloodless mystical rites, so that they might partake of the divine mysteries, suddenly, either because they celebrated these rites in ungarded fashion or else, through inexperience, they had disdained to keep watch on the city lest anyone might dare raise his hand against the emperor of the Romans, at the very moment they

τολμῶντος χεῖρά τινος, κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ τῶν θείων ἔμελλον μετασχεῖν μυστηρίων πάντοθεν μεθ᾿ ὅπλων ἐκπεπηδηκότες τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν ὅστις Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐχρῆτο φυγῇ. ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Μιχαὴλ μόλις που τὸν ἵππον ἀναβὰς φεύγων καθωρᾶτο, ἀλλ᾿ οὐ προπολεμῶν· οὕτω που μόγις ἐκσέσωστο, σκηνὰς αὐτὰς καὶ τὴν ὅση τούτοις θεραπεία προσῆν ἐκεῖ καταλελοιπώς. ἔνθα καὶ τὸν προμνημονευθέντα φασὶν ἀριστεῦσαι Καρβέαν τὸν τὴν Τεφρικὴν | οἰκοδομησάμενον, καὶ πολὺν οὐ μόνον δὴ τοῦ χυδαίου B 177 φθόρον λαοῦ κατεργάσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μεγάλων δὴ στρατηγῶν ζωγρείᾳ λαβεῖν τόν τε Τζαγγότουβον τὸν Ἀβεσαλὼμ καὶ Σηὼν τὸν Παλατῖνον, καὶ ἑτέρους ὑποστρατήγους καὶ τουρμάρχας ἄχρι τῶν ἑκατόν. ἐτηροῦντο γοῦν οἱ δηλωθέντες στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παραδρομὴν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ· καὶ δὴ χρήματα ἱκανὰ τῷ Καρβέᾳ ἐδίδοσαν, οἴκοθεν μεταπεμψάμενοι, τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπολύτρωσιν ἐξαιτούμενοι. ὡς δ᾿ ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ χεῖρας ὁ Καρβέας, ἠρώτα τὸν Σηὼν εὐθὺς εἰ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια ἔχοι ἐρωτικῶς καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα κίνησιν ἔχοι τὴν ἐμπαθῆ· ὡς δ᾿ ἀπηγόρευσεν ὁ Σηὼν καὶ πάσχειν τι τοιοῦτον ἀπέφησεν, ἠρώτα πάλιν τὰ ὅμοια τὸν Ἀβεσαλώμ. | ὁ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φωράσας κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν, εἴτε καὶ f. 60v ἄλλως ἀληθῶς, τοῦτό τε πάσχειν καὶ κίνησιν ὑπομένειν εἰπών, τούτῳ μὲν "λυτροῦσαι", ἔφη, "τῶν δεσμῶν", καὶ ἅμα ἀπέλυεν, τῷ δὲ Σηὼν "οὐ βούλεταί σε τὸ θεῖον λυθῆναι δὴ τῆς φρουρᾶς", καὶ ἅμα ἐδίδου τε τούτῳ τὰ λύτρα τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἐγκατέκλειεν ἄχρις οὗ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπεστάλαξεν.

24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεύτερος ἤδη χρόνος παρέδραμεν καὶ μυριάδας ἤκουε τρεῖς κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύειν, τὴν ἧτταν αὖθις ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἀνακαλέσασθαι ἐπιθυμῶν, Θρᾷκάς τε καὶ Μακεδόνας μέχρι τῶν τεσσάρων συνηθροικὼς μυριάδων, ἐξῄει πρόθυμος κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ. ὡς δὲ κατά τι χορτοφόρον πεδίον Κελάριον οὕτω λεγόμενον κατεσκήνητο, ἄρτι δὴ Ἄμερ αὐτὸν καταστρατηγῶν πορρω|τέρω τῆς τετριμμένης ᾔει ὁδοῦ, πρὸς τὸ Χωνάριον B 178 ἐπισπεύδων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἐγγύτερόν τε γενόμενος καὶ χεῖρας δὴ προσβαλὼν καὶ πόλεμον συνάψας νεανικὸν φεύγειν ἀλλ᾿ οὐ μένειν τὸν βασιλέα ἠνάγκαζεν. ἀλλὰ φεύγειν μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο, ἕως τὸν τῶν ἵππων ἀκμάζειν

24.1–4 : secunda expeditio contra Amer forte a. 861

Cap. 24: GeorgCont (Istrin) 9.1–15; Gen 65.22–66.65 | Scyl 99.7–16

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14 χεῖρα τινὸς V 14 ἔμελλον edd : ἔμελλε V 18 τούτοις : τούτῳ coni. Boor in app. 20 ὀικοδομησάμενος V 20 δὴ om. edd 23 παλατῖον V 24 οὖν edd 25 παρὰ δρομὴν V 26 ἐξαιτούμὲνοι V 29 τί V 30 αὐτοῦ edd 31 τοῦτο τε V 31 πάσχειν edd : πάσχων V 32 λυτρῶ σε coni. Boor in app. 32 τῷ edd : τὸν V 33 τὸ : τὸν V 33 δὴ B edd Boor : δεῖ V 33 τε om. edd **24.**1 ἤδη V 3 θράκας V 3 τῶν : ante corr. τὸν V, fortasse secludendum. 3 τεσάρων V 4 κατὰ τι V 5 Κελλάριον Gen 65.26 5 αὐτὸν : αὐτῷ edd 6 ᾔει Bekk Boor : εἴη V Comb

were to partake of the divine mysteries there were men with arms everywhere who had sallied forth from the city, and it was impossible to see any Roman who was not fleeing. There also Michael, scarcely mounted on his horse, was observed to be fleeing and not engaging battle; thus did he barely manage to save himself, abandoning on the spot the tents and all those in attandance on them. There also, they say, did the aforementioned Karbeas, who had built Tephrike, show his prowess, wreaking not only great destruction on the host of common soldiers, but also taking captive Abesalom Tzaggotoubos and Seon Palatinos from amongst the high generals, and also as many as one hundred subordinate generals and turmarchs. At the end of the fighting the said generals were kept in prison; and they gave sufficient money to Karbeas, having sent messages home requesting their ransom. When he received the money, Karbeas asked Seon whether he took sexual pleasures with amorous craving and if his body had passionate emotion; and when Seon denied this and said he did not suffer from any such thing, Karbeas asked Abesalom the same thing. And when Absalom, detecting the other's own baseness and depravity, said – even if the truth was otherwise – that he both suffered from this and endured emotion, the other said to him, 'You are ransomed from your bonds,' and he released him; but to Seon he said, 'The Godhead does not wish that you should be freed from prison,' and he gave Abesalom the ransom that had been given for him, and he confined him to prison until his soul trickled away.

24. Two years had already gone by when Michael heard that Amer had put thirty thousand troops in the field against the Romans; and desiring now to make good his defeat, Michael assembled some forty thousand Thracians and Macedonians and eagerly went out against him. But just as he pitched camp on a grassy field called Kelarion, Amer, outwitting him by strategem, made his way at a distance from the trodden road, hastening onward to Chonarion. Here, drawing closer, raising arms and engaging vehement battle, he compelled the emperor to flee, not to stay. He attempted to flee for as long as he perceived the running of the horses to be at full pace and not to slacken. When high noon was upon them and there was no little heat from the burn-

δρόμον ἀλλʼ οὐ διακόπτεσθαι ὑπελάμβανεν. καὶ δὴ σταθερᾶς τε μεσημβρίας ἐνούσης καὶ καύματος οὐκ ὀλίγου θάλποντος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου φλογώσεως, κατά τινα ὀρεινὸν ἀναβαίνειν τόπον βιάζονται, Ἀνζῆν οὕτω λεγόμενον, δυσπρόσοδόν τε καὶ τραχέσι λίθοις οὐκ εὔοδον. ἐκεῖσε δὴ φεύγων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνηυλίζετο, καὶ ἐκ ποδὸς ὁ Ἄμερ αὐτῷ ἐπακολουθῶν περικυκλοῖ, ὡς ἐν δικτύῳ θέλων λαβεῖν. κἂν ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν δοριάλωτον, ἀλλʼ ἡ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταγμάτων ἰσχὺς καρτερῶς ἀπομαχομένη καὶ τὸ τοῦ τόπου ἀνεστηκός τε καὶ ὑπερέχον μικρόν τι τούτους διέσωσεν. ἔνθα καὶ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς αὐτῶν κίνδυνον ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ δεδιότων, βουλὴν ἠνάγκαζε τὸν Μανουὴλ λέγειν ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὴν ἀμφοτέρους δὴ διασώσουσαν. ὁ δὲ τὰ διʼ ὧν ἐστι φανερὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφελέσθαι συμβουλευσάμενος, καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν ἀναλαβόμενον σχῆμα μετὰ λογάδων ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυνάμει προεχόντων τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔφη φάλαγγα διαρρήξαντα ἔξω τούτων γενέσθαι περιφανῶς. ὡς δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραμένοντος ὄχλου τε καὶ στρατοῦ δεύτερον ἐπυνθάνετο, | ὅπως δὴ σωθεῖεν, ὁ Μιχαήλ, “ἀλλὰ σὲ f.61 μὲν γένοιτο”, φησίν, “βασιλεῦ, σώζεσθαι ἀβλαβῆ, θεῷ δὲ μελήσει περὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπʼ ἴσης βασιλέα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τινὰ αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι ἐχθροῖς”. ἀλλαξάμενος οὖν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ | περὶ τὸν B 179 Μανουὴλ ὅλος γενόμενος ἔσπευδεν ἐπακολουθεῖν, τούτου μεθʼ ἑτέρων διαρρηξάντων τὴν φάλαγγα. ἀλλʼ ὅτε δὴ κατὰ τὸ δεινὸν ἐγένοντο καὶ τῆς παρατάξεως πλησίον που τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἔρημος τῷ φόβῳ δυνάμεώς τε γενόμενος καὶ χειρῶν ἐναπομένειν ἠγάπα, ἀλλʼ οὐ προτρέχειν αὐτοῦ. ὡς δʼ ὁ Μανουὴλ τὴν φάλαγγα διακόψας τε καὶ περισωθεὶς τὸν βασιλέα οὐκ εἶχεν ὁρᾶν, αὖθις τὴν κατόπιν ἔθει ὁδόν, τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον δεδιώς. ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐγένοντο συμβολαὶ καὶ πολὺς φόνος συνέπιπτε τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, ἔγνω δὴ πορρωτέρω χωρήσειν ὁ Ἄμερ, νάματά τινα ζητῶν καὶ χορτάσματα, σημήνας τὸ ἀνακλητικόν· ὅτε καὶ τυχὼν ἀδείας ὁ Μιχαὴλ μόλις που ἐκεῖθεν διεσέσωστο ἀδεῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπανήρχετο.

25. Δεύτερος οὖν μόλις που παρῆλθε χρόνος, καὶ αὖθις ἐκστρατεύσας ὁ Ἄμερ σὺν τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάσι στρατοῦ ὁμοῦ μὲν τὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς θάλασσαν Ἀμισὸν ἐξεπόρθει τε καὶ κατεδουλαγώγει τῇ

25.1–3 : a. 863 Amer ultimam incursionem in Byzantium fecit

Cap. 25: GeorgCont (Istrin) 9.16–30; Gen 67.66–69.39; Log A 243.208–209, 243.224–244.232 | PsSym 664.3–6, 666.8–12; Scyl 99.17–101.66

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12 Ἀνζῆν edd, cf. III.31.13 et Gen 66.1 Ἀνζῆς : ἄνζην V 14 ἐκ σποδὸς V 15 δορυάλωτον B edd 18 δεδειότων V 20 ἐστὶ V 29 τῆς om. B edd 34 φόνος coni. Bekk in app. Boor, cf. Gen 66.59–60 πολλῶν – ἀναιρεθέντων Σαρακηνῶν : φόβος V edd 36 καὶ χορτάσματα ζητῶν edd **25.**2 τὴν Ἀρμενιακὴν edd

ing sun, they were constrained to ascend in a mountainous place called Anzes, which was difficult of access and not easy to pass on account of jagged stones. Fleeing there the emperor made camp; and following on foot Amer surrounded him, wishing to capture him as if in a net. And he would have taken him captive, but the troops of the imperial divisions resisted staunchly, and the elevated and projected nature of the place just barely saved them. It was there, too, whilst they were fighting and fearing danger for their lives that Michael compelled Manuel to give counsel which was to save them both. He advised him to remove the things whereby it was clear that he was emperor, and told him to put on the clothes of a private person together with select men excelling in strength, in order to break through the enemy's line and to get fully clear of them. And when Michael asked a second time about the host and army which remained, as to how they might be saved, he said, 'So be it, emperor, that you are preserved unscathed, and God will take care of them. For it is not the same if an emperor or just any Roman be taken captive by the enemy.' Changing his clothes, then, and becoming completely like those around Manuel, Michael hastened to follow as he and the others broke through the line. But when they were in danger and near the line of the enemy, he was bereft of strength and force out of fear and was content to remain and not to run on ahead. When Manuel had broken through the line to safety, because he could not see the emperor, he ran back again fearing that he was in danger. And when the armies joined battle once again and there was great slaughter of the Saracens, Amer decided to withdraw far off, in search of streams and pastures, and signalled the retreat. Obtaining safe conduct then, Michael only just managed to escape there with impunity, and returned to the imperial city.

25. Then, hardly two years had gone by when Amer again took the field with forty thousand troops and, in the absence of anyone to hinder him, ravaged and reduced to subjection both the Armeniac theme and Amisos on the sea. It was then that he is said to have suffered the same thing as foolish

τοῦ κωλύοντος ἐρημίᾳ· ὅτε δὴ καὶ ταὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἄφρονι Ξέρξῃ λέγεται παθεῖν, καὶ κελεῦσαι ῥάβδοις τύπτειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅτι μὴ πορρωτέρω προκατεστόρεστο ἀλλ᾽ ἐγγὺς αὐτὸν λεηλατοῦντα καταλαμβανομένη κεκώλυκεν. ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀσχάλλοντα τὸν Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἀδημονοῦντα κελεῦσαι τὸν Πετρωνᾶν, ἀδελφὸν τῆς βασιλίσσης τυγχάνοντα καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκησίων τὴν στρατηγίδα διέποντα, παντὶ σθένει συμπαραλαβόντα τὰς τῶν Ῥω|μαίων δυνάμεις χωρῆσαί ποι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ παρορᾶν B 180 ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταληϊζόμενον γῆν. ὁ τοῦ Βάρδα τότε τῶν βασιλικῶν ταγμάτων τε καὶ σχολῶν ἦρχεν υἱός, παῖς ἔτι κομιδῇ περὶ δέκα ἢ καὶ ἐννέα ἔτη που ὤν· ὄνομα τούτῳ Ἀντίγονος. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν μοι ἔπεισιν, ὅπως ἀγχινοίας τε καὶ σοφίας, ὥς φασίν, ἀντιποιούμενος, ἑαυτῷ πάντα οἷον λαφύσσων καὶ προσαγόμενος, οὐχ ἑτέρῳ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐνεχεί|ρει ἀρχὴν ἐν καιρῷ δεινῷ τε καὶ δυσχερεῖ. πλὴν ἐδίδου τὸ ταύτης f.61v προσωπεῖον τέως τῷ ἀδελφῷ. ὁ δ᾽ ὡς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἤκουσε γραμμάτων πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτὸν καθοπλιζόντων καὶ ἀνδραγαθεῖν παρακελευομένων, ἀλλοιωθείς τε καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ὅπως ἕξουσι καλῶς βουλευόμενος ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἁγίῳ ὄρει προσήδρευεν, εἴτ᾽ ἀπολεγόμενος εἴτε καὶ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπικουρίας δεόμενος. ἐκεῖσε γοῦν αὐτοῦ τὸ τέως ἐνδιαιτωμένου, φήμη τις ἄγγελος προτρέχουσα Ἰωάννην ἐκεῖνον, τὸν μοναχόν τε καὶ περιβόητον, μακρὸν ὄντα τὸ εἶδος, ἀνυπόδετον τοὺς πόδας ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸ Λάτρος ἐνδιατρίβοντα, αὐτομολοῦντα διήγγειλεν. τοῦτον ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ κελλίου μήποτε ἐξερχόμενον ὁ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐθαύμαζεν. ὡς δ᾽ οὖν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ πατρίκιος διακήκοεν ὡς ὅτι που πλησίον ἐστὶν ὀνάριον ἐποχούμενος, ἀπήντα θέων τὸν μοναχὸν καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ κατελάμβανεν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μελλήσας "ἄπιθί", φησιν, "κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς πειθόμενος γράμμασιν, ἄπιθι· θεὸν γὰρ ἕξεις ῥυόμενόν σε καὶ προπορευόμενον, εἰ μόνον τὸν | αὐτῷ ἠγαπημένον Ἰωάννην ἀντ᾽ ἄλλου τινὸς φυλακτηρίου B 181 ταῖς ἀσπίσι πάντων ἐγγεγραμμένον φέρεις τρανῶς". καὶ ἅμα προσετίθει ὡς "οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκεν ἢ τούτου τὴν ἐνταῦθα πορείαν πεποίημαι". τούτου ταῖς εὐχαῖς καθοπλισθεὶς κατά τινα τόπον οὕτω λεγόμενον Πόσοντα, φυσικήν τινα ἀσφάλειαν διὰ πετρῶν ἔχοντα καὶ κρημνῶν, τὸν Ἄμερ καταλαμβάνει πανστρατιᾷ. τούτῳ καὶ ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ ἀπὸ τὸ

||4–5 cf. Herodotus, 7.35

4 ταυτὸν V 6 προκατεστόρεστο Bekk : προκατεστόρετο V Comb 7 ἐφ᾽ οἷς φασι coni. Boor in app. 8 ἀσχάλοντα τὸν – ἀδημονοῦντα κελεῦσαι V : ἀσχάλλων ὁ – ἀδημονῶν ἐκέλευσε edd e Scyl 99.22–25 ἀσχάλλων ὁ – ἐκέλευσε 8 πετρονὰν V 10 χωρῆσαι ποι V 11 ἐπιπολὺ V 13 καὶ om. edd 19 τὴν delendum coni. Boor in app., sed cf. infra IV.25.59 (fortasse βουλὴν vel simile quod addendum putavit Kamb) 22 τίς V 22 τὸν om. edd 31 τινος V 32 φέροις edd 33 τινος V 35 Πόρσοντα Gen 68.18 35 διαπετρῶν V

Xerxes and he ordered the sea to be beaten with reeds, for it did not lie paved in his path to plunder, but took him by surprise hard by and hindered him. Grieved and troubled by these events, Michael ordered Petronas, who was the empress's brother and exercised command of the Thrakesians, to assemble the Roman forces with all strength, to advance somehow against Amer and not to look aside for long as he laid waste to the land of the Romans. The son of Bardas was then leader of the imperial divisions and the scholai, though he was still just a child of ten or even nine years of age. His name was Antigonos. Now, it behoves me to wonder at this: how Bardas, who they say strove after shrewdness and wisdom, gulping down and procuring everything for himself, did not entrust such an office to someone else in a dangerous and difficult time. For a while, however, he did give power as deputy to his brother. And when this latter heard read out the imperial letters arming him against the enemy and commanding deeds of valour, he was confused and, deliberating by which course affairs would turn out well, he took up abode on the Holy Mountain by Ephesos, thereby either declining the command or seeking assistance from above. Whilst he was dwelling there, a report went round in advance announcing that John, the famous monk, who was tall of figure, always unshod of foot, and who dwelt near Latros, had gone off. At that time John was marvelled at as a solitary who never left his cell. When the patrikios heard about the man, that he was somewhere near by riding on an ass, he ran off to meet the monk and embraced his feet. Without hesitating in the slightest the other said, 'Set off against the Saracens in obedience to the imperial commands, set off! For you will have God preserving you and going before you, provided you bear His beloved John, in the place of all other protection, clearly inscribed on the shields of all.' And straightway he added, 'I have made this journey for no other purpose than this.' Armed with John's prayers, he and his whole army caught up with Amer at a place called Posonta, which had its own natural protection through rocks and cliffs. Through this place flows a river, running from North to South, called Lalakaon, and there is a spring

ἀρκτῷον πρὸς τὸ μεσημβρινὸν ἐλαυνόμενος, Λαλακάων ὀνομαζόμενος, καὶ λιβάδιον παράκειται Γύριν ἀγροικικῇ φωνῇ πως καλούμενον. ἔγνω γοῦν ὁ Πετρωνᾶς ἐκεῖσε τοῦτον ἐναυλιζόμενον, καὶ πάντῃ ἔσπευδεν ἀδιεξόδευτόν τε καταστῆσαι καὶ ἄφυκτον. καὶ δὴ τοὺς μὲν τὸ ἀρκτῷον μέρος καθέξοντας στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν καὶ Βουκελλαρίων καὶ Κολωνείας καὶ Παφλαγονίας ἐπαπέστελλεν αὐθωρόν, τὸ δὲ μεσημβρινόν, τὸν Ἀνατολικῶν, τὸν Ὀψικίου καὶ Καππαδοκίας στρατηγοὺς σὺν τοῖς Σελευκείας καὶ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ κλεισουράρχαις· αὐτὸς | δὲ μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν f.62 τεσσάρων ταγμάτων καὶ τῶν Θρᾴκης καὶ Μακεδονίας στρατηγῶν – καὶ γὰρ εἰρηνευόντων τῶν Βουλγάρων νόμος ἦν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν συγκινδυνεύειν καὶ συστρατεύειν – τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος κατείληφεν, ἔχων καὶ τὸ θέμα τῶν Θρᾳκησίων μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ. ὡς γοῦν οὕτω πάντοθεν περιφρουρεῖσθαι καὶ ὡς θηρίον ἐναποκεκλεῖσθαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἄμερ ἀκήκοεν, ἔγνω δεῖν οἰωνίσασθαι, καί τινα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μετακαλεσάμενος ἠρώτα τήν τε τοῦ τόπου προσηγορίαν καὶ τοῦ λιβαδίου τε καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ὡς δ᾽ ὁ ἐρωτηθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος μικρὸν παραγραμμα|τίσας B 182 Πτώσοντα ἔφησεν ἀντὶ Πόσοντα, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σημαίνειν πτῶσιν ὁ Ἄμερ διεσάφησεν, λαοῦ τε κάκωσιν παραφράζων τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ γυρισθῆναι δεινῶς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ λιβαδίου συνεμπτώσεως, ὅπερ ἐκαλεῖτο Γύριν. "ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὐκ ἀποκνητέον", φησίν, "ἀλλὰ καὶ διεγερτέον καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὔριον γενησόμενον πόλεμον ἀνδριστέον". καὶ ἅμα ὁπλίζεσθαι πάντας καὶ νεόσμηκτα δεικνύειν ὡς νεουργὰ τὰ ξίφη ἐκέλευεν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἡμέρα ἄρτι ἐξανατέλλουσα τὴν ὅπως περιγένηται τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνάγκην ἐπέφερεν, δεῖν ἔκρινε πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀρκτῷον μέρος φυλάττοντας τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ ἐκζητεῖν, ὡς δ᾽ ἥ τε τοῦ τόπου κακία καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ταχθέντων στρατηγῶν εὐανδρία ἀπήντα τοῦτον καὶ διεκώλυεν, ἐπὶ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν ὁρμᾶσθαι ἐξεβιάζετο. ὡς δὲ κἀκεῖθεν τὴν ὁμοίαν εὕρισκεν τῶν ἐναντίων παράταξιν, ἔγνω δεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τόπου ἐφελκόμενος – καὶ γὰρ ἦν λεῖος καὶ εὐπρόσιτος τῶν λοιπῶν – κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον χωρεῖν, ᾗ καὶ τὸν Πετρωνᾶν ἑώρα κατασκηνούμενον καὶ φυλάττοντα. καὶ δὴ κρότῳ καὶ βοῇ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐφαλλόμενος οὐδ᾽ ὅλως εἴκοντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφεύρισκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἰσχυροτέρους καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρικῶς ἀντικρούοντας καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνισταμένους νεανικῶς· διὸ καὶ μι-

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37 μεσημβριὸν V 38 γῦριν V, sed cf. Scyl 100.33 (Γυρὴν) et 39 (Γύρην) et infra IV.25.56 38 πως om. edd 39 πετρονᾶς V 41 βουκελλαρῖ|ων V 42 ἐπέστελλεν edd 43 fortasse τοὺς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, τοῦ Ὀψικίου coniecienduum 53 παραγραμματίζων edd 56 γύριν V, cf. Scyl 100.33 (Γυρήν) et 39 (Γύρην) et supra IV.25.38 56 φήση V 57 καὶ post ἀλλὰ om. edd 59 ἐκέλεύεν V : ἐκέλευσεν edd 59 δὲ B edd : δ᾽<ἡ> coni. dubitanter Kamb 59 τὴν ὅπως cf. supra IV.25.19 60 τῶν Ῥωμαίων coni. Comb in marg. 60 ἀνάγκην Boor : ἀνάκην V : ἀνοχὴν edd : fortasse ἀνάγκῃ scribendum 60 μὲν : τοὺς coni. Boor in app. 60 μέρος om. edd 61 αὐτῷ edd 61 ante τῶν ἐκεῖσε fortasse ἡ addendum putavit Kamb 63 ὡρμᾶσθαι V 66 πετρονᾶν V 68 ἤκοντας V 69 ἀνθισταμένους Bekk

beside it, called Gyrin in the rustic tongue. Petronas knew that Amer had encamped there, and he hastened to render the place impossible to pass through or to flee. Immediately he sent the generals of the themes of the Armeniacs and Bucellarii and Koloneia and Paphlagonia to hold the North; the South was to be held by generals of the themes of the Anatolics and Opsikion and Cappadocia together with the kleisourarchs of Seleukeia and Charsianon; and he himself took the western side, together with the imperial divisions and the generals of Thrace and Macedonia – for when the Bulgars were at peace it was a rule for them always to brave danger and fight wars with the Anatolics – and he also had the theme of the Thrakesioi with him. When Amer heard that he was blockaded closely and shut up on all sides like an animal by the Romans, he decided it was necessary to take an omen; and calling one of the captives he asked him the name of the place, the stream and the river. When the captive who had been asked altered a bit the spelling and said Ptosonta [Fallen] instead of Posonta, Amer understood this to mean his own ruin, and he interpreted the river as 'Destruction of the people', and that they would be fearfully turned back by the Romans because of the coincidence of the stream, which was called Gyrin [Turn]. 'However, we must not shrink back,' he said, 'but must rouse ourselves and be manly in face of the battle on the morrow.' And straightway he commanded that all should arm themselves and display their polished swords as if newly made. Now, because the newly dawning day brought the necessity that he escape the Romans, Amer decided that he had to seek his way out against those guarding the northern side; but because the difficulty of the place and the courage of the generals stationed there confronted and hindered him, he was constrained to turn toward the south. Now, when he found there a similar line of the enemy, attracted by the place – for of all the others it was level and easy of approach –, he decided that he should rather press forward there, where he saw that Petronas had made camp and was keeping guard. Rushing upon his enemy with a clash and

κρὸν συσταλεὶς καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν αὖθις γενόμενος ἐπεβάρει πάλιν μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἐκπόρευσίν τινα καὶ κάθοδον ἑαυτῷ ποριζόμενος. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις | f.62v τούτῳ οὐκ ἐνδόντες ἀλλ᾽ ὑπαντήσαντές τε καὶ ἀνα|στρέψαντες τῷ συμ- B 183 πεφράχθαι, καὶ μέχρι τρίτης τοῦτον τοῦτο ποιεῖν κατηνάγκασαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντοθεν ἀναφανέντας καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλοθεν ἐκπηδῶντας τοὺς τὰ ἀρκτῷα καὶ μεσημβρινὰ μέρη κατοικοῦντας καθεώρακε, τότ᾽ ἤδη τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπογνοὺς καὶ τὰς φρένας ὥσπέρ τινι κεραυνῷ βληθεὶς ἐχώρει κατὰ ξιφῶν, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἀμελῶν· ἔνθα καιρίαν πληγεὶς αὐτός τε πτῶμα γίνεται χαλεπόν, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ διασώζεται οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ. ὡς δὲ τὸν τούτου υἱὸν μετά τινος φάλαγγος ἀποδρᾶναί που διήκουον, καὶ τοῦτον ὁ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ κλεισουράρχης καταλαβὼν οὐκ ἄποθεν χειροῦταί τε μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ φέρων δίδωσι Πετρωνᾷ.

Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ὁ Πετρωνᾶς τὰ κατὰ τοῦ Ἄμερ στήσας τρόπαια διὰ πολλῆς εἶχεν ἔκτοτε τὸν μοναχὸν αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς, προφήτην ἄλλον ἀποκαλῶν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τούτῳ ἀναθεὶς πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν εἰσελαύνει τοῦτον ἐπιφερόμενος, πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Βάρδαν τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς <ἐκ>θειάζων καλῶς ἀρετήν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Πετρωνᾶς τὸ τοῦ δομεστίκου οὐκέτι προσωπεῖον καθυπεκρίνετο, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἐκ βασιλέως τιμήν· καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἐκδημίαν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ διδαχθεὶς τὸν Πετρωνᾶν ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς διὰ ταχέων μέλλων ἀποδημεῖν. "καὶ ποῖ με δή", ὁ Πετρωνᾶς, "ἀπαίρων τὸ σὸν ἀρνίον, ὦ ποιμήν μου καὶ ἐραστά, βούλει καταλιπεῖν;" μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ ἐπυνθάνετο. "ἆρα τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ; ἀλλὰ δέδοικα μὴ πρὸς τὸν πρότερον ὄλισθον αὖθις παραρρυῶ καὶ γένωνταί μοι τὰ ἔσχατα τῶν προτέρων οὐ κρείτ|τονα." "καὶ βούλει", B 184 φησὶν ὁ μοναχός, "ἐμοὶ συνεπακολουθῆσαι;" καὶ οὗτος "ναί, πάτερ", ἔφη, "μεθ᾽ ἡδονῆς". καὶ δὴ νόσῳ καὶ οὗτος βληθεὶς ἅμα τῇ εἰς οἴκαδε ὑποστροφῇ ἐδήλου τὰ συμπίπτοντα τῷ ἀββᾷ, καὶ ἀντεδηλοῦτο ὡς "μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ γενήσῃ ὡς ᾐτήσω μετὰ μικρόν". καὶ δή τινων ἡμερῶν παρελθουσῶν ὁ μοναχός τε μετεκαλεῖτο πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὗτος αὐθωρὸν ὡς ἐκ συνθήματος ἐπηκολούθει λαμπρῶς· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν | f.63 καιρὸν ἀμφοτέρων ἡ ἐκεῖθεν ἀποδημία ὡς ἅτερος ἑτέρου, καίτοι γε μικροῦ

25.77–78 : die 3 Sept. a. 863 Amer in proelio occisus est

71 ἐκπόρευσιν τινὰ V 72 τε om. edd 73 μέχρις B edd 73 τρίτης om. B edd 73 τούτων edd 75 κατοικονομοῦντας coni. Boor in app. 77 προτέρων edd (πρότερον coni. Bekk in app.) 79 ἀποδράναι που V 81 τὸ V 81 πετρονᾶ V 82 πετρονᾶς V 86 ἐκθειάζων Boor e Scyl 101.61, cf. infra IV.27.50 : θειάζων V 86 ἀλλ᾽ V : καὶ [ἀλλ᾽] edd 86 πετρονᾶς V 87 οὐκ ἔτι V 89 πετρονᾶν V 89 μέλλω coni. Boor in app. : μέλλῃ dubitanter coni. Kamb 90 πετρονᾶς V 90 ὁ ποιμήν μου B edd 92 δέδηκα V 92 παραρυῶ V 94 φηση V 95 εἰς om. B edd 96 post ἀντεδηλοῦτο add. φάναι edd 97 γενήσῃ μετὰ μικρὸν ὡς αἰτήσω ante corr. B edd

a cry he found the Romans in no wise disposed to yield but very strong and valliant in resisting him and holding their ground most vigorously. Contracting, therefore, and drawing his forces together for a short time, he then again bore down with force, seeking for himself an exit and descent. But again they did not give way but withstood him and made him withdraw by fencing him in; and they forced him to make the attempt three times. When he saw those positioned to the north and south appear from everywhere and make sallies each from every side, Amer despaired of his salvation and, as if struck by a bolt of lightening in his mind, went forward with intent against the line of swords. Thereupon mortally wounded, he had a harsh death, nor was any one of his men anywhere saved. Now, when they heard that Amer's son had run off with one of the contingents, and the kleisourarch of Charsianos caught up with him not far off together with his army, he defeated him and, bringing him to the general Petronas, handed him over. Thus Petronas, having set up trophies of victory over Amer, held the monk henceforth in great reverence and honour, calling him another prophet. Confiding, then, the thoughts of his soul to this same, Petronas returned to the capital taking him along, happily extolling the man's virtue as divine before the emperor and Bardas. Now, Petronas no longer feigned to play the part of the domestikos, but received this dignity from the emperor; and the monk, having learned from God of his departure to Him, informed Petronas that he would soon depart. 'But you who are going off, O my shepherd and beloved one, where do you intend to leave me, your little lamb?', asked Petronas with sobbing. 'In this world? But I fear lest I should again fall upon the slippery path, and the last days of my life should be no better than the former ones.' 'Do you want, then, to follow me?' asked the monk. Said Petronas, 'Yes father, with pleasure.' And he was stricken with illness, and on the return journey he related to the abba the things which had happened; and the other replied, 'You shall be with me, as you have asked, after a short while.' And after a few days had passed the monk was summoned to God, and at the same hour Petronas, as by covenant, followed in splendour. And the departure thither of both was so close in time,

τοῦ διαστήματος ὄντος, μὴ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν θάνατον. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει τοῦ βίου ὁ Πετρωνᾶς χρησάμενος λέγεται, ἐτελεύτα δὲ καὶ πρὸ τούτου ὁ Μανουὴλ νόσῳ δή τινι κρατηθείς.

26. Μετέβαινε δὲ καὶ ὁ Βάρδας καὶ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέως ἤμειβε συνεχῶς τιμάς, ὥσπέρ τις νέος γαῦρός τε καὶ φιλότιμος τὰς ποικίλας τῶν πρὸς τέρψιν στολάς. μετέβαινε γοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὴν καίσαρος ἀνῄει δόξαν τε καὶ τιμήν, τοῦ Μιχαὴλ οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι τῶν πολιτικῶν τοσοῦτον ἐπτοημένου ἢ θέατρα καὶ ἵππων ἁμιλλητήρια. καὶ τὸ δὴ χαλεπόν, οὐκ ἠγάπα μόνον θεατὴς εἶναι, εἴ γε καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσχόλαζεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡνιοχεῖν – ὢ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας – θέαμα τυγχάνων καὶ παίγνιον πᾶσι δὴ καὶ κατάγελως. οὕτως ὁ Βάρδας τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ ἐπετρόπευεν, καὶ οὐδὲ ζῆν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἠθέλησεν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο μεταπείσειε τὸ ἀνδράποδον. πλὴν διῴκει τέως αὐτὸς τὰ πολιτικά, καὶ τῆς βασι|λείας κατεστοχάζετο B 185
ὡς αὐτὴν εὐκαίρως περιληψόμενος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐταμιεύετο· τότε δὲ τῆς ἔξω σοφίας ἐπιμεληθεὶς – καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῷ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ παραρρυεῖσα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως κεχωρηκυῖα τῇ τῶν κρατησάντων ἀγροικίᾳ καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ – καὶ διατριβὰς τῶν μαθηματικῶν κατὰ τὴν Μαγναύραν ποιήσας αὖθις ἀκμάζειν καὶ ἀνηβᾶν ταύτην ἐσπούδαζέ τε καὶ πεφιλοτίμητο. καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ περιβόητον ὂν οὐκ ἴσχυσέ πως τὰς ἐνούσας ἄλλως κῆρας αὐτῷ ἀπονίψασθαι. ἦρχε δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης σχολῆς τὴν μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ἐξηγούμενος Λέων ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας τε καὶ φιλόσοφος, ὃς κατὰ συγγένειαν μὲν τὴν ἐξαδέλφου τῷ πατριάρχῃ Ἰαννῇ ᾠκείωτο, τὸν θρόνον δὲ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατέχων, ἐπειδὴ νῦν ἐκ καθαιρέσεως ἐσχόλαζεν, εἰς ταύτην προεβιβάζετο τὴν σχολήν, τὴν ἀμαθίαν πόρρω ποι ἀπελαύνων καὶ ἐκτρεπόμενος.

27. Ἄξιον δὲ μὴ δ᾽ ὅπως εἰς γνῶσιν ἦλθεν ὁ τηλικοῦτος ἀνὴρ τῷ τότε κρατοῦντι παραδραμεῖν. Θεόφιλος δὲ ἦν, ὁ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ σπορεὺς καὶ πατήρ. οὗτος | οὖν ἐπεὶ τὴν τῶν μαθημάτων εἰς ἄκρον ἐπιστήμην f.63v

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25.101–102 : die 11 Nov. (fortasse a. 865 secundum Halkin *AB* 62 [1944] 196–197) Petronas obiit 102–103 : de morte Manuelis ca. a. 863 cf. Signes 2013 **26.**3–4 : die 26 Apr. a. 862 Bardas Caesar designatus est 20–21 : a. 843 Leo Philosophus a sede Thessalonicense expulsus est

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Cap. 26: GeorgCont (Istrin) 9.31–10.2; Gen 69.39–41; Log A 243.210–213 | PsSym 664.6–8; Scyl 101.65–83 Cap. 27: Log A 227.249–228.261 | PsSym 640.3–16; Scyl 101.84–104.71

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102 πετρονᾶς V **26.**2 γαῦρος τε V 6 εἶναι V 7 ὢ V : ὁ B edd 8 καταγέλως V : γέλως Scyl 101.71 9 τοῦτον B edd Boor 9 μεταπείσει B edd 10 τέ ὡς V 11 παραληψόμενος Scyl 101.72 13 παραρυεῖσα V 15 τὴν om. edd 15 μαγναῦραν V 15 ἀγκμάζειν V 18 post δὲ add. καὶ edd 19 τὲ V 20 τὴν : τοῦ edd 20 ἐξ ἀδελφοῦ V 23 ἀποτρεπόμενος edd **27.**1 τῷ τότε : τῶτε ante corr. V (τὸ inser.)

though there was some little distance, that neither one heard of the other's death. Such an end of life is Petronas said to have had; and Manuel also died before him, seized by an illness.

26. Now Bardas passed on and constantly changed dignities granted by the emperor even as a proud and ambitious youth changes many-coloured garments for joy. Thus he passed on and rose to the glory and dignity of cesar, whilst Michael was excited by nothing to do with affairs of state as by spectacles and races of horses. And what was grave was that he not only loved to be a spectator, though he also took time for this, but also himself drove the horses – alas for the empire of the Romans! – being a spectacle and game and laughing-stock to all. Bardas thus acted as guardian of his nephew, and he did not want to live, so it appeared, unless he could change this knave's persuasion. But for the meanwhile he himself administered the affairs of state and he aimed at the imperial office, so that he might take possession of it in propitious wise. But he laid this up for the future; for the present he cultivated secular wisdom – for at that time it had disappeared from memory and come to a state of absolute nullity through the rusticity and lack of culture of those who had ruled – and he caused the practice of learning to flourish again in the Magnaura and endeavoured and took pride in restoring youthful vigour to this latter. But although this most beautiful and celebrated thing was one of his works, it could not wash away the blemishes which otherwise belonged to him. The director of this school was that Leo, expounder of philosophy and a great philosopher himself, who was related as cousin to the patriarch Jannes. He had occupied the see of Salonica, but because of his deposition he was now at leisure, he was put in charge of this school, in order to drive off far away and dispel the lack of culture.

27. It is also fitting that we should not omit mention of how this man came to the acquaintance of the then emperor. This latter was Theophilus, the progenitor and father of Michael. Now, because Leo had come to the ut-

ἐξήσκησεν, τοσοῦτον χωρήσας δι᾿ ἁπασῶν, τῆς τε φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς ἀδελφῶν, ἀριθμητικῆς τέ φημι καὶ γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀστρονομίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πολυθρυλλήτου μουσικῆς, καὶ εἰς ἄκρον αὐτῶν ἐλάσας ὡς οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἕτερος σπουδῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ βίῳ ἀπράγμονι καὶ μεγέθει φύσεως, εὐτελεῖ τινι καταλύματι χρώμενος καὶ καταγωγίῳ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν φοι- τῶν|τας ἐπαίδευεν, ἐκδιδάσκων ἥντινα ἐπιστήμην καὶ βούλοιντο. ὡς B 186 δ᾿ ἤδη χρόνος παρίππασεν καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστήμας προέκοπτον, συνέβη τινὰ νεανίαν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φοιτητῶν, τῆς γεωμετρικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἄρτι τὸ πέρας κατειληφότα, ὑπογραφέα γενέσθαι τινὸς στρατηγίδα τάξιν διέποντος, καὶ προκοπῆς ἕνεκεν τοῦ βίου ἀγαπῆσαι τούτῳ ἀκολουθεῖν. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα τούτῳ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, οὐκ οἶδ᾿ ὅπως, ζωγρεῖται καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινι εἰς δουλείαν διὰ τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας δίδοται. Μαμοῦν ἐκεῖνος οὕτω καλούμενος τηνικαῦτα μὲν τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν ἐτέλει ἀμεραμνουνῆς, ἄλλοις τε μαθήμασι σχολάζων Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ γεωμετρίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον οὐκ ἀμελῶν. λόγου δέ ποτε παρὰ τοῦ τὸν νεανίαν ἔχοντος δεσπότου κινηθέντος περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τοῦ ἀμεραμνουνῆ καὶ τῆς τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπιμελείας, ὡς δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς γεωμετρίας ἔλεγεν, ἀκοῦσαι τούτου εἶπεν ὁ νεανίας ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκάλων, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ τινα ἔχοντος ἐπιστήμην γεωμετρικήν. ὡς οὖν ἀνέμαθεν ὁ ἀμεραμνουνῆς, μετὰ περιχαρείας εἰσκαλεῖται πολλῆς, καὶ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ γνῶσιν τῆς τοιαύτης κέκτηται ἐπιστήμης. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν ἐποιήσατο, ἔτι μὲν ἀπιστίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου λόγους ὁ βάρβαρος κεκτημένος οὐκ ἔλεγεν ἑτέρους εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τῶν ἐκείνου διδασκάλων ἐκτός. ὡς δ᾿ ὁ νεανίας ἔλεγε τούτων διακοῦσαι ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ | τῆς αὐτῶν διδασκαλίας, εὐθὺς οὗτοι παραστάντες ἀπήρχοντο B 187 ταύτης, καὶ διεχαράττοντο τρίγωνά τε καὶ τετράγωνα σχήματα, | καὶ f.64

27.14–15 : Logotheta hoc bellum ad Amorii expugnationem in a. 838 falso attribuit 16–17 : Mamun ut calipha apud Saracenos ab a. 813 usque ad a. 833 regnavit, sed in Bagdad imperium tantummodo post Aug. a. 819 accepit

4 δι ἀπασῶν V : διὰ πασῶν edd 4 τε om. edd 5 τὼ αὐτῆς ante corr. V (ν inser.) 6 περιθρυλήτου edd 7 οὐδὲ μιᾶς V Boor, cf. Scyl 101.85 οὐδὲ μίαν ἕτερος : οὐδεμιᾶς edd 7 ἀπράγμωνι V 8 τινὶ edd 9 ἐκδιδάσκων ἥντινα – βούλοιντο edd e Scyl 101.86–102.87 ὁποίαν ἕκαστος βούλοιτο : ἐκδιδάσκων ἥντινα – βούλεται V Boor : ἕκ<αστον> διδάσκων – βούλεται coni. Boor in app. : ἐκδιδάσκων ἥντινα ἐπιστήμην <ἕκαστος> [καὶ] βούλοιτο coni. dubitanter Kamb 10 παρείπασεν V : παρίπασεν Comb 13 στρατηγίδα Bekk, cf. Scyl 102.89 ὑπογραφέα… τινὸς στρατηγοῦ : στρατηγίδος V Comb Boor 16 διὰ : δὰι V ut vid. 17 ἀμερουμνῆς V, sed cf. infra IV.27.79 et supra IV.16.18 20 τοῦ om. edd (coni. addendum esse Bekk in app.) 20 ἀμερουμνῆ V 23 ἔχοντος edd Boor : ἔχοντα V 24 ἀμερουμνῆς V 27 ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν Comb 28 διδασκάλως V 28 ἔλεγεν edd 30 διεχαράττοντο V Boor, cf. Scyl 102.9 : διεχάραττον τὰ B edd

most perfection in the knowledge of the branches of learning, advancing to such an extent in all of them, Philosophy and her sisters, that is Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy, as well as much-famed Music, and had progressed to the summit of these same as no one else in any other single branch through his great zeal and life removed from public affairs and sublimity of nature, he instructed the pupils who came to him making use of a simple lodging and residence, teaching whichever subject they desired. When much time had gone by and not a few of his disciples had made progress in their studies, it happened that one youth from amongst his pupils, who had just finished the study of Geometry, became the secretary of a man who held the rank of general; and for the sake of advancement in his life, he agreed to follow this latter. And when he went off to battle with him, he was captured somehow by the Hagarenes and was given in servitude to one of the distinguished men because of his young age. At this time, the man called Mamun held office as ameramnounes of the Ishmaelites, and besides studying other branches of Hellenic learning, he was particulary careful not to neglect Geometry. Now, when the master who owned the youth once talked about the zeal of the ameramnounes and his occupation with learning, and that he also held discourse on Geometry, the youth said that he desired to listen to him and to his teachers, in as much as he also had some knowledge of Geometry. When the ameramnounes learned this, he summoned him with great joy, and he asked the captive if he had acquired knowledge of this science. When he replied in the affirmative, the barbarian, who was still incredulous of his words, said that there were no other teachers under the sun besides his own. But when the youth said that he wanted to listen to these same and to their teaching, the men came and commenced this latter forthwith, and triangular and quadrangular shapes were drawn, and they brought forth the Euclidian tables; and whatever they taught in manly and scholarly fashion, saying that this and the other had this or that name, with regard to the cause or reason, or to the question why this was so and had such a name, they gave no appropriate answer,

τοὺς Εὐκλείδου κανόνας προσέφερον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅ τι ἐδίδασκον ἀνδρικῶς καὶ ἐπιστημονικῶς, τοῦτο λέγοντες τοιαύτην ἔχοι τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ τοιαύτην τὸ ἕτερον, αἰτίαν δὲ καὶ λόγον, καὶ <τὸ> διότι οὕτως τε ἔστιν καὶ κλῆσιν ἔχοι, κατάλληλον ἀπεδίδοσαν οὐδαμῶς, ἀμαθίαν καὶ ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ στενότητα γλώττης πως ἔχοντες. ὡς οὖν τούτους γαυρουμένους ἑώρα καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν σχημάτων ὁ νεανίας καταγραφῇ, "τί", φησίν, "ὦ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ παντὸς λόγου καὶ πράγματος τῆς αἰτίας τὸ κράτος ἐχούσης καὶ τοῦ διότι, ὑμεῖς τὴν ὕπαρξιν μόνον λέγοντες τοὺς τούτων παρατρέχετε λόγους ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαίους, καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν τὸν διδασκόμενον ἄγετε ὅπου καὶ τὸν μηδὲν παιδευόμενον μὴ δέ τι περὶ τούτων διαγινώσκοντα;" τῶν δὲ ἀπορησάντων καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τούτων διευκρινεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν παρακελευομένων, ἐπεὶ διερμηνεύοντα καὶ σαφῶς λέγοντα ταύτας διήκουον, ὡς τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τόδε καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τόδε τὴν εἰρημένην ἔχει κλῆσίν τε καὶ γραφήν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτῶν ὁ νοῦς διηνοίγετο καὶ τῶν λεγομένων συνίεσαν, θάμβει λοιπὸν συσχεθέντες ἠρώτων ὁπόσους τὸ Βυζάντιον τοιούτους τρέφει ἄνδρας καὶ ἐπιστήμονας. ὡς δὲ πολλοὺς οὗτος ἔλεγεν καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῷ τῶν μαθητιώντων χορῷ ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῶν διδασκόντων κατέλεγεν, περὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου τοῦτον αὖθις ἐπανηρώτων, εἰ ζῶσιν ἔτι ἠρίθμηται καὶ ὑπεράνω πέφυκε γῆς. ὁ δὲ "ἔστι τε", | ἔφησεν, B 188 "ὑπὲρ γῆς", καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν ἐξεθείασεν, ἀκτήμονά τε βίον διάγειν λέγων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄγνωστον ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ διαλάμποντα. γράμματα γοῦν εὐθὺς ὁ Μαμοῦν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαχαράττει τόνδε τὸν νοῦν περιέχοντα, "ὡς ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον ἐπέγνωμεν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μαθητοῦ τὸν διδάσκαλον. ἐπεὶ γοῦν τόσος ὢν περὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ὄντων δι᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ γνώσεως βάθος ἄγνωστος εἶ τοῖς σοῖς συμπολίταις καὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως οὔπω τοὺς καρποὺς ἀπείληφας, ὅτι μὴ δὲ | τιμῆς f.64v ἠξίωσαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, μὴ ἀπαξιώσῃς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς σῆς διδασκαλίας μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν. εἰ γὰρ οὕτω τοῦτο γένηται, τοὺς αὐχένας σοι κλινεῖ γένος ἅπαν τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, καὶ πλούτου καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθήσῃ, ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἠξίωται". ἐπιδοὺς οὖν τὰ γράμματα τῷ νεανίᾳ καὶ δώροις αὐτὸν φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν διδάσκαλον καταλαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ τιμὰς εὐθὺς ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ

||53 Matt 7.17–20

31 ὅτι edd Boor 31 ἀνδρικὼς V 32 ἔχοι : ἔχει coni. Bekk in app. Boor, cf. Scyl 102.11 φέρει 33 λόγον edd Boor e Scyl 102.12 : λέγον V 33 τὸ ante διότι add. Boor e Scyl 102.12 33 τέ ἐστιν V 34 ἀμαθείαν edd 35 γλώτ|τῆς V 36 μεγάφρονοῦντας V 37 φηση V 38 τοῦ Bekk, cf. Scyl : τὸ V 39 ταυτὸν V 40 τὸν μηδὲν edd Boor : τὸ μηδὲν V 41 διαπορησάντων edd 43 διατόδε V 44 κλῆσιν τε V 44 γραφή ante corr. V (ν inser.) 46 καὶ om. edd 49 εἰ V Boor, cf. Scyl 103.25 εἰ περίεστιν : οὐ edd (εἰ coni. Bekk in app.) 49 ὑπὲρ ἄνω V 50 τε om. edd 52 διαχαράκτει V 52 τόνδὲ V 53 καὶ om. edd

though through lack of learning and ignorance rather than any inadequacy of speech. Now, when he saw that they were proud and gave themselves airs over their drawings of the forms, the youth said, 'Why, O you men, though the cause and the question 'why' prevails in the case of every argument and thing, do you simply mention the existence of these things, neglecting the reasons for them as unnecessary, and bring the pupil to the same state as one who learns nothing nor discerns anything concerning these things?' Being at a loss, even when they were bidden to examine and teach the reasons for these things, when they heard him interpreting and explaining clearly, that one had such a name and design for such and such a reason, and the other had another name and shape for another reason, their minds were opened up and they understood what he said, and seized with marvel they enquired how many such men and scholars Byzantium nurtured. When he said that there were many, and that he was ranked amongst the company of pupils and not the teachers, they asked him further about his teacher and whether he was still counted amongst the living and was upon earth. Said he, 'He is on earth,' and he extolled his virtue, saying that he shone in wisdom whilst living a life of poverty and unbeknown to the common people. Forthwith Mamun drew up a letter to him with the following sense, 'As from the fruit we kniow the tree, so from the pupil the teacher. Seeing that, although you are so great in the science of things through virtue and depth of knowledge, you are unknown to your fellow citizens and have not yet received the fruits of wisdom and knowledge, in that you have not been awarded any dignity by them, do not disdain to come to us and impart your teaching to us. For if this come to pass, all the race of the Saracens shall bend the neck unto you, and you shall be deemed worthy of wealth and bounties, whereof no man has ever been deemed worthy.' Giving the youth the letter and indulging him with gifts, he commanded him to return to his teacher, and he promised yet further bounties and, if he desired, the return home, if only he would convince the other to leave the land of the Romans. Now, when he arrived in the imperial city and

αὖθις, εἰ βούλοιτο, τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἐπάνοδον, μόνον εἰ τοῦτον πείσειε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταλιπεῖν γῆν. ὡς γοῦν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἔφθασε καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου πρὸς πρόσωπον ἔστηκεν, ἡ τούτου θέα ἀναφλέξασά τε καὶ οἷον ἀναθερμάνασα ὀλοφύρεσθαι κατηνάγκαζε καὶ δάκρυσιν οὐ παρειὰς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τράχηλον καὶ στέρνα διάβροχα ἐμποιεῖν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀφασία τῶν δρωμένων τὸν διδάσκαλον κατελάμβανεν, τίς τε εἴη οὐκ εἰδώς, καὶ ὅτου ταῦτα ἕνεκεν διαπράττοιτο· ἥ τε γὰρ τούτου μορφὴ ἀλ|λοιωθεῖσα [B 189] τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας κακουχίᾳ ἀλλοῖον τὸν νεανίαν ἀλλ᾿ οὐκ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν γνωριζόμενον ἀνεδίδασκεν. ὡς δὲ τὴν τούτου γνῶσιν κατὰ μικρὸν ἐδίδου, ὄνομα καὶ μαθήματα ἐπειπών, καὶ προσετίθει τὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεώς τε καὶ ἀφίξεως, καὶ ἅμα εἰς χεῖρας ἐδίδου δὴ τὴν γραφήν, τότε δὴ κοινῇ τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἐπλήρουν καὶ θρηνῳδίαν. πλὴν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον εἶναι λογισάμενος τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γραφήν, εἴ γέ ποτε κατάφωρος γένοιτο, τῷ λογοθέτῃ πρόσεισι – Θεόκτιστος οὗτος ἦν ὁ παρανάλωμα τῷ Βάρδᾳ γενόμενος – καὶ διηγεῖται τὰ τοῦ αἰχμαλώτου πάντα καὶ μαθητοῦ, καὶ ἅμα εἰς χεῖρας δίδωσιν τὴν τοῦ ἀμεραμνουνῆ γραφήν. αὕτη ἡ αἰτία τῆς τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα γνώσεώς τε καὶ οἰκειώσεως. οὗτος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα τήν τε τοῦ Λέοντος σοφίαν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ γενέσθαι ἐν γωνίᾳ τέως οὖσαν ἐποίησεν καὶ τῆς εὐτελείας ἐκείνης καὶ πενίας ἔξω παρήγαγεν. τό τε γὰρ γράμμα ἐμφανίζει τῷ Θεοφίλῳ ὁ λογοθέτης, καὶ προσκαλεῖται τοῦτον αὐτός, καὶ πλουτίζεται καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων ναῷ διδάσκειν δημοσίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπείγεται. οὐ πολὺς γοῦν χρόνος, καὶ ἐπεὶ διέγνω | [f.65] ὁ Μαμοῦν μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν φιλόσοφον τῆς οἰκείας τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἀλλάξασθαι, διὰ γραφῆς ἐκτίθησιν ἀπορίας γεωμετρικῶν τε καὶ ἀστρολογικῶν ζητημάτων καί τινων ἑτέρων δυσδιαγνώστων κεφαλαίων, καὶ τὴν λύσιν τούτων κομίσασθαι ἀξιοῖ. ὡς δ᾿ οὖν ἕκαστα προσηκόντως ὁ Λέων ἡρμήνευσεν καὶ τὰς τούτων λύσεις ἐξέθετο, προσεφήρμοσέ τε τούτοις καί τινα προγνώσεως, ἐκπλήξεως | [B 190] ἕνεκα, τότε δὴ μεγάλως ἐπὶ χεῖρας λαβόντα αὐτὰ τὸν ἀμεραμνουνῆ τρωθῆναι δὴ τῷ τούτου πόθῳ, καὶ μέγα

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64 γοῦν om. edd   64 τὴν : γῆν Comb   65 πρὸς : κατὰ coni. Boor in app.   66 θερμαίνουσα edd   66 ὁλοφυρεσθαι V   67 παρειὰς edd : πόδας V Boor   67 μὲν om. edd   72 καταμικρὸν V   72 μαθημάτα V   78 ὁ παρανάλωμα – γενόμενος fortasse a lectore in marg. adscripta et in textu ab librario inserta putavit Boor, eumdem autem codicem habuerit Scyl 103.40 ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Βάρδα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναιρεθεὶς   78 διηγεῖτο edd   79 εἰς χεῖρας om. edd   80 τῆς – γνώσεως τε καὶ οἰκειώσεως Boor : τῆς – γνώσις τε καὶ οἰκείωσεις (sic) V : τῆς – γνώσεως τε καὶ οἰκείωσις edd : fortasse τις – γνῶσις τε καὶ οἰκείωσις, cf. Scyl. 103.43–44 γνῶσις γίνεται καὶ οἰκείωσις   85 τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων : μʹ edd   89 καὶ τινων V   90 ἕκαστον B edd   91 ἡρμήνευσεν ante ὁ Λέων edd   92 τινα προγνώσεως : τινας προγνώσεις coni. Bekk in app. : τινὰ προγνώσεως ἔμπλεα Boor, cf. Scyl 103.51–52 καταπλήξεως χάριν καί τινα τῶν μελλόντων σημεῖα προγνωστικὰ

stood face to face with his teacher, the sight of the latter rekindled a flame and warmed him, and caused him to weep and to drench not only his cheeks but also his neck and breast. At first speechlessness took hold of the teacher concerning these actions, not knowing who this might be nor why he did these things. For the other's form had been changed through time and the misery of captivity, and it made him think that this was some other youth than the one he knew. But when, little by little, he disclosed to him his identity, pronouncing his name and studies, and added the account of his captivity and the reason for his release and arrival there, then he put also the letter in his hands, and they lamented and wailed together. But considering the letter from the enemies not to be without danger if ever it should be discovered, Leo went to the logothete – this was Theoktistos, who fell victim to Bardas – and he recounted everything about the pupil and his captivity, and at the same time he put the letter of the ameramnounes in his hands. This is the reason for this man's acquaintance and relation with the emperor. This pupil and this letter caused Leo's wisdom, which had been so long in the shadow, to come into the open and brought it forth from such shabbiness and poverty. For the logothete showed the letter to Theophilus, and this same summoned him, and he became rich and was urged by the emperor to teach in public in the church of the Forty Martyrs. Not long afterwards, when Mamun had understood that the philosopher did not want to exchange his own for a foreign land, he expressed by letter his difficulties in geometric and astrologic question and certain other obscure arguments, and he requested him to convey to him the solution of these things. And after Leo had interpreted each matter in appropraite wise and expounded the solutions, adapting to these also certain elements of prognosis for the sake of surprise, then the ameramnounes, taking the letter with these things in his hands, was affected greatly with longing for him and uttered a great cry, marvelling at this man of Philosophy and learning. Whereupon he sent a letter not to him, but to Theophilus, with the following sense, 'I would have wanted to come to you, fulfilling the duty of

ἀνακραγεῖν, τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ὑπεραγάμενον. ὅθεν εὐθὺς οὐ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πρὸς δὲ τὸν Θεόφιλον ἐπιστολὴν πέμπει, τὸν νοῦν τοῦτον ἐμπεριέχουσαν ὡς "ἐβουλόμην μὲν αὐτὸς ἀφικέσθαι σοι, ἔργον φίλου τε καὶ μαθητοῦ ἐκπληρῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥ τε προσανακειμένη μοι ἀρχὴ καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρά μου τελῶν καὶ ἐξουσίαν λαὸς τοῦτο οὐ συγχωρεῖ, ἀξιῶ τὸν ὃν ἔχεις ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις περιβόητον ἄνδρα βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἐπαποστεῖλαι, καὶ συγγενέσθαι μοι τοῦτον πεῖσαι, τρόπῳ διδασκαλίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστήμης μεταδιδόντα καὶ ἀρετῆς τῷ οὕτως ἔχοντι ἐμοὶ πρὸς ἐκείνας ἐρωτικῶς. πάντως δὲ οὐκ ἀναβολή τις γενήσεται ὅτι τε τῶν οὐχ ὁμογλώσσων ἐγὼ καὶ ὅτι τῆς πίστεως ἀλλότριος· ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μᾶλλον τοιοῦτος ὁ ἀξιῶν, πέρας ἡ αἴτησις λήψεται παρὰ φίλοις ἐπιεικέσι τε καὶ χρηστοῖς. χάρις δέ σοι καταβληθήσεται ὑπὲρ τούτου χρυσίου μὲν εἴκοσι κεντηνάρια, εἰρήνη δὲ καὶ σπονδαὶ ἀΐδιοί τε καὶ ἀτελεύτητοι". τοσούτοις μὲν ἐκεῖνος τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξωνεῖτο παρουσίαν καὶ ἄφιξιν· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Θεόφιλος ἄτοπον κρίνας καὶ ἄλογον τὸ οἰκεῖον δοῦναι ἑτέροις καλὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων γνῶσιν ἔκδοτον ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, δι᾽ ἧς τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος θαυμάζεταί τε καὶ τιμᾶται παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπένευσε, τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τιμῆς πλείονος σχὼν τὸν Ἰωάννην τοῦ | πατριαρχικοῦ τότε θρόνου ἀντιποιούμενον κατὰ B 191 τὴν Θεσσαλονικέων μητρόπολιν, καὶ ὡς πλήρη σοφίας ὄντα καὶ ὡς ᾠκειωμένον τούτῳ κατὰ συγγένειαν, χειροτονεῖν ἐγκελεύεται.

28. Ὃς ἐπεὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην ἐγένετο, εἶχε μὲν ἅ|παντας τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐλαβουμένους τε καὶ τιμῶντας ἀρετήν, εἶχε δὲ f.65v μᾶλλον τιμῶντας τοῦτον λαμπρότερον ἔκ τινος αἰτίας ἣν ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ. περὶ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν γονὰς στεῖρά πως τοσοῦτον ὡρᾶτο ἡ γῆ καὶ ἄτεκνος κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ὡς <τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἢ μετανάστας γενέσθαι ἐλπίζειν> ἢ θάνατον κατεπείγεσθαι. οὓς ἰδὼν τῷ τῆς συμπαθείας οἴκτῳ βληθεὶς μήτ᾽ ἀθυμεῖν παρῄνει μήτε μὴν συμφοραῖς ἐπαπόλλυσθαι, εἴ γε δὴ βούλοιντο τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπικουρίας καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τυχεῖν. περί τινα γοῦν καιρόν, ὃν ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογικῆς ἐδιδάσκετο ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐπιτολαῖς τε

27.112 : de tempore designationis Ioannis cf. III.26

Cap. 28: | Scyl 104.71–82

95 ὑπεραγάμενον nos, cf. Scyl 104.54–55 : ὑπεραγάμενος V edd Boor   98 post ἀρχὴ add. ἐκ θεοῦ edd e Scyl 104.57   98 τελὼν V   101 συγγενέσθαί μοι V   103 ἀναβολὴ τίς V   103 οὐχ (sic) V   106 εἴκοσι : ἑκατὸν Comb in marg. e Scyl 104.65   108 ἄτοπον κρίνας : ἀνταποκρίνας edd   110 ἔθνεσι edd : ἔθεσι V   110 ἧς : ἣν Boor e Scyl 104.67   110 ante Ῥωμαίων add. τῶν Bekk, sed cf. Scyl 104.67   111 τοῦ τὸν V   **28.**5 καὶροῦ V   6 τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἢ μετανάστας γενέσθαι ἐλπίζειν coni. Kamb, cf. Scyl 104.76–77 καὶ πάντες ἢ μετανάσται γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, ἢ λιμῷ καὶ ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων διαφθαρήσεσθαι ἤλπιζον : lacunam statuit Boor   6 ἢ : καὶ edd   7 ἐπαπολλύσθαι V   9 ὃν : ᾧ vel καθ᾽ ὃν coni. Boor in app., sed cf. Scyl 104.78   9 ἐπιτολαῖς edd e Scyl 104.79 ἐπιτολὴ : ἐντολαῖς V

friend and pupil. But because the realm which is entrusted to me and the numerous populace under my rule and authority does not permit this, I ask you to send for a short time the man whom you have who is acclaimed in Philosophy and other sciences, and to persuade him to keep company with me sharing, after the manner of a teacher, his knowledge and virtue with me who fervently desire them. There is to be no delaying on any account because I do not speak the same language and am of a different faith; but rather, because it is such a one who asks, the request is to be accepted amongst respectable and upright friends. As thanks to you for this, twenty kentenaria of gold shall be laid down, as well as peace and eternal, unceasing treaties.' With these things he was purchasing the other's presence and arrival; but Theophilus, judging it to be out of place and unreasonable to give one's own advantage to others and to betray to foreigners the knowledge of existing things, whereby the nation of the Romans is admired and honoured by all, did not give his ascent to the other but, holding Leo in yet greater honour, he commanded John who then held the patriarchal see to ordain Leo to the metropolis of Salonica, in as much as he was full of wisdom and was related by consanguinity with the former.

28. Now, after his ordination Leo went to Salonica, and he received reverence and honour from everyone for his virtue, but he received even more splendid honour for a reason which our account will reveal. At this time the earth became somehow so barren and unproductive in the bearing of fruit that <the inhabitants hoped to emigrate,> or else to confront death. Seeing them, he was stricken with compassionate sympathy and exhorted them not to despair nor to succomb to calamities if they desired to obtain God's aid and his own. At a certain time then, when he learnt from astrology through the risings and phases of certain stars that there was to be a certain effluence

καὶ φάσεσι ἀπόρροιάν τινα καὶ συμπάθειαν τοῖς περιγείοις προσγίνεσθαι, τὰ σπέρματα τῇ γῇ κατεβάλλετο καὶ ὑπὸ κόλπους ταύτης ἐδίδου, ὧν τοσαύτην γενέσθαι συνέβη τὴν εὐφορίαν τε καὶ εὐκαρπίαν, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἀνέτελλεν καὶ ὁ τοῦ θέρους ἐφεστήκει καιρός, ὡς πολλοὺς ἐπαρκέσαι χρόνους αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς, πάντως οὕτω τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἄμητον πολύχουν ἐνεγκαμένου, ταῖς τῶν ἀναγκαζομένων λιτανείαις ἐπιδόντος καὶ ἱκετείαις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῇ ἐκείνου περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ματαιοπονίᾳ. τοῦτο γοῦν τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων ηὔξησε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα στοργὴν καὶ τὸ φίλτρον αὐτῶν διήγειρεν, ὡς εἰκός.

29. Θαυμαζόντων δὲ πολλῶν | περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας, καὶ ὅπως εἰς B 192 ἄκρον ἔφθασε πασῶν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, λέγεται πρός τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συνήθων φάναι ὡς τὴν μὲν γραμματικὴν καὶ ποιητικὴν κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν διατρίβων κατώρθωσεν, ῥητορικὴν δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἀναλήψεις κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Ὕατρον γενόμενος· ἐκεῖσε γάρ τινι σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐντυχὼν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς μόνον καί τινας λόγους παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβών, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὅσον ἐβούλετο εὕρισκεν, τῇ χέρσῳ ταύτης περινοστῶν καὶ μοναστήρια καταλαμβάνων καὶ τὰς ἀποκειμένας βίβλους ἀνερευνῶν τε καὶ ποριζόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρέων σπουδαιότερον ταύτας ἐμμελετῶν, πρὸς τὸ τῆς γνώσεως οὕτως ὕψος ἀνεβιβάζετο, ὅτε δὴ καὶ κόρον σχὼν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν αὖθις ὑπέστρεψεν, τὰ σπέρματα τῶν ἐπιστη|μῶν ταῖς τῶν βουλομένων διανοίαις καταβαλλό- f.66 μενος.

Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρότερον· καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ μετὰ τρεῖς χρόνους – τοσοῦτος δὲ ὁ τῆς τοῦ θρόνου ἀντιλήψεως χρόνος – ἐκ τῆς καθαιρέσεως αὖθις ἐσχόλαζε, τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μαγναύραν μὲν οὗτος ἦρχε φιλοσόφου σχολῆς, ὁ δὲ δὴ τούτου φοιτητὴς Θεόδωρος τοῦ τῆς γεωμετρίας διαιτητηρίου προΐστατο, καὶ Θεοδήγιος τοῦ τῆς ἀστρονομίας, καὶ Κομητᾶς τῆς τὰς φωνὰς ἐξελληνιζούσης γραμματικῆς· οἷς ὁ Βάρδας καὶ δαψιλῶς ἐπαρκῶν καὶ ἐκ φιλομαθίας πολλάκις ἐπιφοιτῶν καὶ τῶν διδασκομένων τὰς φύσεις ἐπιρρωννύς, ἐντὸς τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου ὥσπερ πτερὰ τοῖς λόγοις διδοὺς πτεροφυεῖν ἐποίει καὶ προβαίνειν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν. | B 193

29.14–15 : Leo Philosophus inter a. 840 et a. 843 sedem Thessalonicensem ut episcopus tenuit

Cap. 29: Gen 69.53–70.76 | Scyl 104.82–105.8 || 21–22 cf. Homerus, Il., 1.201

12 τὴν om. B edd 13 ante πολλοὺς coni. ἐπὶ Boor in app. e Scyl 104.81 15 ἐπιδόντος edd : ἐπιδόητος V (ante corr. ἐπε-) 17 ἐπιπλέον V **29.**3 φᾶναι V 4 ῥητορηκὴν V 5 Ὕατρον coni. Boor in app., verbis τῇ χέρσῳ ταύτης ad Andrum insulam non spectare videntibus, cf. Vita Ignatii col. 496–497 de insula Hyatro et monasteriis illae proximis : Ἄντρον V Scyl 105.85 (ACEVBMNF) Boor : Ἄνδρον edd e Scyl 105.85 (H) 11 post σχὼν add. τῶν μαθημάτων edd e Scyl 105.90 16 ἐσχόλαζεν V 18 κομητὰς V 21 ἐπιρωννὺς V 22 τύμπροσθεν V

and concord with the things on earth, he threw down the seeds upon the earth and gave them into her bosom; and from these, as Spring arose and Summertime stood near, there came great fertility and abundance, so that this sufficed for the people for many years to come, though of course it was God who thus brought the plentiful harvest, awarding the prayers and intercessions of those in need, not the other's vain efforts in this matter. This then further increased the Thessalonians' love for the man and roused their affection, as is reasonable.

29. Whilst many marvelled at his wisdom and how he had arrived at the summit of all sciences, it is said that he told one of his habitual acquaintances that he had mastered Grammar and Poetics whilst dwelling in Constantinople, but Rhetoric and Philosophy and learning of numbers whilst on the island of Hyatros. For there he had found a wise man and, taking only incipits and certain discourses from him, because he did not find what he wanted, he wandered about the mainland of the island and went to the monasteries, searching for and procuring the books stored up there. Studying these more seriously on the summits of the mountains he rose up to the heights of wisdom, and when he had had enough he returned again to the imperial city laying down the seeds of the sciences in the minds of those who were desirous of them.

But this was earlier. Now, however, because after three years – for this was the duration of his tenure of the see – he again had free time as a result of his deposition, he took charge of the school of Philosophy at the Magnaura, and his pupil Theodore was at the head of the room of Geometry, Theodegios that of astronomy, and Kometas that of Grammar which polishes Greek speech. Helping these latter in abundant wise and often attending out of his love of learning, Bardas strengthened the pupils' character and caused them to grow plumage and progress forward within the appropriate time, as if giving feathers to words.

30. Καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου δὲ συνεχῶς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Βάρδας ἐδίδου κριτηρίοις καὶ <τῇ φιλοπρωτείᾳ>, ἐραστὴς νομίζεσθαι ταύτης φιλοτιμούμενος. ἔτυχε δ᾽ ἂν ταύτης τῆς γνώμης παρὰ πολλοῖς, τοῦ χρόνου τὰ γεγονότα καλύψαντος· ἀλλὰ πάλιν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κυκήσας τε καὶ ἀναταράξας, καὶ ἀντὶ γαλήνης φιλονεικίας αὐτῇ καὶ κακώσεων καὶ ὀλεθρίων αἴτιος γεγονώς, εἰκότως οὐ τὴν κρείττω δόξαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἠνέγκατο. ἄρτι γὰρ τὸν βίον Μεθοδίου μετηλλαχότος, τέσσαρας μόνους χρόνους τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον κεκρατηκότος, Ἰγνάτιον μοναχὸν ὄντα καὶ τῆς μονῆς ἡγούμενον τοῦ Σατύρου, τὸν Νικηφόρου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔκγονον, υἱὸν δὲ Μιχαήλ, τὸν ἐπ᾽ εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ παντοίᾳ μαρτυρηθέντα πρὸς τὸν τῆς πατριαρχίας θρόνον ἀναβιβάζουσι καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης τοὺς οἴακας ἐμπιστεύουσιν. οὗτος οὖν μετά τινας χρόνους τὸν Βάρδαν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ οἰκείου γυναίου ἀλόγως καὶ ἀναιτίως ἀποβολῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ δὲ νύμφης περιπλοκῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπείργων, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν θείων κανόνων ἠμέλει, τὴν ἣν ἐκείνῳ ἐδίδου ποινὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποπεμπόμενος, ταύτην εἰσπράττεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἵνα τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὴν δίψαν παρῶ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ γῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκτάσεις τε καὶ ῥαβδισμοὺς καὶ τὰς καθ᾽ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ὠμοτάτας | f.66v πληγάς, ἓν τοῦτο μόνον ἐγὼ εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ βαδιοῦμαι τῆς ἱστορίας.

31. Παρεδίδου τὸν Ἰγνάτιον ὁ Βάρδας φρουρᾷ, καὶ φρουρᾷ ἀπηνεῖ τε καὶ χαλεπῇ· ἡ δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων τεμένει, οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ σεμνῷ, ἀλλ᾽ ἔνθα οἱ | B 194 τάφοι καὶ λέγονται καὶ εἰσίν. ἐκεῖσε δὴ ἐναποκλείσαντες ἑνί τινι τοῦτον τάφῳ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου, ἐν κρυμῷ καὶ παγέτῳ γυμνότερον ὑπέρου, <τὸ> τῆς παροιμίας, ἐν μετεώρῳ ἐπικαθίσαντες τὰ τοῦ κρυμοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος πάσχειν ἐξεβιάζοντο· τὰ δὲ ἦν ἡ δυσεντερία τε καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ψύχους ὑπερβολῆς διὰ γαστρὸς ἀπόρροια καὶ θάνατος ἐκ τούτου πικρός. ἀπεβίω δ᾽ ἂν ἐκ τῆς

30.7 : die 14 Iun. a. 847 Methodius obiit 11–12 : 3 sive 4 Iul. a. 847 Ignatius patriarcha designatus est **31**.1–2 : die 23 Nov. a. 858 Ignatius patriarcha in vincula coniectus est

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Cap. 30: Vita Ignatii §17; GeorgCont (Istrin) 10.14–21; Gen 70.77–71.93 | PsSym 667.6–13; Scyl 105.9–106.27 Cap. 31: Vita Ignatii §17–20; GeorgCont (Istrin) 10.21–30; Gen 71.95–72.46 | PsSym 667.13–668.2; Scyl 106.27–37 || 5 Prov 23.31, cf. Suda Γ no. 491, Λ no. 218, Υ no. 342.

30.1 ὁ Βάρδας ante ἑαυτὸν edd 2 post κριτηρίοις lacunam statuit Boor, coniciens quaedam veluti τὴν τῶν νόμων ἀκρίβειαν ἀνηβᾶν ποιῶν e Scyl 105.10 καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀνηβᾶν αἴτιος γέγονε, τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀκρίβειαν συγκαλύψαντος 2 τῇ φιλοπρωτείᾳ add. Kamb, cf. Scyl 106.13 ὁ τῆς φιλοπρωτείας ἔρως et 107.43 τὰ τῆς φιλοπρωτείας… νεανίσματα 2 post ταύτης add. τῆς γνώμης edd 3 ταύτης τῆς γνώμης om. edd 5 καὶ del. Bekk 10 τὸν edd : τοῦ V 12 post τῆς οἰκουμένης coni. dubitanter <αὐτῷ> Kamb 13 ἀλόγῳ καὶ ἀναιτίῳ Boor e Scyl 106.22 ἀναιτίῳ **31.**1 ἀπεινῆ V 3 αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ : τῷ δὴ edd 4 ἑνί V Boor : ἕν edd 5 παγετῷ edd 5 τὸ add. Bekk

30. Now Bardas devoted himself constantly to the legal proceedings of the [Covered] Hippodrome <and his love of first rank>, and he prided himself on his striving for this. He would have acquired this reputation amongst many men, since the time gone by had concealed events; but he stirred again confusion and trouble in the affairs of the Church, and instead of calm he was the cause of strife and ruinous abuses and, accordingly, he received no good fame, but quite the opposite. For just after Methodios left this life, having held the see of Constantinople for only four years, Ignatios, who was then monk and abbot of the monastery of Satyros, the grandchild of the emperor Nikephoros and son of Michael, who bore witness in piety and all virtue, was promoted to the patriarchal throne and entrusted with steering the ecumenical see. Now, several years later Ignatios, because he was not neglectful of the divine canons, excluded Bardas from church on account of his irrational and unreasonable rejection of his wife and involvement with his daughter-in-law; and the penalty which Ignatios had given Bardas by banishing him from church, was now exacted from him. I skip over the hunger and thirst, and the stretching of the man on the ground and the beatings and brutal blows over all his body, mentioning only this one instance before I proceed with rest of the account.

31. Bardas confined Ignatios to prison, to a cruel and harsh prison. This latter was in the precinct of the Holy Apostles; not in the great and holy part, but in the place which is called the tombs, and where they indeed are. There they shut him up, barer than a pestle, as the proverb has it, in cold and frost in a certain tomb of Kopronymos, setting him up in mid-aid and forcing him to endure the effects of cold and winter. These were dysentery and effluvia of the internal vitals through the belly on account of the excessive cold and, as a result, bitter death. He would have perished from the cruelty and savagery of

τῶν φρουρούντων δεινότητος καὶ ὠμότητος – ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι ὅ τε Γοργονίτης Ἰωάννης καὶ ὁ Σκουτέλοψ Νικόλαος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μωρός –, εἰ μή τις οἴκτῳ βαλλόμενος – Κωνσταντῖνος ἦν ὁ Ἀρμενιάκος – τῇ τούτων ἀπουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ μέλλειν σιτίζεσθαι ἐκεῖθέν τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατεβίβαζε, καὶ οἴνῳ βραχεῖ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄρτῳ καὶ μικρᾷ τινι περιθάλψει τὸ λυποῦν ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον παρεμυθεῖτο. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς τιμωρίας ἀρκούντως ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, τότε δὴ ὑπερόριον μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Μιτυλήνην ποιεῖ· ἐπεὶ δὲ καί τινες τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀντέλεγον καὶ τὴν δίκην πόρρω που δὴ οὖσαν καὶ ἀποφοιτήσασαν ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ οὐκ, εἴ τι γένηται, ἄλλον δέξασθαι ἠπείλουν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συναπορρήγνυσθαι, τὸν ἐκ τούτου τάραχον δὴ κατευλαβηθεὶς ἔγνω καὶ τούτους ἀπάτῃ περιελθεῖν καὶ ἀλωπεκῇ. ἰδίᾳ γοῦν καὶ κρυφῇ τούτων ἕκαστον μετακαλούμενος οὐ μικρόν τι καὶ ταπεινὸν ὑπισχνεῖτό τε καὶ ἐδίδου, εἰ μόνον ἀποσταῖεν τοῦ Ἰγνατίου, ἀλλὰ τὸν θρόνον αὐτὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. ὡς δ᾽ ἐνεδίδοσαν ἅπαντες καὶ τῆς μὲν δόξης ἡττῶντο, τοῦ | δὲ καλοῦ ἕνεκεν καὶ B 195 νομίμου ἀντέλεγεν οὐδείς, τότε δὴ τότε ὑπετίθει ὡς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς τὰς ὑποσχέσεις μὲν ἐκπληρώσειεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ "τὸ εὔσχημον τηροῦντές τε καὶ σεμνὸν ἅμα τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν κληθῆναι μὴ πρὸς | τὰ διδόμενα κατα- f.67 νεύσητε, ἵνα καὶ αὐτός", φησί, "τῆς ὑμῶν εἴη ὑπεραγάμενος ἀρετῆς". οὕτως δὴ ἕκαστον οὐχ ὁμοῦ ἀλλ᾽ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ μόνας πρὸς τὸν Μιχαὴλ εἰσκαλούμενος μὴ αὐθωρὸν ἐπιπηδᾶν τῇ τιμῇ ἀνέπειθεν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ μόνου προσρήματος ἀξιούμενοί τε καὶ ἀπαρνούμενοι ἔλαθον ἑαυτοὺς παραδειγματίσαντες· τῆς τε γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἐξέπιπτον τῷ τῆς δόξης νικώμενοι ἔρωτι, καὶ ταύτης αὖθις ἡμάρτανον, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιβούλως τὸν Ἰγνάτιον παρεδίδοσαν.

32. Οὕτως οὖν ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι ὄντες ἐφάνησαν καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἠπατήθησαν, Φωτίῳ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ μὲν ὄντι γνωρίμῳ ἀνδρί, τῆς κοσμικῆς δὲ τάξεως ἀντιποιουμένῳ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρωτοασηκρῆτις δεδραγμένῳ τιμήν, τὸν θρόνον ἐδίδου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. καὶ ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν κραταιότερα ἀποφήνωσιν, τοποτηρητὰς μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπ᾽ ἄλλαις προ-

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31.14–15 : Aug. a. 859. Ignatius ad insulam Mitylenem relegatus est **32**.2–4 : die 25 Dec. a. 858 Photius patriarcha designatus est

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Cap. 32: Vita Ignatii §21; GeorgCont (Istrin) 10.30–32; Gen 71.93–95 | PsSym 668.2–14; Scyl 106.37–107.43

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9 οὗτος Comb 10 Γοργονίτης edd e Gen 71.9 Γοργονίτῃ : γοργωνίτης V 10 σκουτέλοψ V : Σκουτέλλοπι Gen 71.10 (L) Boor : Σκουτελόπτης edd 11 Ἀρμενιακὸς edd : Ἀρμένιος Gen 72.37 12 ἄπουσία V 12 κακατεβίβαζεν (sic) V 13 τινὶ V edd 18 συναπορήγνυσθαι V 19 κατευλαβειθεὶς V 19 περιελθεῖν edd Boor : παρελθεῖν V 20 καλοῦμενος V 23 ἐν ἐδίδοσαν V 25 τηροῦντες τε V 28 καταμόνας V 29 προσκαλούμενος edd 31 τε om. edd **32.**2 τῆς om. edd 3 τὰξεως V 3 πρωτοασηκρήτις V

the gaolers – these were John Gorgonites and Nikolaos Skoutelops and Theodore Moros – if someone had not been moved by mercy when they went out to eat. This was Constantine Armeniakos, who let him down from there and comforted his pain for a while with a bit of wine and bread and a little warmth. When it seemed to Bardas that the punishment was sufficient, he then banished the man to the island of Mitylene. But because some of the bishops were opposed and objected to this judgement as being somehow excessive and exaggerated and threatened not to accept another, but rather, no matter what happened, to separate themselves from the Church, Bardas, in order to avoid tumult on this account, decided to get round them with deceit and trickery. Summoning each of them in private and in secret he promised and gave no small or modest gift, but the see of Constantinople itself, if only they would estrange themselves from Ignatios. When they had all given in and were vanquished by glory, whereas no one was opposed for the sake of goodness and lawfulness, then at length did he propose that, although the emperor would fulfil the promises for them, 'You should,' he said, 'preserve respectability and reverence when summoned to him and should not accept that which is offered, in order that he might be in amazement at your virtue.' Thus did he convince these same, as they were summoned to Michael not all together but alone and in private, not to make a rush straightway for the dignity. Being honoured by the designation alone and refusing, it escaped notice that they had made a spectacle of themselves. For they fell away from virtue, having been vanquished by the desire for glory; and they failed to attain this latter, too, because they did not commit themselves to Ignatius in honest, but rather in treacherous wise.

32. Thus, since these men had been revealed as such and were in such wise deceived, Bardas gave the see of Constantinople to Photios, a man indeed known for his wisdom, but who exerted himself in the secular order, having obtained the office of protasekretis. Now, in order that they might argue their case more forcefully, they summoned locum tenentes from Rome on other

φάσεσι – κατὰ γὰρ τῶν εἰκονομάχων σταλέντας – μεταπεμψάμενοι, κατὰ δὲ Ἰγνατίου μετὰ τοῦ καιροῦ γεγονέναι παρασκευάσαντες· καὶ συνεδριάσαντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν θείων ἀποστόλων τεμένει δεδημοσιευμένῃ καθαιρέσει τοῦτον καθυποβαλόντες, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐξορίας μετεκαλέσαντο, πυγμαῖς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας συνθλάσαντες, πᾶσαν σκοτόμαιναν κατὰ τῶν ἱερέων κακῶν <…> καὶ δεύτερος | τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ γῆς μηδέπω φανῇ. B 196 ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἱερέων ἐνεανιεύσατο, φυλακαῖς τε καὶ ὑπερορίαις καὶ ποιναῖς ὠμοτάταις ὁσημέραι παραδιδούς, ἵνα τῷ Φωτίῳ συγκοινωνήσωσι, βίβλοι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ὁ πᾶς οὐκ ἐπιλίποι χρόνος ἐκτραγῳδῶν.

33. Ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν τὰ μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ τῶν Ῥὼς ἐκάκου ἐπιδρομὴ – ἔθνος δὲ οὗτοι Σκυθικὸν ἀνήμερόν τε καὶ ἄγροικον – τόν τε Πόντον αὐτόν, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον, κατεμπίμπρα καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν περιεστοίχιζεν, τηνικαῦτα τοῦ Μιχαὴλ κατὰ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν ἐκστρατεύοντος. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τότε θείας ἐμφορηθέντες ὀργῆς, Φωτίου τὸ θεῖον ἐξιλεωσαμένου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλη|σίας τοὺς οἴακας ἔχοντος, οἴκαδε f.67v ἐπεπόρευντο· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πάλιν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πρεσβεία αὐτῶν κατελάμβανεν, τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἐν μετοχῇ γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς λιτανεύουσα, ὃ καὶ γέγονεν.

34. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡ τούτων ἐκάκου ἐπιδρομή· τὰ δὲ ὁ τῆς Κρήτης στόλος ἀναγόμενος· ὃς κουμβαρίων ἄχρι εἴκοσι, ἑπτὰ γαλέας καί τινας σατούρας μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαγόμενος ἐληΐζετό τε καὶ κατεδουλαγώγει, νῦν μὲν τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους περινοστῶν, νῦν δὲ ἄχρι Προικονήσου τὴν παράλιον ἅπασαν.

Τὰ δὲ οἱ συνεχεῖς τῶν σεισμῶν ἐκυμαίνοντό τε καὶ πρὸς τοὔδαφος ἔβαλλον, νῦν μὲν καθ' ἣν ἡ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψις ἑορτάζεται τὸ πρὸς νότον τρίτον τοῦ Ἐξακιονίου πρὸς γῆν ἐδαφίζοντες,

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32.7–9 : primo vere a. 861 Synodus depositionem Ignatii sanxit **33**.1 : die 18 Iun. 860 expugnatio Constantinopolis ab Rhos. **34**.6–11 : terrae motibus moderni pleraque tempora inter a. 861 et 866 assignant

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Cap. 33: Photius Homiliae 3 et 4 ; Vita Ignatii §28; GeorgCont (Istrin) 10.34–11.13; Log A 246.259–247.273 | PsSym 674.18–675.3; Scyl 107.44–49 Cap. 34: Vita Ignatii §39; GeorgCont (Istrin) 12.10–14; Gen 74.16–22 | PsSym 677.5–9; Scyl 107.50–59.

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11 κακῶν coni. Kamb : κακῶς V edd : κυκῶσι coni. Comb in marg., quod dubitanter accipiens in app., antea lacunam in textu statuit Boor 11 post κακῶν lacunam statuimus : <κατετόξευον, ἵνα … > coni. dubitanter Kamb 12 τῶν om. edd **33.**2 ἄγροικον edd, cf. ἄγριον Scyl 107.46 : ἄγνοικον V 3 δὲ om. edd : ἀλλὰ coni. Bekk in app. 3 κατεπίμπρα edd : κατεμπιμπρᾶ Boor, cf. supra I.13.4 4 τῶν om. B edd 7 ἐκπεπορεύοντο edd **34.**2 ὃς Boor : ὡς 2 κομβάρια VBas 59.7 et 60.5 2 εἴκοσι, ἑπτά edd : εἴκοσιεπτά V 2 σακτούρας VBas 60.6–7 4 νὺν δαὶ V 4 Προικοννήσου edd 6 post σεισμῶν add. <κλόνοι> Boor e Scyl 107.51 6 ἐκυμαίνοντό το V : ἐλυμαίνετό τε edd 6 τούδαφος V 7 post ἣν add. ἡμέραν Boor e Scyl 107.52 8 προσνότον V 8 τρίτον : τεῖχος Scyl 107.54 8 Ἑξακιονίου edd

pretexts – for they were dispatched against the enemies of the icons –, but they contrived that they should be against Ignatios. And after they had held a council and subjected him to deposition, as announced in the sanctuary of the Holy Apostles, when they had brought him back from banishment, having fractured his face and teeth with fists, <they lanced [?]> all manner of evils in secret against priests <…> and might prove second to none other yet on earth [?]. But many books and any amount of time would fall short in deploring all the other things that they wantonly devised against all priests, consigning them every day to prisons and banishments and most cruel penalties, in order that they should be in communion with Photios.

33. Now, at this time, when Michael was on campaign against the Ishmaelites, the attack of the Rhos – these being a savage and wild Scythian nation – devastated the lands of the Romans, burning the Pontus and the very Euxine to ashes, and surrounding the city itself. But after Photios, who held direction of the Church, had entreated the Divinity, the Rhos had their fill of divine wrath and returned home. And not long afterwards an embassy from them reached the imperial city beseeching that they might become participants in divine baptism, and this came to pass.

34. Thus the invasion of the Rhos wrought destruction on the one hand, and on the other the fleet of Crete put to sea. This latter, bringing to bear some twenty koubarioi, seven galeai and a number of satourai, wrought destruction and took captives, going now round the Cyclades islands, now along the entire coast of Proconnesus.

Moreover, continuous earthquakes shook and threw down to the ground [the following]: first, on the day when our Lord and Saviour's Ascension is celebrated, the third column on the south side of the Hexakionion together

ναούς | τε εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ οἴκους λαμπρούς, νῦν δὲ στήλας τήν τε κατὰ B 197 <τὴν> Χρυσῆν πύλην τῆς πόλεως Νίκην ἐγκαθιδρυμένην <καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ> κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Ἄνναν στερρῶς ἱσταμένας ἐγκατασείσαντες· ἣν ὁ μαθηματικὸς Λέων καταπεπτωκυῖαν ἰδὼν τὴν τοῦ δευτέρου ἐκ βασιλέως πτῶσιν ἔλεγεν ἐπαπειλεῖν καθαρῶς.

Μακρὸν εἴη λέγειν ποταμῶν ἀφάνειαν καὶ πηγῶν καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα παθήματα κατά τε τὴν Ἰσαυρίαν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν ἐπιγινόμενα.

35. Ἃ πάντα ὁ βασιλεύων ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενος ὅλος εἴχετο τῶν ἱππικῶν ἀγώνων κατὰ τὸν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ ἀνεγηγερμένον ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μάμαντος. καί ποτε δὲ – ἀλλὰ συνήθειάν τινα διηγήσομαι πρότερον, ἣ τὴν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐκστρατείαν διὰ πυρσοῦ ἐν ἀκαρεῖ ἐδήλου καὶ παρεγύμνου τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἔρυμά τι καὶ φρούριον τῇ κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ταρσῷ πλησιάζον καὶ γειτονοῦν οὕτω καλούμενον Λοῦλόν ἐστιν. οἱ τεταγμένοι οὖν τοῦτο φρουρεῖν ἅμα τῷ τὴν ἐκείνων ἰδεῖν ἐκδρομὴν διὰ φανοῦ δηλοῦσιν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἀργαῖαν βουνόν, καὶ ὃς αὖθις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σάμον, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ Αἴγιλον, καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Μάμαντα πάλιν βουνόν· εἶτα τοῦτον ὁ Κύριζος διαδεχόμενος, καὶ αὖθις τοῦτον ὁ Μώκιλος, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου Αὐξεντίου βουνὸς τοῖς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ παλατίῳ κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν τοῦ Φάρου ἐπὶ τούτῳ διαιταρίοις ἀφωρισμένοις ἐν βραχεῖ ἐποίει δὴ φανε|ρὰ – ποτε γοῦν τοῦ Μιχαὴλ κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τοῦ f.68 μάρτυρος Μάμαν|τος ναὸν ἱππάσεσθαι μέλλοντος καὶ τὸ σύνθημα τῆς ἱπ- B 198 ποδρομίας δεδωκότος, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Φάρου φανὸς διὰ τοῦ παπίου ἐδήλου τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκδρομήν, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθεν ἀγῶνα καὶ φόβον ὁ βασιλεὺς δέει τοῦ μὴ παροφθῆναι τὴν ἡνιοχείαν αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν τῆς τοιαύτης ἕνεκεν ἀγγελίας, εἰς ὅσον ἄλλος τις ἦλθεν

Cap. 35: Gen 72.47–51; Const Porph Tres, II.619–630 (De Cer 492) | PsSym 681.21–682.18; Scyl 107.59–108.86

10 τὴν add. Boor e Scyl 107.55 11 post ἐγκαθιδρυμένην add. καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ Boor e Scyl 107.55–56 15 τὴν om. edd **35.**1 εἶχετο V 2 κατὰ τὸν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ : κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ Στενῷ Scyl 107.60–61 : κατὰ Προποντίδα Gen 72.48 2 μάρτυρος om. edd 3 συνήθειαν τινὰ V 4 ἐκστρατήαν V 4 διαπυρσοῦ V 6 Λοῦλον ἐστίν V : Λοῦλον ἔστιν edd 7 τοῦτο edd : τούτῳ V 8 Ἀργαῖαν V, sed cf. PsSym 682.10 Ἀργαίαν et Scyl 108.70 Ἀργαίῳ : Ἀργέαν Boor e Const Porph Tres, II.620 (DeCer 492.11) et VBas 46.20–21 et 49.15 : Ἀργαῖον edd 8 ὃς : οἱ edd : ὡς coni. dubitanter Kamb : om. Ps Sym 682.10 8 τοῖς edd Boor, cf. PsSym 682.11 : τῆς V 9 τὴν Σάμον V Boor, cf. PsSym 682.11: fortasse τὸν Σάμον scribendum, cf. Const Porph Tres, II.621 (De Cer 492.12–13) ὁ βουνὸς ὁ Σάμος : τὴν Ἰσάμον edd : τὸν Ἴσαμον Scyl 108.71 (Ἴσαβον M) 9 ante τοῖς add. οἱ edd 9 μαμάντα V 10 κατὰ τὸν Μάμαντα – βουνὸν, cf. Scyl 108.73 et PsSym 682.12 : ὁ βουνὸς ὁ Ὄλυμπος Const Porph Tres, II.623 (De Cer 492.14–15) 10 Μώκιλος V, sic Scyl 108.74 et PsSym 682.13 : Μούκιλον Const Porph Tres, II.625 (De Cer 492.17) 12 τὸν nos, cf. supra III.43.63 et PsSym 682.14 et Const Porph Tres, II.627 (De Cer 492.20) ὁ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ – ἡλιακὸς : τὸ V edd 12 τούτῳ coni. Bekk in app. Boor : τούτου V edd 12 δαιταρίοις ἀφορισμένοις V 14 ἱππάσασθαι B edd 14 σύμθημα V 16 παππίου edd 18 ὑπὸ : παρὰ edd

with glorious churches and splendid houses; and then, another time, they shook down statues, both the Nike which was set up at the Golden Gate of the city and those standing firmly at the church of St Anna in the Deuteron. And when the mathematician Leo saw that it had been thrown down he said that it clearly portended the fall of the second in command after the emperor.

It would take too long to relate the disappearance of rivers and springs and all the other misfortunes which occurred both in Isauria and in every land.

35. But considering all these things as secondary, the emperor was wholly absorbed by the racing of horses near the church of the holy martyr Mamas which had been erected on the Euxine. Once – But first I shall relate a custom which through a signal fire immediately announced and revealed to the emperor the expeditions of the Saracens against us. There is a defence and fortress near the border with Tarsus of Cilicia which is called Loulon. Now the men who are charged with defending this latter, as soon as they see an incursion of the Saracens, announce this by beakon to those on the mountain of Argaia; and this same again to those on Samos, and to those at Aigilon; and this yet again to those on the mountain at Mamas. Then Kyrizos received it, and in turn Mokilos; and from thence the mountain of the holy Auxentios quickly informed those on duty for this on the terrace of the Pharos in the Great Palace. – Once then, as Michael was preparing to drive the horses in the vicinity of the aforementoned church of the holy martyr Mamas and had given the flag signal for the races, when the papias brought news the evening before that the beakon had announced the invasion of the heathens, the emperor came to a great state of anxiety and dread, for fear lest his racing should be ignored by the spectators on account of these tidings, as someone might

κινδυνεύων ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ μὴ πλησιάσαι τούτους μᾶλλον ἀγωνιζόμενος. οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐθεατρίζετό τε καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο. ὅθεν ἵνα μήτέ τις τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγώνων ἀπολιμπάνοιτο μήτ᾽ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀνιαρῶν προσπῖπτον χαλαρωτέρους ποιήσῃ τοὺς θεατάς, μηκέτι τοὺς πλησιάζοντας φανοὺς ἐνεργεῖν προσέταξεν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ βαθείᾳ καὶ λήθῃ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρακαλυφθῆναι μακρᾷ.

36. Ἄλλοτε δὲ πάλιν, ἵνα σαφεστέρα γένηται ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναγωγία καὶ ἄνοια, αὐτοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος ἱσταμένου καὶ τῆς βαλβῖδος μέλλοντος ἐκπηδᾶν – ἐπάτει δὲ βένετος, καὶ πράσινος ὁ λογοθέτης Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ τοῦ πατρικίου Θωμᾶ καὶ γεγονότος λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου πατήρ, λευκὸς δὲ ὁ Χειλᾶς καὶ ῥούσιος ὁ Κρασᾶς· οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τῷ πρωτοασηκρῆτις σχολάζειν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῷ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ δρόμου, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἦν κομβινογράφος τῶν βενέτων, ὁ δὲ τῶν πρασίνων – αὐτῶν οὖν ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος ἱσταμένων μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἡνιοχικῆς στολῆς, καὶ ἐπαγγελίας φθασάσης ὅτι δεινῶς ὁ Ἄμερ κατατρέχει τε <καὶ> κατασύρει τὸν Θρᾳκήσιον καὶ τοῖς Μαλαγίνοις πλησιάζει καὶ προσδοκῶνται ὅσον οὐδέπω δεινά, καὶ | ἐπὶ τούτῳ στυγνάσαντος μὲν τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου, ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ B 199 μετὰ κατηφείας τὴν ἐκ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ ἅμα ἐπὶ χεῖρας τὰ γράμματα φέροντός τε καὶ δεικνύοντος, "τίνι", φησίν, "ὦ οὗτος, τόλμῃ χρησάμενος τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὸν ἀναγκαῖον τοῦτον ἀγῶνά μοι διαλέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖς, τοῦτο μόνον σπουδάζοντι, μὴ τὸν μέ<σον εὐώνυμο>ν ἰδεῖν παρατετραμμένον; ὑπὲρ οὗ μοι πᾶς ὁ ἀγών".

37. Καὶ οὐχὶ τούτῳ μὲν τῷ πό|θῳ, ἢ εἰ βούλει γε πάθει ἡλίσκετο, f.68v ἑτέρων δὲ τῶν ἀπρεπεστέρων ἐκτὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέτριον ἦθος ἀμέτρως καταδιώκων ἐξέπιπτε τοῦ πρέποντος καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀξίας τὰ μάλιστα. καί ποτε γυναίῳ, ἧς τὸν παῖδα υἱοθετησάμενος ἦν, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν

Cap. 36: GeorgCont (Istrin) 15.18–25; Log A 255.428–256.433 | PsSym 660.4–16, 681.13–21; Scyl 108.86–109.3 Cap. 37: | PsSym 660.17–661.12; Scyl 109.3–25

19 τῆς ψυχῆς edd 21 ἄλλό τι V 22 μηκετί V 23 βαθεῖα V **36.**2 τῆς βαλβῖδος edd et PsSym 660.7 : τοῦ βαλβίδος PsSym f 248r : βαλωδος (sic) V 3 ἐπάτει : ἱππηλάτει coni. Boor in app., cf. PsSym 681.16 ἵππευσεν 4 τοῦ post ὁ om. edd 5 καὶ πράσινος – γεγονότος – ὁ Χειλᾶς : Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ ὁ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ὁ πατὴρ Θωμᾶ πατρικίου καὶ Γενεσίου δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλας λευκὸς, πράσινος δὲ Ἀγαλλιανὸς PsSym 681.16–18 5 Κρασᾶς : Κρασσός PsSym 681.18–19, sed Κρασάς f 253r 5 οὖκ V 6 πρωτοασηκρήτης ante corr. (post corr. -ήτις) V 9 καὶ add. edd 9 τὸ Θρᾳκήσιον edd : fortasse καὶ τὸ Ὀψίκιον addendum, cf. PsSym 660.8, τὸ Θρᾳκήσιον (sed f 248r τὸ Θρακησίων) καὶ τὸ Ὀψίκιον et Scyl 108.91 τὴν Ἀσίαν 10 πλησιάζει edd e PsSym 660.9 : πλησιάζοι V 10 πρὸσδοκῶνται V 10 ὅσον οὐδέπω : ὡς οὐδέπω PsSym 660.9 : ὅσον οὔπω Scyl 108.92 13 φέροντες τὲ V 13 φησὶ V 15 μοι : μου PsSym 681.16 15 διαλέγεσθαι coni. dubitanter Kamb 16 μὴ τὸν μέ ‹σον εὐώνυμο› ν nos, cf. PsSym 660.15 μὴ τὸν μέσον εὐώνυμον, et Scyl 109.2 ἢ μὴ τὸν μέσον εὐώνυμον : μὴ τὸν εμον manu secunda V, ut vid. : εἰ μὴ τὸν μέσον εὐώνυμον edd **37.**1 μὲν ante τούτῳ edd 1 ἠλίσκετο V 2 τῶν om. edd 3 μεταδιώκων Scyl 109.6 3 ἀξίας : τιμῆς edd 4 πέδα V

have done fearing for his life and contending lest these beakons approach. Thus did he make a spectacle of himself and lose all shame. Then, lest anyone should be absent from his contests nor report of any evil occurring unexpectedly elsewhere render the spectators languid, he commanded that the approaching beakons should no longer function, but that such tidings should be covered in deep silence and long oblivion.

36. Another time, so that the man's lack of discipline and folly might become clear, as he was standing on a chariot and was about to cross the starting line – he walked on as Blue; the logothete Constantine, father of the patrikios Thomas who also became logothete of the Course, as Green; Cheilas as White, and Krasas as Red; no one was at leisure, neither the protasecretis nor the protonotarios of the Course, but the former was kombinographos of the Blues, and the latter of the Greens. As they stood, then, on the chariots in racing attire, the news came that Amer was overrunning and ravaging the Thrakesian theme in dire fashion and was approaching Malagina, and terrible things were expected as never before. And when, filled with gloom over this the protonotarios announced with dejected mien the rescript of the domestikos of the scholai, bringing and showing the letters in his hands, 'What insolence is this,' said Michael, 'that you undertake to speak with me during this important contest, when the only thing I seek is not to see the middle driver diverted to the left? This is my only goal.'

37. Nor was he consumed by this desire or, if you will, passion, whilst free of other, more indecent ones; but pursuing moderate custom in immoderate wise he fell foul of moral fitness and most especially of imperial dignity. Once in the road he met a woman, for whose son he had stood god-father; she was

συντυχὼν ἐκ βαλανείου μὲν ἐρχομένῃ τὴν ἑαυτῆς δὲ κάλπιν ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἐχούσῃ, τοῦ ἵππου ἀπορριφεὶς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου τούτῳ ἐπηκολούθουν κατὰ τὰ ἐκεῖσε ὄντα ἀνάκτορα ἐξαπέστειλεν, ἀκόλαστα δέ τινα καὶ μυστικὰ ἀνδράρια ἑταιρισάμενος ἀπῄει μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, τὴν κάλπιν τῶν ἐκείνης χειρῶν ἐπαναλαβών, καὶ "ἄγε δή, ὦ γύναι, θαρροῦσα", ἐπέλεξεν, "ἐμὲ κατὰ τὸ οἴκημά σου ἀπόδεξαι, ψωμοῦ πιτυρώδους ἔφεσιν ἔχοντα καὶ ἀσβεστοτύρου". δεῖ γὰρ τὴν ἐκείνου λέξιν εἰπεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ ξένῳ τοῦ θεάματος ἡ γυνὴ ἦν ἐνεὸς καὶ πάντων ἠπόρει, μήτε μὴν τράπεζαν μήτε τὰ ταύτην στολίζοντα ἔχουσα, ὁ Μιχαὴλ θᾶττον ἢ λόγος εἶχε στραφείς, τὸ ὃ ἔφερε σάβανον ἐκ | τοῦ βαλανείου ἔτι B 200 διάβροχον ὂν λαβών, ἀντὶ λεπτῆς ὀθόνης, ἣ τῇ τραπέζῃ ἐπίκειται, χρησάμενος, καὶ τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γυναικὸς ἀφελὼν αὐτὸς ἦν τὰ πάντα, βασιλεύς, τραπεζοποιός, μάγειρος, δαιτυμών. ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τὰ ἃ εἶχε τῆς πενιχρᾶς ἐκείνης ἡ κιβωτός, εἱστιᾶτο ταύτῃ καὶ συνεδείπνει, τὴν μίμησιν πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν ἀναφέρων Χριστὸν καὶ θεόν. κἀκεῖθεν βάδην αὖθις ἀπῄει πρὸς τὰ ἀνάκτορα, πολλῆς εὐηθείας καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ τύφου καταγινώσκων τῶν πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέων· οὗ ἐκεῖνοι λήρου εἰ ἤκουσαν, "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄλλως τρυφῶντα καὶ παίζοντα ταῦτα", ἔφησαν, "ἐχρῆν σε ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον τύφον καταγινώσκειν, ἀλλὰ προπολεμοῦντα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντα καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις σύνδειπνον ὄντα καὶ ἐραστήν, ἀλλ' οὐ γυναίων καπηλίδων καὶ μοχθηρῶν". ταῦτ' οὖν ἅπαντα μισητόν τε ἐποίει τὸν Μιχαὴλ καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκίνει δικαιοτάτην ὀργήν.

38. Καὶ τὸ δὴ χαλεπώτερον, ἡ τῶν ὧν εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ φατρία, Σάτυροί τινες οὗτοι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αἰσχρουργίαν ἀκόλαστοι· εἶπεν ἂν τις αὐτοὺς θιασώτας εἶναι Διονύσου καλῶς. οὓς ἐκεῖ|νος διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων f.69 τε καὶ αἰδοῦς, τῶν θείων κατολιγωρῶν, ἱερατικὰς στολὰς χρυσοϋφάντους τε ἐπετίθει καὶ ὠμοφόρια, καὶ ἄλλως ἠνάγκαζεν ἀσχημόνως τε καὶ ἀνάγνως τελεῖν τὰ ἁγνά, καὶ πατριάρχην τὸν ἔξαρχον τούτων ἐκάλει, οὕτω Γρῦλον καλούμενον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἕνδεκα μητροπολίτας τῶν ἐξαιρέτων θρόνων τε | καὶ λαμπρῶν, οἷς εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκοινώνει, οὐδὲ B 201 βασιλεύειν ἠξίου· ὅθεν ὁ Κολωνείας οὗτος ἐλέγετό τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται

Cap. 38: Vita Ignatii §42, 46 | PsSym 661.13–662.16; Scyl 109.25–110.43

5 δὲ : δὴ Comb 6 ante τοῦ ἵππου add. ἐκ edd 6 τῶν om. edd 8 μυστικὰ : πορνικὰ Scyl 109.12 9 κάλυπιν V 9 ἀναλαβὼν edd e PsSym 661.2 : ἀπαναλαβὼν coni. Boor in app. 10 γῦναι V 10 ὑπόδεξαι coni. Boor in app. e PsSym 661.3, sed f 248r ἀποδέξαι 13 ταύτην coni. Bekk in app. : ταύτης V edd Boor 17 ὁ βασιλεύς PsSym 661.9 17 μάγειγος V 17 εἶχεν V 18 εἱστιᾶτο V edd Boor : συνειστιᾶτο PsSym 661.11 sed f 248v εἱστιᾶτο **38.**1 φατρία V, cf. Scyl 109.25 et PsSym 661.14 et supra IV.3.1 : φρατρία edd 2 σατύριοι PsSym 661.14 2 αἰσχρουργίαν edd : αἰσχρουργία V 7 Γρύλλον nos e Scyl 110.30, 40, 48, 49 et PsSym 661.18, 662.6, 663.4 : Γρῦλον V edd Boor : Γροῦλλον VBas. 78.1, 80.6, 82.5 8 ἔξ αιρετῶν V 9 Κωλωνείας V 9 ὠνομάζετο Scyl 110.32

coming from the bath, carrying her pitcher in her hands. Leaping off his horse he dispatched all those who were acompanying him and who belonged to the Senate to the palace in that place, and choosing as comrades certain of his licentious and intimate fellows he went off with the woman, taking the pitcher from her hands. 'Come, O woman,' he said, 'receive me in your house, I who have an appetite for bran bread and dry cheese.' – For we must use his words. And since the woman was speechless at the strangeness of the spectacle, wanting in everything, having neither table nor the things with which to lay it, Michael turned round faster than word can tell, took the towel, still damp, which she had brought from the bath, and used it instead of the fine cloth which lay upon the table. Taking the woman's key, he was everything: emperor, table-servant, cook, guest. Getting out everything which that poor woman's chest contained, he feasted and dined with her, affecting imitation of my Christ and God. From thence he went off on foot to the palace, denouncing the great silliness and pretension and vanity of the emperors before him. But if they had heard his trumperies, they would have said 'It is not by revelling and playing at these things and denouncing our pretension that you should conduct yourself, but by waging wars of defence and sparing necessities and being the table companion and lover of soldiers, not of low tavern women.' All this caused Michael to be hated and roused God's most righteous wrath.

38. Worst of all was the company of those whom he kept about himself. Satyrs they were, unbridled in every obscenity; with right would one say that they were worshippers of Dionysus. Treating them with respect and reverence, and utterly insulting divine things, he put upon them gold-woven hieratic vestments and stoles and forced them besides to perform hallowed rites in indecorous and unholy wise. He called their leader, a man called Grylos, patriarch, and the other eleven he called metropolitans of the chosen and splendid sees; and if he could not be one of their fellows, he would not have seen fit to reign as emperor. Thus he was called and given the name of bishop

πρόεδρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ᾄδειν ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς καὶ τελεῖν τὰ μυστήρια, τὰς μὲν ᾠδὰς ἐξεπλήρουν διὰ κιθάρας, νῦν μὲν ἠρέμα πως οὕτω καὶ λιγυρῶς ἐπηχοῦντες, τὰ μυστικὰ μιμούμενοι, νῦν δὲ ἀνέτῳ φορᾷ καὶ διαπρυσίῳ, τὰς ἐκφωνήσεις δῆθεν τῶν ἱερῶν. καὶ σκεύη δὲ διάχρυσα καὶ ἐκ μαργάρων συγκείμενα ὄξους τε καὶ σινήπεως ἐκπληροῦντες τοῖς οἷς ἐβούλοντο μεταλαμβάνειν ἐδίδοσαν, τῶν ἀχράντων οὕτω καταπαίζοντες μυστηρίων. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Γρῦλος καὶ ὄνῳ ἐπωχεῖτο τὰς δημοσίας προόδους τελῶν, καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον θίασον συνεπόμενον ἔχων ἠγάλλετο. καί ποτε συνέβη συντυχεῖν Ἰγνατίῳ τῷ μακαρίτῃ πατριάρχῃ κατὰ πρόοδον τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ λιτῇ μετὰ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ κλήρου ἐφεπομένῳ. ὡς οὖν εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Γρῦλος, ἄσμενος τοῦ πράγματος ἑλόμενος ἐξῆρχέ τε τῶν κρουμάτων, καὶ τὸν φελόνην ἀναστείλας μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμυστῶν εὐτονωτέρας τε ἔκρουε τὰς κιθάρας καὶ τοὺς εὐαγεῖς ἐκείνους λοιδορίαις καὶ αἰσχίστοις ἔβαλλε ῥήμασι.

39. Καὶ Θεοδώραν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα ἔτι ζῶσαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις διαιτωμένην μετεκαλέσατό ποτε εὐλογηθησομένην παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, πλασάμενος τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν μακαρίτην Ἰγνάτιον. ὡς οὖν ἐξῄει μετ᾽ εὐλαβείας ἅμα καὶ αἰδοῦς ἡ ἱερωτάτη γυνή, ἔρριψεν εἰς τοὔδαφος ἑαυτὴν ἐξαιτουμένη εὐχὴν – καὶ γὰρ ἐλάνθανε τέως τὴν γενειάδα κρύπτων –, κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον | ψόφον ἀναθορὼν ἐπαφεὶς δυσωδίας πλήρη καὶ ῥήματά τινα B 202 ἀπρεπῆ τὰς ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν εὐσεβεστέρων εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξεκαλεῖτο ἀράς· ἣ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀποφοιβάσασα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τε καὶ χειρὸς ἔξω γενέσθαι διεσάφει τῷ Μιχαήλ.

Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἦν ἄνδρα παρατραπέν|τα δὴ τῆς εὐθείας καὶ ἀποστάντα τῆς f.69v ἀρετῆς αὖθις ἀνακληθῆναι καὶ τῆς μακαρίας λαβέσθαι ὁδοῦ. ὅθεν οὐδὲ πορρωτέρω δὴ τὰ κακά, ἀλλ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς ἐκείνοις πλησιάζειν ἐποίουν οἱ τῶν τοιούτων αἴτιοι καὶ ἐφευρεταί. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Βάρδας ταῦτα ἐπέφερεν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ Θεόκτιστος ὁ κανίκλειος πρὸ αὐτοῦ, εἴτε δὴ τῷ παντελῶς τούτῳ χαρίζεσθαι πάντας δὴ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ μὴ τῶν πονηροτέρων ἀνακόπτειν διδαγμάτων ὡς ἐπιτρόπων ἐπιχειρούντων, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ μὲν ἑνὸς τυχὸν ἀναστέλλοντος, τοῦ δ᾽ ἑτέρου μὴ τὰ ἴσα φρο-

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Cap. 39: GeorgCont (Istrin) 4.8–15; Log A 232.13–233.21; ThCont 137.16–18 | PsSym 663.18–664.4; Scyl 110.43–111.57

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11 πῶς V 13 ἱερέων edd, sed Scyl 110.35 ἱερῶν 16 γλῦρος V 16 ἐποχεῖτο V, cf. PsSym f 248v ὄνῳ ἐπωχεῖτο λευκῷ (λευκῇ 662.6) 19 ἐκκληαστικῆ V 19 ἱερατηκοῦ V 20 πραγματοσλομενος V 20 ἐξῆρχε τέ V 21 εὐτονώτερον coni. Boor in app., cf. PsSym 662.10 et VBas 22.11 22 εὐ ἀγεῖς V **39.**1 ἐτί V 1 κἀν Boor, cf. PsSym 663.18 ἐν (f 249r ἐκ) : καὶ V 2 μετεκαλέσατο ποτὲ V 4 ἅμα om. edd 4 post γυνή coni. καὶ Bekk in app. 4 τοῦδαφος V 6 ἀναθωρῶν V, cf. PsSym f 249r ἀναθορῶν : ἀναθωρὸν B : αὐθωρὸν edd 6 τινα om. edd 11 αὖθις om. edd 11 ἀνακληθῆναι ante corr. V, post corr. -κλιθῆναι 14 καὶ : ὁ edd 14 προαυτοῦ V 16 ἐπιτρόπους ἐπιχειροῦντας coni. Boor in app. 17 τυχὸν om. edd 17 ἀναστέλλοντος edd : ἀνατέλλοντος V

of Koloneia. And when they were to sing and celebrate the Mysteries, they performed the chants with the lyre, resounding now somewhat quietly and clearly, in imitation of the Mysteries, now with unconstrained and loud pronunciation, after the manner of the exclamations of priests. Filling all-golden and pearl-encrusted vessels with vinegar and mustard they gave communion to those who desired, thus mocking the undefiled Mysteries. This Grylos, then, would ride mounted on an ass, performing the public processions, and rejoiced in having such a confraternity following him. And once during his procession he happened to come upon the patriarch Ignatios of blessed memory in procession as he followed the litany of the Church together with the hierarchic clergy. When Grylos saw him, he was glad to join in the matter and started striking; and raising his stole together with his fellow initiates he struck a more vigorous lyre-tone and assaulted those pious men with abuses and most shameful words.

39. Once, pretending that this Grylos was Ignatios of blessed memory, Michael summoned his mother Theodora, when she was still living in the Palace, so that she might receive his blessing. When the most holy woman came forth and with reverence and awe threw herself upon the floor asking for a prayer – for at first he escaped notice, hiding his beard –, springing up and emitting on the impulse a noise full of stench and certain indecent words, he provoked the curses, uttered amongst themselves, of this woman and other pious persons; and she, prophesying the future, made clear to Michael that he had withdrawn himself from the providence and hand of God.

But it was impossible that a man who had turned aside from the straight line and renounced virtue should come to his senses and choose the righteous path. Therefore the men who were the cause and inventors of such things did not keep distance from evil but rather attracted it to themselves. Bardas first brought it upon himself, or rather Theoktistos, the keeper of the Inkpot, before him, either because, whilst all indulged Michael wholeheartedly in every wise, they did not as guardians attempt to restrain him in his lessons in wickedness; or else because even if one of them may have restrained him, the other, out of selfish ambition, was not of the same mind nor

νοῦντος ἐξ ἐριθείας καὶ συναναστέλλοντος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιτρέποντος μᾶλλον, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις τοιούτους ἐθεασάμεθα.

Πλὴν ἐπήγαγον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὰ κακά, καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεόκτιστος νῦν μέν, ὡς εἴρηται, σφαττόμενος, νῦν δὲ ταῖς αἷς ἐπεχείρει δουλείαις μὴ κατευοδούμενος. καὶ γὰρ πολλῶν στρατιῶν πολλάκις προκριθεὶς ἡγεμών, καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν ὁρμήσας πολεμίων νῦν τε καὶ πρὸ τούτου οὐδαμοῦ νικήσας ὑπέστρεψεν ἢ τὸ σύνολον τῶν ἐχθρῶν καθυπερτερῶν, ἡττώμενος δὲ καὶ πανωλεθρίᾳ τὰ στρατεύματα παραδούς, οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε φρονήσεως ἀμοιρῶν καὶ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμοις ἀνδραγα|θημάτων ἀπείρως ἔχων ἅτε B 203
δὴ μὴ δὲ μελετήσας ταῦτά ποτε, ἥ τινι ἄλλῃ μείζονι αἰτίᾳ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἢ καὶ τῇ εἰρημένῃ νυνί. καὶ γὰρ ἡλιακῶν ποτε ἐκλείψεων δύο γεγενημένων, κατὰ τῶν Ἀβασγῶν οὗτος προκριθεὶς στρατηγὸς θεομηνίας ἀπέλαυσε δυστυχῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ναυαγίῳ περιπεσόντες περὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ζωὴν ἐδυστύχησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ἐπιβάντες ταῖς ἐκείνων δυστυχίαις συνεκοινώνησαν. καὶ οὗτος μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλετο ὁ στρατός· μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν θρασύτερον ἁψάμενος τοῦ πολέμου ὑπὲρ τὰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀπέβαλε τοῦ στρατοῦ. καὶ αὖθις κατὰ τῶν ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἀράβων στρατεύσας ἄπρακτος ὑπέστρεψεν, οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε καταλιπὼν διὰ τὸ φυγῇ χρησάμενον ἀθρόως ἀπαλλαγῆναι αὐτῆς. | f.70

40. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος καὶ πρότερον, νῦν δὲ σύμβολά τινα προφανῆ καὶ κομήτων ἐπιτολαὶ καὶ ὄψεις ὀνειράτων γινόμεναι τὰ μέλλοντα τῷ Βάρδᾳ δεινὰ παρεγύμνουν, οὐκ ἐξ αὐτομάτου πάντως ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ, προνοίᾳ δέ τινι τοῦ μὴ τὸν θάνατον ζητοῦντος ὡς τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ. κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους γοῦν ἔδοξεν οὗτος πρὸς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τέμενος, ᾧ ἐπώνυμον Σοφία, μετὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἐν πανδήμῳ πανηγύρει καὶ προελεύσει φοιτᾶν. ὡς οὖν ἀφίκοντο καὶ κατὰ μέσον ἐγένοντο τοῦ ναοῦ, λευκοφόροι τινὲς ἀνεφαίνοντο δύο τὸν ἀριθμόν, τὸ σχῆμα ἀγγελοειδεῖς· ὡς δὲ προσωτέρω μᾶλλον ἐχώρησαν, ἄλλο μὲν ὁρῶσιν οὐδέν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ τινὰ γηραιὸν ἐγκαθήμενον | – Πέτρον εἶ- B 204

39.28–30 : navalis expeditio Theoctisti in Abasgia fortasse a. 840 (secundum Huxley *ByzSlav* 50 [1989] 9–10) contigit

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Cap. 40: GeorgCont (Istrin) 12.10; Gen 73.83–74.3 | PsSym 677.5, 677.15–678.6; Scyl 111.57–81 || 4–5 Ez 33.11;

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18 ερεριθείας V Comb : ἐρεσχελίας coni. Comb in marg. 27 μὴ δὲ : μήτε edd 27 ποτὲ V edd 27 ἤ τινὶ V 27 μεῖζονι V 27 καὶ : τῇ edd 28 ποτὲ edd 29 ἀπήλαυσε edd 30 ναυαγίᾳ coni. Bekk in app. 33 θρασύτερον edd Boor : θρασύτερος V 35 κατὰ λιπὼν V **40.**1 καὶ om. edd 1 δὲ Bekk : μὲν V Comb 1 σύμβολα τινὰ V 2 κομητῶν edd 2 (ἐπ)ι(τολαὶ) post corr. V 3 ἐξ αὐτομάτου iteravit V 5 τὸν ὕπνον edd 6 λόγου om. edd 10 περὶ – τὸν θρόνον Boor e Scyl 111.64 : περὶ – τῷ θρόνῳ V Comb : ἐπὶ – τῷ θρόνῳ Bekk

restrained Michael, but rather prompted him, just as we ourselves have seen such men in our own times.

But they drew evil down upon themselves: in the case of Theoktistos, both now, being slain, as we have said, and also at other times failing to succeed in the tasks he undertook. For he was many times chosen as leader of many armies and, taking the field against many enemies, he never, neither this time nor before, returned in victory or having prevailed over the enemy in any wise, but rather in defeat and having delivered the armies to utter destruction. I know not whether this was because he lacked judgement and reason and was unaquainted with the exploits of war, in as much as he had never studied this, or on account of some graver cause which eludes us, or else, on account of the one we name now. For once, after there had been two solar eclipses, Theoktistos was chosen general against the Abasgoi and haplessly experienced God's wrath. For some suffered shipwreck and paid for the misfortune with their lives, and even those who trod on dry land shared in the misfortune of the others. Thus did this army perish. And not long afterwards, again waging war yet more boldly he lost over forty thousand of his army. And again taking the field against the Arabs in Crete he returned unsucessful, leaving behind not a few of his men because of his precipitous departure in flight from the island.

40. So much for Theoktistos earlier. Now, however, there occurred certain conspicuous signs and risings of comets and visions in dreams which revealed to Bardas terrible things to come in the future, surely not through accident or by any otherwise unaccountable force, but by some providence of Him who does not seek the death but the conversion of the sinner. In his sleep, then, Bardas seemed to make his way with Michael in the public celebration and procession to the sanctuary of the God which bears the name of Wisdom. As they arrived and came to the middle of the church, there appeared men dressed in white, two in number and angelic in form. And as Bardas and Michael grew closer, they saw nothing else but an old man sitting on

ναι τοῦτον τὸν κορυφαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑπώπτευσαν – καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πόδας τὸν μακαρίτην Ἰγνάτιον καλινδούμενον καὶ τὴν παρ᾽ ὧν ἐπεπόνθει δεινὰ ἐκδίκησιν ἰδεῖν ἐξαιτούμενον. ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ τε οἷα συμπάσχων ἔφησε δοῦναι οὐκ εἰς μακράν, καὶ τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἑνὶ – δύο δὲ τούτῳ χρυσοφοροῦντες ἐφαίνοντο – μάχαιραν οὐ μεγάλην δούς, "ἄγε δή, ταύτῃ", ἔφησε, "τὸν μὲν τῇ τῶν εὐωνύμων χώρᾳ ἐγκαταστήσας μεληδὸν διάτεμνε τὸν θεόργιστον", οὕτω δὴ <τὸν> καίσαρα εἰπών, "τὸν δ᾽ ἄλλον, ἀσεβότεκνον", οὕτω <τὸν βασιλέα> κατονομάσας, "κατάλεγε μὲν τοῖς δεξιοῖς, τὴν δ᾽ ὁμοίαν δίκην ἀπεκδέχεσθαι πρόσειπε". καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄνειρος οὕτω δὴ ἐτελεύτα· ὃ δὲ ὕπαρ ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ὄναρ ἐστίν.

41. Ἄρτι κατὰ τῶν Κρητικῶν πανδημεὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ καθωπλίζετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου ναόν, ὃς οὕτω δὴ 'Ὁδηγοὶ' κατονομάζεται, προσφοιτήσας εἰσῄει μετὰ λαμπάδων τὸν συντακτήριον ἐκπληρῶν. ὡς οὖν τοῖς ἀδύτοις πλησιάσων ἀπῄει, ἄφνω τῶν αὐτοῦ ὤμων ἡ χλανὶς ὀλισθήσασα αἰσθέσθαι τοῦτον καινοτέρων δεινῶν ἐνεποίησεν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τοῦ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀπαίρειν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, εἴτ᾽ ἀφ᾽ αὑτοῦ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ | f.70v μέλλοντος ἐλαυνόμενος, τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν εἰς ταὐτὸν καὶ συμποσιάσας μεμνῆσθαί τε τῆς αὐτοῦ παρῄνει φιλίας αὐτοὺς καὶ λεγάτα ὡς τοῦ βίου ἤδη γινόμενος ἔξω ἐπέδωκεν. ἀλλ᾽ ἔδει ταῦτα τέλος λαβεῖν.

Ὡς οὖν κατὰ τῆς Κρήτης ἐξῄεσαν καὶ τῷ θέματι τῶν Θρᾳκησίων ἐπέβησαν κατὰ Κήπους, τόπον | B 205 τινὰ οὕτω κατονομαζόμενον, οἱ τούτοις ὑπηρετοῦντες προφθάσαντες τὰς σκηνὰς κατεπήγνυον ἁμίλλῃ χρώμενοι καὶ σπουδῇ. ἔνθα πως, εἴτε δὴ κατὰ πρόνοιαν εἴτε δὴ καὶ ἄλλως δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν, τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἐπὶ πεδιάδος χωρίου καὶ ὁμαλοῦ αὐλαίαν ἐκπεταννύουσιν, εἰς λόφον δέ τινα καὶ ὑπερανεστηκότα χῶρον τῆς γῆς τὴν τοῦ καίσαρος· ὅπερ ὡς ἕρμαιόν τι καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον κέρδος λαβόντες οἱ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ κατεβόων τοῦ καίσαρος καὶ τὰς κατ᾽ ἐκείνου ἔρραπτον

41.1–2 : primo vere a. 866 navalis expeditio in Cretam

20 Homerus Od. 19.547, cf. Nicetas David Laudatio in Greg. Theol. 12.77 Cap. 41: VBas 17.33–60; 17.1–28; GeorgCont (Istrin) 11.31–12.10, 12.18–13.30; Gen 73.67–82, 75.23–76.60; Log A 248.292–252.361 | PsSym 675.20–679.14; Scyl 111.82–113.19

12 καλινδούμενον : κυλινδόμενος coni. Boor in app. e Scyl 111.66 ἐκυλινδεῖτο 12 παρῶν V 13 ἐπεπόνθη V 13 οἷα V 17 τὸν add. Bekk e Scyl 111.68 17 καὶσαρα V 17 δὲ edd 18 τὸν βασιλέα add. edd e Scyl 111.71 18 κατέλεγε V **41**.4 πλησιάζων edd 5 ἐπῄει coni. Boor in app., cf. Scyl 111.76 προσήγγισεν 5 χλανὶς : χλαμὺς Scyl 111.77 et Gen 73.79 6 καὶνοτέρων V 6 προμιᾶς V 8 ταυτὸν V 9 συμπασιάσας ante corr. V, ut vid. 9 λεγάτα V Gen (L) 73.75 : ληγάτα Scyl 111.81 14 ἐνθά πως V : ἐνταῦθά πως Scyl 112.85 17 καὶσαρος V 17 ἑρμαῖόν τι edd 18 οἳ V 18 τοῦ : τῷ edd, cf. Scyl 112.88 18 τοῦ καὶσαρος V : τῷ καίσαρι κατητιῶντο τὸ γεγονὸς edd e Scyl 112.88–89

the throne – they suspected this was Peter, the chief of the apostles – and Ignatios of blessed memory who busied himself at his feet and made entreaty that he might see vengeance for the terrible things he had suffered. And the other, as if sharing in his suffering said he would soon grant this, and giving a small knife to one of those who stood by – two men dressed in white appeared to him – he said, 'Come now, take the God-hated one off to the place of those on the left and with this knife cut him limb from limb,' thus speaking of the cesar; 'and as for the other godless child,' thus referring to the emperor, 'count him with those on the right, but tell him to expect the same punishment.' Thus ended this dream, which was no dream but a waking vision.

41. Bardas was just then making preparations for war together with Michael and the entire host against the Cretans, and going in procession to the church of our Most Holy Lady the Mother of God which is called the 'Hodegoi' he went in with lamps to celebrate the office. As he was going off to approach the sanctuary, his mantel suddenly slipped from his shoulders, giving him a foreboding of new dangers. And the day before he was to set out from the city, either on his own or otherwise prompted by what was to come, he assembled his friends for a banquet and entreated them to remember his friendship and delivered his testamentary documents, as if he was leaving this life. But these things had to come to an end.

As they were setting out against Crete and landed in the theme of the Thrakesians, near a place called Kepoi [Gardens], their servants went ahead and set up the tents, showing eagerness and zeal. Somehow, whether by Providence or else through ignorance, they pitched the tent of Michael on a plain and level ground, but that of the cesar on a hill and projecting ground. Seizing this as a piece of luck and unexpected gain, Michael's men denounced

συμβουλάς. ἀλλ᾽ ἔθραττεν αὐτοὺς καὶ νωθροτέρους πως πρὸς τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἐποίει ἡ τοῦ καίσαρος κραταιοτέρα ἰσχύς· ὅ τε γὰρ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν Ἀντίγονος τούτῳ μᾶλλον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς υἱὸς ἐπειθάρχει καὶ ἤγετο, οἵ τ᾽ ἄλλοι δὴ στρατηγοί, καὶ ὁ τοῦ δρόμου τοὺς λόγους διδούς, οὕτω καλούμενος Συμβάτιος, ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων γαμβρὸς ἀναντιρρήτως τὰ ἐκείνου φρονεῖν ἠναγκάζετο. ἀλλ᾽ ἔλαθεν οὗτος κλαπεὶς καὶ μᾶλλον τὸν φόνον κατεργασάμενος. ὡς οὖν ἡ βουλὴ ἠρτύθη καὶ ὁ λόχος [εὐτρέπιστο] καὶ οἱ τὸ ἔργον εἰς πέρας ἄγοντες ἕτοιμοι, σύνθημα ὁ Συμβάτιος ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄλλος εὐτρέπιστο. ἄρτι γοῦν ἐξῄει τὰς ἀναφορὰς ἀναγνοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐδίδου τοῦ φόνου σταυρὸν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐγχαράττων αὐτοῦ. ἀλλ᾽ αὖθις ἀναβολαί τινες ἦσαν καὶ ἀτολμίαι τῷ παρουσιάζειν καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἵστασθαι τὴν τοῦ καίσαρος ἑταιρείαν· ὅπερ ὁ Μιχαὴλ εὐλαβούμενος μὴ κατάφωρος γένηται καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπισπάσῃ τὴν μάχαιραν, ἐθαρσοποίει τε τοὺς ἄνδρας διὰ πιστοῦ τινος καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους ἐδείκνυ ταῖς ὑπο|σχέσεσι καὶ τιμαῖς. B 206 κἂν παρῆλθεν καὶ τὸν φόνον ὁ καῖσαρ ἐξέφυγεν, τῷ δέει τούτων καταπλησσομένων καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ καταβαλλομένων· ἀλλὰ πάλιν δι᾽ ἀποκρίσεων ἐδήλου τῷ Βασιλείῳ – παρακοιμώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἦν – τὴν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἑστῶσαν ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἀπελέγετο τὴν ζωήν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν φόνον | f.71 καθώπλιζεν. ὧν ἀκηκοὼς ὁ Βασίλειος, καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως κατορρωδῶν, ἀπορρῖψαι πείθει τὸ δέος αὐτούς, καὶ "ὦ τῆς ἀνανδρίας", εἰπών, "καὶ ἀτόλμου ψυχῆς", ἐπτέρωσέ τε ἄφνω αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰσπηδῆσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησεν. οὓς ὁ Βάρδας ἀθρόως ξιφήρεις ἰδὼν καὶ καταπλαγεὶς ἔγνωκέ τε τὸν θάνατον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ἔρριψε τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἦν τοῦτον διεκφυγεῖν· ὅθεν αὐθωρὸν ἐκεῖθέν τε αὐτὸν ἀποσπῶσι καὶ μεληδὸν κατατέμνουσιν, μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ, εἰκάδι πρώτῃ, ἰνδικτιῶνος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης. εἶτα κοντῷ τὰ παιδογόνα τούτου ἀπαιωρήσαντες μόρια παραδειγματίζουσί τε καὶ θριαμβεύουσιν. θορύβου δὲ πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ ταραχῆς, ἦν ἰδεῖν καὶ τὸν Μιχαὴλ μικροῦ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς θέοντα· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τῆς βίγλης δρουγγάριος – Κωνσταν-

41.43–45 : die 21 Apr. a. 866 Bardas apud Cepos in Asia trucidatus est

||36–37 cf. supra III.33.9

19 ἔθραττεν edd, cf. Scyl 112.89 ὑπέθραττε : ἔθαττεν V 24 γραμβρὸς V 25 post φόνον add. τοῦ πενθεροῦ edd e Scyl 112.95–96 25 κατεργασόμενος edd 26 post ἕτοιμοι coni. dubitanter <ἦσαν> Kamb 26 εὐτρέπιστο seclusimus, ut e sequente anticipatum : ηὐτρέπιστο B edd 27 εὐτρέπιστο secludendum Boor in app. putavit, ut e precedente repetitum 27 οὖν edd 28 τοῦ φρόνου ante corr. V (ρ expunxit) : om. edd 30 τῷ edd : τὸ V 30 post κατὰ add. τὸ edd 33 τινὸς V 34 κἀν V 34 post παρῆλθεν add. τὸν κίνδυνον edd e Scyl 112.7 36 ἀποκρίσεως edd 39 ἀπορρίψαι V 40 ἀνανδρίας – ἀτόλμου coni. Boor : ἀνδρίας – ἀτόλμου V : ἀνδρίας – εὐτόλμου edd 43 αὑτὸν edd e Scyl 112.13 (ἑαυτὸν AE) 44 μεληδῶν V 45 τεσσαρεσκαὶδεκάτης V

the cesar and devised plots against him. But the cesar's mighty power troubled them and made them more reticent toward the undertaking. For the domestikos of the scholai Antigonos obeyed and followed him, not the emperor, like a son, as well as the other generals; and the director of the Public Course, called Symbatios, being the husband of Bardas's daughter, was obliged to take his side without objection. But Symbatios had secretly been won over and it was he who committed the murder nevertheless. When the plan was set and the snare and those who would carry out the deed ready, it was none other than Symbatios who set the signal. Now, just as Bardas, having read his reports, was departing from them, Symbatios gave the signal for the murder, making the sign of the cross on his face. But there were again hesitations and fears because the company of the cesar was present and stood face to face. Being wary of this, lest Bardas should become aware and draw his sword against him, Michael tried to encourage the men through one of his faithful servants and to make them bolder with promises of honours. Now, the cesar would have got away and escaped the murder, for these men were seized with fear and stricken with despondency; but again through messages Michael informed Basil – he was the parakoimomenos – that the matter stood on a razor's edge and he despaired of his life, and he called him to arms for the murder. Hearing this Basil was filled with dread for the emperor, and he persuaded the men to abandon their fear; and saying 'O what effeminacy and cowardice of soul!' he roused them forthwith and caused them to leap to the struggle. Seeing them suddenly armed with swords Bardas was stricken with panic and knew that it was his death, and he threw himself down at the feet of the emperor. But it was impossible for him to escape. Straightway they took him away and cut him in pieces, on the twenty-first of April in the fourteenth indiction. Then, fixing his genital organs on a pole, they showed them off in triumph. But a great noise and confusion arose, and even Michael was in peril of his life; however, the drungarius of the Watch – it was Constantine –

τῖνος δὲ ἦν – ἐν μέσῳ που συρρυεὶς τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον διέλυσε θροῦν, εὐφημίαις τε βάλλων αὐτὸν καὶ παρατάξεις ἀνθοπλίζων κατὰ τῶν ἐπανισταμένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ Βάρδας οὕτως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτως ἡ κατὰ τῶν Κρητῶν διελύθη στρατιά, τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον ὑποστρέψαντος.

42. Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ σημεῖον πρὸ δύο ἢ καὶ τριῶν ἡμε|ρῶν τῷ Βάρδᾳ B 207
παρεσημαίνετο· ἡ γὰρ Θεοδώρα, εἴτ᾽ ἄλλως θεοφορουμένη εἴτε δὴ καὶ ὑπό τινος τῶν μεμελετημένων διακούσασα, ἐσθῆτά τινα παγκάλην μὲν καὶ χρυσαῖς πέρδιξι πεποικιλμένην, οὐκ ἀναλογοῦσαν δὲ τῷ μήκει τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ ἀποδέουσαν αἰνιγματωδῶς ἐξαπέστειλεν. τό τε γὰρ πέρδικας ἀλλὰ μή τινας ἄλλας τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐνυφᾶναι, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐνδέον εἰς δόλον ἐμπεσεῖν θᾶττον ἢ ἔδει προυσήμαινεν.

43. Πλὴν ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ὑπέστρεφε καὶ τόν Βασίλειον, ἐπεὶ μὴ εὐμοίρει παιδός, υἱοποιεῖται καὶ τῆς τῶν μαγίστρων τιμῆς ἀξιοῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ χρόνου προϊόντος τὰ κοινὰ διοικεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἦν καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀφελείας ᾐσθάνετο καὶ ἅμα ἐπανάστασιν μελετᾶσθαι καὶ ἀποστασίαν παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου διήκουεν τῷ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα διοικεῖσθαι κακῶς, καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον διάδημα τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτίθησι, καὶ βασιλέα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, μηνὶ Μαΐῳ, εἰκάδι ἕκτῃ, ἰνδικτιῶνος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης, ἀναδείκνυσί τε καὶ ἀναγορεύει κατὰ τὴν μεγά|λην f.71v
ἐκκλησίαν ᾗ ἐπώνυμον Σοφία θεοῦ. ἀλλ᾽ ὅστις μὲν οὗτος ὁ Βασίλειος καὶ ὅθεν, καὶ ὅπως εἰς γνῶσιν ἦλθε τοῦ κρατοῦντος, ἡ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱστορία δηλώσει· τὰ νῦν δὲ τῆς βασιλείου δόξης ἀξιωθεὶς εἴχετο μὲν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀπείχετο δὲ τῶν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἁμιλλητηρίων καὶ ἱπποδρομιῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν αἰσχρότατον Γρῦλον καὶ ψευδοπατριάρχην αἰσχρουργιῶν, ὧν ἀκαίρως ἐνετρύφα ὁ Μιχαήλ. | B 208

43.6–9 : die 26 Maii a. 866 Basilius imperialem coronam accepit

Cap. 42: GeorgCont (Istrin) 12.14–18 | PsSym 677.9–15 Cap. 43: GeorgCont (Istrin) 13.31–14.20; Gen 79.49–68; Log A 252.362–253.389 | PsSym 679.15–680.6; Scyl 113.20–25

51 ὗτως V 52 στρατεία coni. Boor in app., cf. VBas 17.60 στρατεία et Scyl 113.20 ἐκστρατεία **42.**1 post καὶ add. πρὸ edd 3 ἐσθῆτα τινὰ V 6 γὰρ : μὲν Comb 6 ἄλλας edd : ἄλλως V 6 ἐνυφάναι V : ἀνυφάναι Comb 7 προσήμανεν edd **43.**1 καὶ τὸν : τόν τε edd 3 οὐχ V 5 πράγματα om. edd 6 καὶ post κακῶς secludendum dubitanter putavit Kamb 6 τὸ : τῶ V 6 ἐπιτήθησι ante corr. V 7 τῆς om. edd 10 ἦλθεν (sic) ante εἰς γμῶσιν edd 10 καταυτὸν V 12 ἀπήχετο V 12 ἱπποδρομιῶν edd Boor : ἱπποδρομίων V 13 τὸν : τῶν edd

somehow got to the centre and dispersed the great clamour, praising Michael and drawing up ranks against the insurgents. Thus did Bardas leave the world of men, and thus was the expedition against Crete dispersed, the emperor returning to Byzantium.

42. There was also another sign that appeared to Bardas two or three days earlier. For Theodora, either somehow inspired by the Divinity, or else, having heard from those who had hatched the plot, sent him by way of a riddle a garment that was very beautiful and adorned with golden partridges, but was not in proportion to the length of his stature but much too short. For the embroidery of partridges, instead of some other birds, and also the shortness of the garment was a sign that he would fall victim to treachery sooner than was fitting.

43. But the emperor returned and, because he had no children, adopted Basil and granted him the dignity of magistros. And because, in the course of time Michael was unable to administer state affairs and was conscious of his own simplicity, when he heard that an uprising and revolt was being plotted by the Senate on account of the bad administration of the Roman state, he also placed the highly sought after crown upon his head and declared and proclaimed him emperor in the Great Church named after the Wisdom of God on the day of Whitsun, the twenty-sixth of May, in the fourteenth indiction. Now, who this Basil was and where he was from, and how he had come to the knowledge of the emperor, will be revealed in the History concerning him. At this time, having been granted the imperial glory, he held fast to the imperial office; but he kept away from the daily contests and horse races and the base acts of those around the most shameless fake-patriarch Grylos, in which Michael importunately revelled.

44. Πάντων μὲν γὰρ κόρον εἶναι καὶ τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν εἴρηταί τε πολλοῖς, καὶ ἡ πεῖρα τούτων διδάσκαλος ἀκριβής· Μιχαὴλ δὲ τῷ τότε κρατοῦντι οὔτε τῶν ἱπποδρομιῶν οὔτε μὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκρατοποσιῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν κόρος ἦν, ὡς φασίν. ἃ πειρώμενος κωλύειν ὁ Βασίλειος καὶ πορρωτέρω τούτων ποιεῖν αὐτόν, νῦν μὲν παραινέσεσι χρώμενος, νῦν δ᾽ ἄλλως μῖσος παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἀρὰς καὶ τὰς τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπαναστάσεις προτιθεὶς καὶ οἷον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἀναζωγραφῶν, ἔλαθε τῷ φθόνῳ ἑαυτὸν καθυποβαλών, καὶ ἀντὶ φίλου ἐχθρὸς καὶ μεμισημένος ὁ υἱοθετηθεὶς ἐνομίζετο. ἐντεῦθεν οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καί τινα ἄλλον, τοῦ βασιλικοῦ δρόμωνος ἐρέτην τηνικαῦτα τελοῦντα – Βασι<λι>κῖνος οὗτος ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Καπνογένους ἐκείνου τοῦ τὴν ὑπαρχικὴν ἀξίαν ἠξιωμένου τὸ δεύτερον – ἀγαγών, τὴν πορφύραν τε ἐνδύει καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιτίθησιν, καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῶν ὑποδημάτων περιβαλὼν ἐξάγει πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τῆς χειρὸς ἔχων αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν φησὶν ὡς "ἔδει πάλαι με τοῦτον εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν περίβλεπτον κόσμον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπαγαγεῖν, ᾧ

πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος,
δεύτερον δὲ συμφυὲς πέλει στέφος,
ἅπαντα δ᾽ ἁρμόζουσι πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν,

ἢ τὸν Βασίλειον, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ μεταμεμέλημαι ἐφ᾽ οἷς αὐτὸν ἐβασίλευσα".

Αὕτη τῆς καταλύσεως αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀρχή. τοῦτο πάντας περιηχῆσαν
ἐκπλα|γῆναί τε τούτους ἐποίησε καὶ ἀφασίᾳ καταληφθῆναι πολλῇ, ὅτι B 209
<ἡ> γῆ κατὰ τοὺς μυθικοὺς Γίγαντας βασιλέας σπαρτοὺς καθ᾽ ἑκάστην
ἡμέραν ἀναδίδωσιν. ηὔξητο μὲν οὖν ἔκτοτε τὸ πρὸς τὸν Βασίλειον μῖσος,
καὶ σφοδρότερον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πυ|ρὸς φύσιν ἐγίνετο, ὑπέκκαυμα ἔχον καὶ f.72
αἴτιον τὸ μήτε συμφθείρεσθαι βούλεσθαι τούτοις αὐτὸν μήτε μὴν συν-

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44.9–13 : ca. 1 Sept. a. 867 Basiliscinus imperialem coronam accepit

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Cap. 44: VBas 25.4–28; 24.40–47; GeorgCont (Istrin) 15.18–17.24; Gen 79.69–80.84; VBas 25–26; Log A 255.430–260.5 | PsSym 681.13–21, 682.19–686.12; Scyl 113.27–114.52 || 1 Homerus, Il. 13.636; 17 Euripides, Aeolus fragm. Nauck 15.2;

44.3 ἱπποδρομιῶν edd Boor : ἱπποδρομίων V 4 ἀκρατοποσιῶν Boor : ἀκρατοποσίων V 8 ζωγραφῶν edd 9 μεμησημένος V 11 Βασι<λι>κῖνος edd, cf. VBas 25.10–11 et Scyl 113.29 Βασιλικῖνον : βασικῖνος V : Βασιλισκιανός PsSym 682.20 et 683.10 GeorgCont (Istrin) 5.24, 34 et 16.14, 24 16 ᾧ Boor, cf. Scyl 113.34 ἐφ᾽ ᾧ : ὃ V : om. edd 18 ante δεύτερον add. τὸ Boor e VBas 25.20, Scyl 113.37 (ACEB) et PsSym 683.13 : καὶ δεύτερον edd e Scyl 113.37 (FH) 18 συμφυνὲς V 19 ἅπαντα V PsSym f 253v 19 post ἀξίαν add. καὶ ὅτι πόσον ἦν κάλλιον τοῦτόν με ποιῆσαι βασιλέα edd e VBas 25.22, cf. PsSym 683.15 καὶ ὅτι πόσον οὖν κάλλιον – βασιλέα 20 καὶ om. edd 20 ἐφ᾽ fortasse delendum putavit Boor 23 <ἡ> γῆ coni. Kamb : δὴ V, quod om. edd 25 ἔχων V

44. It is said by many that there is a limit in all things, both shameless and natural, and experience is an accurate teacher in this. But Michael, who was then emperor, never had his fill, as they say, either of horse racing or of any other drinking of unmixed wine or shameless acts. Basil attempted to prevent him from doing this further, now employing exhortations, now presenting and, as it were, painting before his eyes the hatred of the citizens and curses of the priests and insurrections of the Senate; but it escaped Basil's notice that in so doing he made himself an object of envy, and instead of a friend the adopted one was considered a hated enemy. For this reason, not long afterwards, Michael took another man, then serving as an oarsman of the imperial dromon – this one was called Basilikinos and was the brother of that Kapnogenes who was granted the dignity of prefect for the second time –, and vested him in purple and placed the diadem upon him; then putting on his feet the conspicuous shoes he led him off to the Senate, holding his hand, and before the council he said, 'O ye men, would that I formerly had brought this man to this conspicuous office –

Firstly, his form is Monarchy's due
Secondly, the crown is Nature's accrue:
All conspires to his worth! –

rather than Basil, whom I regret to have made emperor.'

This was the beginning of his undoing. When word of this got round it caused all to be astonished and left them in great perplexity, for after the manner of the mythical giants the earth was bringing up sown emperors every day. From that time on hatred toward Basil increased and became more intense after the nature of fire, having as its fuel and cause Basil's desire not to be corrupted together with the others nor to be carried away in their licen-

υπάγεσθαι ταῖς ἀκολάστοις γνώμαις αὐτῶν. εἰς τοσαύτην γὰρ ὁ Μιχαὴλ πολλάκις ἄνοιαν ἐξ ἀκρατοποσίας καὶ μέθης ἐξώκειλεν ὡς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν μὲν καὶ τὸν ταύτης καιρὸν δεινά τινα καὶ πέρα δεινῶν ἐγκελεύεσθαι· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἄλλου τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἑτέρου προσέταττεν· ἃ εἰ μή τινες οἴκτῳ κρατούμενοι παρημέλουν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὔριον ἔπεμπον, ἀνάκλησίν τινα καὶ μεταμέλειαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδεχόμενοι, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, κἂν ἀπώλετο σύμπας ὁ παραμένων αὐτῷ καὶ συγκαρτερῶν. μικροῦ δὲ καὶ Βασίλειος συναπώλετο, τῆς παροινίας οὐκ ὀλιγάκις παίγνιον γεγονώς. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενε μετάμελόν τινα γενηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα ὀψὲ γοῦν ὑποτοπάζων. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἦν τοῦτον ὥσπερ ἁρμάτειον τροχὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας καμφθέντα, οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο, τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθυωρίαν λαβεῖν. τοιγαροῦν καὶ μείζονα κατὰ Βασιλείου συρράπτει ἐπιβουλήν. ἡ δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ κυνηγίῳ λόγῳ μὲν κατὰ τῆς θήρας ἔργῳ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ Βασιλείου τὴν τῆς λόγχης ῥῖψιν ποιῆσαί τινα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν. καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ὁ προσταγεὶς καὶ τὴν λόγχην ἀφεὶς κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐξόδου και|ρὸν ἐξαγορεύσας δῆλον πεποίηκε καὶ πιστόν. ἀφῆκε B 210 μὲν οὖν οὗτος τὴν λόγχην ὁ κελευσθείς, διημάρτανε δέ· καὶ οὕτω σέσωστο ὁ Βασίλειος, ἔγγιστα θανάτου γενόμενος, ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸν θάνατον καταπεπατηκότος θεοῦ. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἔκπυστα γενόμενα πᾶσι καὶ φανερὰ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἠκόνησε μάχαιραν. ἵνα γὰρ μὴ καὶ τὸν Βασίλειον ὡς πρὸ μικροῦ τὸν καίσαρα σφαττόμενον ἴδωσι, καὶ πρὸ τούτου αὐτὸν Θεόκτιστον, εἴτε βουλῇ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς εἴτε γνώμῃ τῶν φιλούντων τὸν Βασίλειον – κοινὸς γὰρ καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ θάνατος ἐπηπείλητο – σφάττεται ὑπὸ τῶν προκοίτων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνδρῶν, κατὰ τὰ ἀνάκτορα τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος, μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ, εἰκάδι τετάρτῃ, ἰνδ. α´, ἔτους ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ ἕκτου, ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς | f.72v τρίτῃ, βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη μετὰ μὲν τῆς Θεοδώρας τῆς τούτου μητρὸς τέσσαρα καὶ δέκα, καὶ μόναρχος δέκα καὶ ἕν, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ μησὶ χρόνον α´ ὕστερον μετὰ Βασιλείου.

45. Καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰρημένα σκηνικά τε ἅπαντα καὶ θεατρικά, ἄξιον δὲ μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπαινετῶν. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὧν ἔφερεν ἀναθημάτων ἐν τῷ πε-

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44.49–53 : die 24 Sept. a. 867 Michael imperator trucidatus est

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36–38 cf. Plutarchus, De liberis educandis 2D: οἱ δ᾽ ἁρμάτειοι τροχοὶ πόνῳ καμφθέντες οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δύναιντ᾽ ἀναλαβεῖν εὐθυωρίαν Cap. 45: Scyl 114.52–55

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27 συνέπαγεσθαι edd 27 τοσαύ|τὴν V 32 ἀνάκλὴσίν τινα V 32 ἐκδεχόμενοι edd : ἐκδεχομενος V 33 κἀν V 35 μετὰ μελόν τινα V 36 ἀλλοὐκ V 37 ἁρμάτιον V 38 λαβεῖν : ἀναλαβεῖν Plut. de liberis educandis 2D 38 καὶ om. edd 40 ῥίψιν V 40 ποιῆσαι τινὰ V 45 ἔκπτυστα V 48 βουλὴ V 48 τὸν om. edd 49 καταυτὸν V 51 ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης edd 52 ἑξακισχιλιωστοῦ τριακοσίωστοῦ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ ἕκτου V 52 ἐκ τοῦ V 55 α´ : ἕνα edd 55 ὕτερον V

tious inclinations. For Michael often ran aground into such frenzy from wine drinking and drunkenness that at the moment and for the time it lasted he would issue frightful – and worse than frightful – commands. One man he ordered to be deprived of his ears, and another his nose, and another his head. And if, out of pity, certain men had not neglected these orders and left them for the morrow, expecting some kind of recollection and repentence of the man – which indeed there was – all who remained and stood by him would have perished. Basil, too, nearly perished, having been often the plaything of the other's madness. But he abided and persisted in the expectation of the man's later repentence. But, like a chariot wheel bent from its first age, it was impossible for Michael, no matter what happened, to regain his rectitude of origin. Thus did he stitch together a yet greater plot against Basil. This was that, on the hunt, one of the guards should in word lance the spear against the beast, but in fact against Basil. The man who had been commanded to do this and had thrown the spear made this clear and worthy of belief in his confession at the time of his death. As ordered, he lanced the spear, but he missed; and thus Basil, coming very close to death, was saved by God who had trampled down death. When these things were heard and became known to everyone they caused the knife to be sharpened against Michael. For lest they should see Basil murdered as the cesar had been shortly before, and Theoktistos before him, either by deliberation of the assembly of the Senate or by intent of those who loved Basil – for a common death threatened them – Michael was murdered by the imperial chamberlains in the palace of the holy great martyr Mamas on the twenty-fourth of the month of September, in the 1st indiction, in the year six-thousand-three-hundred-seventy-six, at the third hour of the night. He had reigned for fourteen years with his mother Theodora, and for eleven alone, and afterwards one year and three months with Basil.

45. So much for all the theatrical and stage pranks we have mentioned. But it is also right to remember praiseworthy things. For the fabrication,

ριωνύμῳ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ κατασκευὴ φιλεργῶς τελεσθεῖσα καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπαινετή. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ δίσκῳ τῶν παλαιῶν τι κειμηλίων καὶ ἱερῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀφ᾽ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι τεχνουργηθέντων ἐν ναοῖς, κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐξισάζεται, οὔτε τις εὐπρέπεια καὶ ὡραιότης τινὶ τῶν γενομένων ἐπήνθησεν, πάντων ἐκεῖ τῶν ὡραίων καὶ τιμίων συνδεδραμηκότων· | καὶ B 211
τὸ ποτήριον δὲ τούτῳ λίαν κατάλληλον.

Οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ ὁ εἰς φωταγωγίαν κατασκευασθεὶς αὐτῷ κύκλος, ὅπερ φασὶ πολυκάνδηλον, τινὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡλάττωται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος ἐκ χρυσοῦ ὅλος γενόμενος, λίτρας ἔχων ἑξήκοντα, τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρει κατὰ πολὺ καὶ τούτῳ δίδωσι τὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ τὸ σεβάσμιον.

45.3 τοῦ θεοῦ : τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας edd, cf. Scyl 114.54 τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ 8 τούτῳ edd : τοῦτο V 12 πρωτεία V

accomplished with industry and munificence, of his offerings to the renowned Church of God is worthy of praise. For the paten has no equal in size from amongst the ancient and holy treasures in the churches crafted since man came into being, nor does such comliness and beauty flourish upon anything else from amongst all the beautiful and precious things gathered up there. The chalice, too, is in every way appropriate to the paten.

Nor is the circle constructed for illumination, which is called a polykandelon, inferior to either of the other things, but this also is all of gold, weighing sixty litrai, and greatly exceeds the others and gives Michael first place and honour.

1. Index nominum proriorum

2. Index verborum ad res byzantinas spectantium

3. Index grammaticus

1. articulum

1.1) ut demonstrativum: τοῦ μὲν II.2.12, τῶν ὧν ἐρωτώμεθα III.4.21–22, κατὰ τῶν ὧν ἐπεθύμει III.26.24, τὸν ὅστις IV.23.16, τὸ ὃ ἔφερε σάβανον IV.37.14, τὰ ἃ εἶχε IV.37.17, τῶν ὧν εἶχε IV.38.1, τοῖς οἷς ἐβούλοντο μεταλαμβάνειν IV.38.14–15, τοῦ μὲν … ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ὦτα IV.44.29–30.

1.2) cum infinitivo

1.2.1) τό + inf. (syntagma nominale ut obiectum directum, subiectum, sive syntagma appositivum): τὸ μὴ … καταφωρᾶν I.11.6–7, τὸ ἀκρωτηριάζεσθαι … καὶ … τίθεσθαι I.14.4–5, τὸ μὴ διωχθῆναι ἐξόπισθεν II.16.17, τὸ ἀπελάσαι καὶ … ποιῆσαι III.1.33–34, τὸ μὴ δὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι … τὸ μὴ δὲ … τυποῦσθαί τε καὶ μορφάζεσθαι III.10.11–12, τὸ ζῆν III.13.2, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐναγούσας, τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι αὐτάς III.14.12–13, τὸ χειρονομεῖν III.16.7, τὸ … ἐποχυρῶσαι … καὶ … διασῶσαι III.30.12–13, τὸ σώζεσθαι III.32.8, τὸ … εἶναι III.36.24–25, ἔχον καὶ αἴτιον τὸ … βούλεσθαι … μήτε … συνυπάγεσθαι IV.44.25–26.

1.2.2) τοῦ μὴ + inf: a) oratio adiectiva: τοῦ … ἀκριβολογῆσαι I.11.20–21, τοῦ φιλοπλουτεῖν II.11.23, τοῦ φρονεῖν … ἀπαλλάττεται II.20.9–10, νόμον … τοῦ μή … κατατολμᾶν III.17.6–7, ἆθλον … τοῦ μὴ … προσκυνεῖν III.26.44–45, ἀπόπειραν … τοῦ … ἀποστῆσαι καὶ … παλιννοστῆσαι III.33.5–6, δέει τοῦ μὴ παροφθῆναι IV.35.17, ἡμέρας τοῦ μέλλειν IV.41.6.

b) oratio finalis: τοῦ μή … γενέσθαι I.6.46–47, πείθειν τοῦ μὴ … πορεύεσθαι II.3.24–26, πεῖσαι τοῦ … ἀποβαλεῖν III.18.28–29, ἐφετὸν τοῦ … ἐννοῆσαι … προσχωρῆσαι III.20.17–19, παρῄνει … καὶ … κατεδέσμει … τοῦ μήτε … τυχεῖν μήτε … III.27.16–17, τοῦ μὴ πλησιάσαι … ἀγωνιζόμενος IV.35.19–20.

1.2.3) causale sive instrumentale: a) τῷ + inf.: τῷ … βούλεσθαι I.5.9, τῷ μὴ … φρονεῖν I.6.22, τῷ … διοικονομῆσαι I.19.1–2, τῷ γε μὴ πεισθῆναι I.20.47, τῷ … μέλλειν III.9.3, τῷ μὴ δὲ … βούλεσθαι III.10.32–33, τῷ σφόδρα παρρησιασθῆναι III.11.12–13, τῷ διαφέρειν … τῷ καὶ … ὀφθῆναι III.25.15–16, τῷ βάλλεσθαι III.31.30, τῷ πλῆθος ἀνῃρῆσθαι III.34.5, τῷ … γενέσθαι III.38.26–27, εἴτε … τῷ … εἶναι … εἴτε καὶ τῷ διαφέρειν IV.7.4–5, τῷ συμπεφράχθαι IV.25.72–73, τῷ … χαρίζεσθαι IV.39.15, τῷ παρουσιάζειν καὶ … ἵστασθαι IV.41.30.

b) διὰ τὸ + inf.: διὰ τὸ … εἶναι I.10.31–32, διὰ τὸ … εἶναι I.10.35–36, διὰ τὸ … εἶναι II.1.4, διὰ τὸ … εἶναι II.2.2–3, διὰ τὸ … ἔχειν III.42.5–6, διὰ τὸ … διανέμειν III.44.12–13, διὰ τὸ … ἀπαλλαγῆναι IV.39.35–36.

c) τοῦ ἕνεκα + inf.: τοῦ … ἕνεκεν … διαλύειν καὶ … ποιεῖν III.24.5–6.

d) ἐκ τοῦ + inf.: ἐκ τοῦ … ἠρνῆσθαι II.10.12, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι II.20.4, ἐκ τοῦ διανεμηθῆναι II.26.4, ἐκ τοῦ … ἡττᾶσθαι III.37.10.

e) ἀπὸ τοῦ + inf.: ἀπὸ τοῦ … ἀνάπτειν … καὶ … χειραγωγεῖν I.10.3–4.

1.2.4) temporale: a) ἅμα τῷ + inf.: ἅμα … τῷ … ἐποφθῆναι II.14.32–33, ἅμα τῷ συρραγῆναι II.18.26, ἅμα … τῷ πυθέσθαι II.19.50–51, ἅμα τῷ … καταλαβεῖν III.28.13, ἅμα τῷ πιστεῦσαι III.38.23, ἅμα τῷ … κληθῆναι IV.31.26, ἅμα τῷ … ἰδεῖν IV.35.7.

b) ἐν τῷ + inf.: ἐν τῷ μέλλειν IV.19.18, ἐν τῷ μέλλειν IV.31.12.

c) μετὰ τὸ + inf.: μετὰ τὸ … ἀφαιρεθῆναι II.7.15–16.

1.2.5) directivum: a) πρὸς τὸ + inf.: πρὸς τὸ μονάζειν III.27.9.

b) εἰς τὸ + inf. εἰς τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι IV.7.38.

2. substantiva

2.1) casus

2.1.1) nominativus: a) nominativus pendens cf. 6.4.2.

b) pro vocativo cf. ὦ λαὸς καὶ κλῆρος ἐμός III.1.6, ὦ οὗτος III.1.26, ὦ ποιμήν IV.25.90.

c) neutra in ι(ν): κῦρι II.20.34, γυβέριν II.20.35, Γύριν IV.25.56.

2.1.2) accusativus: absolutus: μόνους ἐξιόντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους III.4.26.

2.1.3) genitivus: absolutus passim, cf. 6.4.1.

2.1.4) dativus: a) agens cum perf. passivo: τῆς σοὶ πεποθημένης βασιλείας I.2.20, τούτῳ λελόγιστο I.23.2, ἡμῖν δεδήλωται II.1.2, μοι … εἴρηται II.7.2–3, μοι δεδήλωται II.12.24, τῶν … ἑαυτῷ ἡμαρτημένων II.16.9, ἔγνωστο … αὐτῷ II.19.8, ἐμοί … νενόμισται II.21.46–47, τῶν ἡμῖν εἰρημένων III.1.35–36, τῶν εἰρημένων τοῖς πατράσιν III.11.4, τῶν … ἡμῖν εἰρημένων III.26.18, ἡμῖν κατανάλωται III.34.33–34, ἡμῖν εἰρημένος III.43.2, τῷ Θεοφίλῳ ἐξῳκοδόμηνται III.43.36–37, ἡμῖν … εἴρηται III.43.69–70; cum perf. activo: τῷ Θεοφίλῳ ἀνεστηκώς III.43.50; cum aor. pasivo: τὰ … πραχθέντα Μιχαὴλ τῷ Τραυλῷ III.1.1, ἠγαπήθη αὐτῷ τε τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ III.25.21, τῷ Θεοφίλῳ κατεσκευάσθησαν III.43.29–30; cum impf. passivo: ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ αὐτῇ III.5.19, οἷς ὑβρίζετο III.348.

b) absolutus, cf. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντι καὶ μελετῶντι III.35.19.

2.1.6) congruentia casuum: a) dativi cum dativo et accusativo: τῷ Μανουὴλ πρὸς τὸν Θεόκτιστον, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιτροπεύουσι IV.18.4–5.

b) dativi cum nominativo: Δένδερις ὄνομα τούτῳ … φθεγγόμενος καὶ … κινῶν καὶ … ἐνδιαιτώμενος III.6.3–4.

c) acusativi cum nominativo: καὶ πρὸς θεὸν εὐχὰς ἱκετηρίους παρεκάλει τοῦτον ἀναπέμψειν, τὰ αὐτοῦ διαβήματα κατευθυνούσας καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιβραβευούσας αὐτῷ I.2.4–6.

2.2) numerus

2.2.1) dualis: τὼ χεῖρε I.24.10–11, τὼ χεῖρε II.20.14, ἐν χεροῖν III.23.29, τὼ χεῖρε IV.10.28.

2.2.2) congruentia ad sensum (cf. 4.3.1.c): ταύτην (=πολυχειρίαν) ἀπέστελλεν … ὡς πανταχόθεν ἀντιστησομένους καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐκνικήσοντας III.30.15–16, μὴ δυνάμενος ὁ … στρατός … κλίναντες … κατέλιπον III.31.29–31, τοῦ τοσούτου λαοῦ … ἐμοὶ προσμεινάντων III.32.8.

2.3) genus

2.3.1) masculinus pro neutro: τὸν πολὺν ὄνειδον II.10.8–9, IV.18.18.

2.3.3) concordantia ad sensum: γυναίῳ … ἐρχομένῃ IV.37.4–5.

3. adiectiva

3.1) neutrum cum articulo pro nomine abstracto: τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ ἄγριον … αὐτῶν pro τὴν φοβερότητα καὶ ἀγριότητα αὐτῶν I.5.17–18, τὸ προπετὲς ἐκείνου καὶ αὔθαδες pro τὴν προπέτειαν ἐκείνου καὶ αὐθάδειαν I.6.14–15, τὸ κακόγνωμον pro τὴν κακογνωμοσύνην II.2.12, τὸ … ἄφοβον pro τὴν ἀφοβίαν II.2.14, τὸ … καθαρόν pro τὴν καθαρότητα II.3.15, τὸ καρτερικὸν pro τὴν καρτερικότητα II.4.9, τὸ βέβαιον pro τὴν βεβαίωσιν II.10.2, τὸ … ὠμὸν pro ἡ ὠμότης II.10.18, τὸ εὐπροσήγορον καὶ ἀστεῖον pro ἡ εὐπροσηγορία καὶ ἡ ἀστειότης II.11.16–17, τὸ ἐπαινετὸν pro τὴν ἐπαίνεσιν III.1.32, τὸ φιλήκοον … καὶ φιλοδίκαιον pro τὴν φιληκοΐαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην III.7.21, τὸ φιλαπέχθημον pro τὴν φιλαπεχθημοσύνην III.7.43, τὸ δραστήριον pro τὴν δραστηριότητα III.9.7, τὸ μεγαλόδωρον pro τὴν μεγαλοδωρίαν III.9.48, τὸ … φιλόστοργον pro τὴν φιλοστοργίαν III.18.10, τὸ … ἔκκριτον καὶ φιλόθεον pro τὴν ἔκκρισιν καὶ φιλοθεΐαν III.24.10–11, τὸ καταδιῶκον pro τὴν καταδίωξιν III.31.26, διὰ τὸ νέον pro τὴν νεότητα IV.27.16, τὸ εὔσχημον … τε καὶ σεμνὸν pro εὐσχημοσύνην τε καὶ σεμνότητα IV.31.25–26, ἀνήμερόν τε καὶ ἄγροικον pro ἀνημερότητα τε καὶ ἀγριότητα IV.33.2, τὸ σεβάσμιον pro τὴν σεβασμιότητα IV.45.12.

3.2) reflexivum

3.2.1) οἰκεῖος ut refl. dir.: τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅροις ἐμμένειν I.6.10, τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιγινώσκοντος ἀσθένειαν I.6.12–13, τὴν οἰκείαν προδεδωκότων παράταξιν I.6.41–42, τὰ οἰκεῖα προμηθουμένων I.15.21, διὰ … τοῦ οἰκείου υἱοῦ … παραδίδωσι II.8.20, διῆλθε … τὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στοιχεῖα ὀνόματος II.18.41–42, τοῦ … βουλεύματος οὐ διήμαρτε τοῦ οἰκείου II.12.14–15, πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον … ἀπεδίδρασκον II.15.24, οἰκείαις οὗτος χερσὶν ἀνεστήλωσεν III.13.22–23, τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐνηχεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ὠσὶν ἀνάθεμα IV.10.46, περὶ οἰκείας αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύειν ἀδελφῆς IV.14.6–7; τὸ οἰκεῖον δοῦναι ἑτέροις IV.27.109.

3.2.2) ἴδιος ut refl. dir.: ἰδίους … παραδόντες γεννήτορας I.1.2–3, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ I.3.46–47, θυμὸν ἴδιον ἀποπιμπλῶν II.11.5–6.

3.3) gradus comparationis

3.3.1) positivum ut comparativum (cf. 6.4.3): τῶν ἄλλων Ἀγαρηνῶν οὗτοι δὴ εὐφυεῖς II.25.7–8, λεῖος καὶ εὐπρόσιτος τῶν λοιπῶν IV.25.65.

3.3.2) comparativum sive superlativum adverbialiter usurpatum in accusativo: a) comparativum sing.: e.g. θρασύτερον II.7.3, II.10.30, IV.13.1, ῥᾳθυμότερον III.10.30, σπουδαιότερον IV.29.9–10.

b) comparativum plur.: e.g. σοφώτερα ἢ βασιλικώτερα βουλευσάμενος I.24.9, ταὐτὸν δὲ εἶναι δυνατώτερα εἰπεῖν III.12.7.

c) superlativum plur.: e.g. ἀνασπούδαστα καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε θέουσα I.21.33.

3.4) ταὐτὸν ut neutrum: II.6.10, II.14.22, II.14bis.24, II.15.14, II.27.30, III.12.7, III.32.18, III.37.6, IV.18.14, IV.25.4, IV.27.39, IV.41.8, sed cf. ταὐτὸ τοῦτο II.16.16–17.

4. pronomina

4.1) personalia

4.1.1) αὐτός: a) ut refl. indir. passim.

b) ut refl. dir.: αὐτῷ … συγγνώμην αἰτούμενος I.3.22–23, παρὰ πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ τιθεὶς I.20.23–24, ἐξήρτυον αὐτοῖς τὴν σωτήριον I.24.22, τὸ φίλον αὐτῷ I.25.17, δίδωσι τὴν αὐτοῦ II.3.13–14, μὴ τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτοῦ … πορεύεσθαι II.3.25–26, τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προρρήσεις φοβούμενος II.11.7, ἀξιόμαχον κρίνας αὐτὸν II.17.28, ἐκταθῆναι τὴν αὐτῶν … διατριβὴν II.18.30, τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς … πλευρὰν … ὁρῶντες II.21.5–6, τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄχρι ἐπανόδου III.7.30, αὐτοῦ … διδάσκαλον III.9.4–5, τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἁπάντων III.9.8, αὐτοῦ κατενώπιον III.9.45, καθηγητὴν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα III.12.8, τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης III.13.6, τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν III.26.26, τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶν III.29.15, τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς III.32.9, αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν III.32.15, τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ III.33.7, τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν III.35.28, τῶν αὐτοῦ … φλυαριῶν III.36.5–6, παρ' … αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον III.41.3–4, παρ' … αὐτοῦ τὴν ζωὴν III.41.9, τὴν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ καθυφίσταται ἐπανάστασιν IV.15.19, ἐν κόλποις περιάγων αὐτοῦ IV.15.20–21, κτίζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν αὐτοῖς IV.16.21, τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐλαύνων ὁ Βάρδας ὁδόν IV.20.13–14, τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς αὐτῶν κίνδυνον IV.24.18, οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν … καταλιπὼν IV.39.35, εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐγχαράττων αὐτοῦ IV.41.29.

c) pleonasticum: περὶ οἰκείας αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύειν ἀδελφῆς IV.14.6–7.

4.1.2) σφεῖς ut refl. dir.: τοῖς σφῶν οἴκοις I.25.10, τὴν σφῶν … ἀνδρείαν II.13.32.

4.1.3) ἐμὲν pro ἐμὲ IV.4.12 (cf. ἐμένα in hodierno sermone Graeco)

4.1.4) encliticum: a) μου/μοι/με passim.

b) σου/σοι/σε passim.

c) οἱ dat. sing.: οἱ … διηπείλει I.7.9, ἀμείβεσθαί οἱ I.15.2, τῶν ὁμοφρόνων οἱ I.20.22, οἵ γε δὴ οἱ συνωμόται I.25.7–8, φανῆναί οἱ IV.10.30.

4.2) reflexiva

4.2.1) αὐτός ut refl. cf. 4.1.1

4.2.2) ἑαυτός: a) ut refl. passim.

b) non refl., sensu 'proprium': e.g. μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτῆς παίδων III.7.40–41, ὁ … τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φωράσας κακίαν IV.23.30, τοῦτον ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ κελλίου μήποτε ἐξερχόμενον IV.25.25.

c) cum alio pronomine: ἑαυτοῖς ἐκείνοις IV.39.12.

4.3) relativa

4.3.1) concordantia relativi cum antecedenti: a) in casu cum antecedenti expresso: ῥημάτων καὶ ἀπειλῶν ὧν … ἀπέπεμπε I.6.5, τοῦ … οὗ ἐφήδρευε τόπου I.13.13, θεὸς δέ, οἷος τρόπος ἐκείνου I.20.47–48, μέχρι τῆς ἧς εἰώθει ἡμέρας III.4.12–13, τῶν ὧν ἐρωτώμεθα III.4.21–22, τῆς ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς III.7.8, κατὰ τῶν ὧν ἐπεθύμει III.26.24, τῶν ὧν προσεκαλεῖτο ἐθνῶν III.37.7, τῶν ὧν εἶχε IV.38.1, ταῖς αἷς ἐπεχείρει δουλείαις μὴ κατευοδούμενος IV.39.21, τῶν ὧν ἔφερεν ἀναθημάτων … κατασκευὴ IV.45.2.

b) in casu cum antecedenti omisso: ἐφάνη καλόν … οἷς γὰρ … ὁρῶσιν I.5.12–17, ᾗ μὴ προσεδόκων ἐκεῖνοι II.15.16.

c) ad sensum: τοῦ ἔθνους … οὓς IV.15.19.

4.3.2) concordantia antecedentis cum relativo: τὸ ὃ ἔφερε σάβανον … χρησάμενος IV.37.14.

4.3.3) permutatio casuum inter relativum et antecedentem: τὴν παρ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει δεινὰ ἐκδίκησιν IV.40–12–13.

4.3.4) ut demonstrativum in initio clausulae: a) neutrum, praecipue in clausulis ut ὃ (sive ὅπερ) καὶ γέγονεν I.7.11, II.16.32, II.20.27, III.18.37, III.26.31, III.27.23, IV.1.20, IV.33.9 et ὃ καὶ συνέβη I.18.16, II.12.9, III.22.27, sed etiam in aliis tum in singulari cum in plurali, cf. ἐφ' οἷς I.9.17, ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ I.10.32–33, ἃ καὶ … I.14.5, ὑπὲρ ὧν I.19.7, ἃ καὶ II.12.1, ἃ δὴ II.13.2, ὃ καὶ II.18.19, ὃ καὶ II.19.12, ὃ καὶ … ἐστὶν III.43.62, ὃ καὶ … ἐστὶν III.43.72–73, ὃ καὶ … λέγεται III.43.90–91, ὃ καὶ … ἐφάνη IV.10.47, ὃ μὴ γένηται IV.13.6, ὃ καὶ … IV.16.5, ὃ καὶ … IV.25.13.

b) masculinum et femeninum, praecipue cum καὶ, tum postea (cf. οἷς καί I.20.25, ἧς καί I.26.7, οὓς καὶ II.1.7, οἷς καὶ II.3.21, ᾧ καὶ II.10.1, οἳ καὶ II.22.10, οὗ καὶ II.23.16, ᾧ καὶ II.23.21, ὃς καὶ III.9.56, ὧν καὶ III.11.16, ᾧ καὶ III.23.24, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ III.29.25, οὗ καὶ III.43.32, ἣν καὶ IV.10.4, ἣ καὶ IV.39.7–8 etc.) cum antea (cf. καὶ ὃς I.2.15, καὶ ὅς I.12.9, καὶ ὃς III.23.23, καὶ ὃς IV.14.20, καὶ ὃς IV.35.8, etc.), sed etiam sine adverbio quia procul ab antecedenti (cf. ὃν I.18.11, οἷς τε γὰρ I.20.14, ᾧ II.14.15, ὃς II.22.5, ὃς δὴ III.9.19, οἷς III.27.13, ὧν III.28.9, ὃς III.28.13, οἷς III.31.29, ὃς ἐπεὶ IV.28.1) aut iuxta nominem sive pronominem (cf. καθ' ἣν τροπὴν καὶ II.22.14–15, ὃς εἴπέρ τις III.1.30 etc.).

4.3.5) ut coniunctio: ἐφ' οἷς sive **οἷς** cf. 9.2.

4.4) demonstrativa

4.4.1) ut reflexiva: cf. e.g. ξενῶνα τὴν ἐκείνου φέροντα προσηγορίαν III.8.7, τῇ αἱρέσει τούτου συμπαραμένοντα III.9.6.

4.5) indefinita: του pro τινος: ἔκ του κατὰ θάλατταν ὄντος χωρίου II.13.26, οὐδέ του κατὰ τοὺς πύργους ἱσταμένου ἀνδρὸς II.14bis.35, cf. etiam ὅτου III.4.18, III.11.18, III.28.30, IV.27.69.

5. verba: tempora

5.1) praesens

5.1.2) praesens historicum saepissime usitatum.

5.1.3) periphrasticum cum εἰμί et participio praesenti: ἐκστηλιτεύουσαι (ellipsi verbi substantivi) II.8.44, ἐστὶν … ἐποχούμενος IV.25.27, ἵνα … εἴη ὑπεραγάμενος IV.31.27, πλησιάζον [cf. πλησιάζει IV.36.10] καὶ γειτονοῦν … ἐστιν IV.35.6.

5.2) imperfectum

5.2.1) irreale: a) in orat. principali cum ἄν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν … ἦλθες … οὐδὲ … ἐπλήρους III.36.13–15, κἂν ἔλαβεν IV.24.15.

b) in orat. principali sine ἄν: ἐβουλόμην IV.27.97.

c) in clausula conditionali + apodosis cum ἄν: ἀπεβίω δ' ἂν … εἰ μή … κατεβίβαζε καὶ … παρεμυθεῖτο IV.31.8–14.

d) in clausula conditionali + apodosis sine ἄν: ἦν, εἰ … εἴχομεν II.9.13–15.

e) in clausula conditionali sine apodosi: κἂν ἦν III.40.16.

5.2.2) iterativum pro optativo: εἰ μὴ … ἐκοινώνει, οὐδὲ … ἠξίου IV.38.8–9.

5.2.3) periphrasticum cum εἰμί et participio praesenti (interdum ellipsi verbi substantivi ἦν): εἶεν … φρονοῦντες II.19.26–27, ἦν … σκώπτουσα καὶ διελέγχουσα … καὶ … ποιοῦσα III.5.33–36, ἤμην ἀτενίζουσα III.6.19, ἦν διοικῶν III.28.26–27, ἦν … συνισταμένη III.31.21, ἦν ὑπηρετῶν III.35.12, ἦν … ἐπιτροπεύων καὶ διοικῶν IV.23.1, ἀπομαχομένη IV.24.16, μέλλων IV.25.89, ἀναγόμενος IV.34.2.

5.3) futurum

5.3.1) periphrasticum: a) cum μέλλω et infinitivo praesenti: μέλλουσιν … διασπᾶν καὶ … καταπολεμεῖν I.6.34–35, μέλλοι … καταψηφίζεσθαι I.17.3, ἔμελλε βεβαιοῦν I.20.6, μέλλουσί … διαβιβάζεσθαι I.20.13, ἀποκείρεσθαι μέλλοντος I.22.3–4, μέλλοντος παραδίδοσθαι I.22.13, ἔμελλε … καταπειράζειν II.14bis.16–17, συνέρχεσθαι ἔμελλον II.15.20, μέλλειν ὁρᾶσθαι III.9.3, τῶν μελλόντων βασιλεύειν III.27.2, μέλλουσιν … ἀναχωρεῖν III.34.10, μέλλετε ἀποφοιτᾶν III.34.12, μέλλειν … ἐξέρχεσθαι IV.19.18–19, μέλλων ἀποδημεῖν IV.25.89, μέλλειν σιτίζεσθαι IV.31.12, μέλλοντος ἐκπηδᾶν IV.36.2–3, μέλλειν … ἀπαίρειν IV.41.6–7.

b) cum μέλλω et infinitivo futuri: ἔμελλε … κρατήσειν II.14bis.20–21, ἔμελλε … <στήσεσθαι> II.20bis.1, ἱππάσεσθαι μέλλοντος IV.35.14.

c) cum μέλλω et infinitivo aoristi: ἔμελλε … ἐνσκηνῆσαι I.7.7, ἔμελλε στῆναι I.9.27, ἔμελλεν … δεῖξαι I.21.6–7, μέλλων … μετασχεῖν I.21.35–36, μέλλοι … προελθεῖν II.13.18–19.

d) cum εἰμί et participio futuri: εἶεν διακωλύσοντες IV.19.27–28.

5.3.2) pro subiunctivo in temporali: μέχρις ἂν … ἐξεργάσεται … ἐκλήψεται III.9.49–51.

5.3.3) pro optativo sive subiunctivo in oratione obliqua: εἴ … πείσει III.36.10–11.

5.4) aoristus

5.4.1) sine augmento: κατανάλισκεν IV.21.16–17, κατανάλωσε IV.21.18.

5.4.2) irrealis: a) in oratione principali cum ἄν + adversativa cum ἀλλὰ: ἂν … <ἠγάγετο> III.1.38–39, διέφυγεν ἂν III.34.1, ἔτυχε δ' ἂν IV.30.3, κἂν παρῆλθε καὶ … ἐξέφυγε IV.41.34.

b) in oratione principali cum ἄν: ἂν εἶδέν III.3.14, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν … ἦλθες III.36.13–14, εἶπεν ἄν IV.38.2, κἂν ἀπώλετο IV.44.33.

c) in oratione principali sine ἄν + adversativa (cum ἀλλὰ): ἐξετραγῴδησε III.40.7, συναπώλετο IV.44.34.

d) in clausula conditionali + apodosis sine ἄν: εἰ ἤκουσαν … ἔφησαν IV.37.21–22.

e) in clausula conditionali + apodosis cum ἄν: τάχα ἂν … κατεῖπεν, εἰ μὴ … ἔφη II.19.27–28, τάχα δ' ἂν … ἔλαβον … εἰ μὴ … ἀντέστρεψεν … καὶ … ἀπέτεκεν II.25.14–16, κἂν ἀπώλοντο … εἰ μὴ … εἰργάσατο … περιεποίησε καὶ … ἐνέδωκεν III.31.34–38, κἂν ἔλαβε … καὶ … ἐστράτευσεν … εἰ μὴ … προέφθασεν III.37.6–11.

f) in clausula consecutiva cum ἄν: τοσοῦτον … ὥς … ἄν … διῆλθε II.8.39–41.

5.4.3) pro subiunctivo in oratione temporali: ὅταν μὴ … ἠδύνατο II.3.28–29.

5.5) perfectum

5.5.1) sine augmento: ἀπαλλαγμένον I.24.16, κατανάλωται III.34.33–34.

5.5.2) periphrasticum: a) cum εἰμί: σεσημασμένον ἐστὶ IV.10.38.

b) cum ἔχω: cf. ἔτι τοὺς πόδας … δεδεμένους ἔχων II.2.1–2, συνεπόμενον ἔχων IV.38.17.

5.6) plusquamperfectum

5.6.1) cum augmento: ἐγεγόνει I.3.41, ἐτέθαπτο I.10.21, ἀνηρπάκει I.19.17, ἐγεγένητο I.21.25, ἐπετέτραπτο I.25.4, ἐκεκρατήκει II.10.27, διεβεβόητο II.11.12, κατελέλειπτο II.13.14, ἐκεκράγει II.13.18, ἐδέδεκτο II.13.25, ἐπεδέδεικτο II.14.25, ἐπέπρακτο II.14.26, ἀπεκέκλειστο II.16.13, ἐξετέτατο II.18.32, ἔγνωστο II.19.8, κατεδήδοτο II.19.18, ἐξῆπτο II.19.44, ἤκουστο II.21.2, ἐμέμνηντο II.21.49, ἐγεγόνει II.23.7, ἐσφαγίαστο II.23.16, ἐπέπειστο II.24.12, ἐγεγόνει III.1.13, εἴθιστο III.7.24, ἀπηγγέλκει III.9.30, ἀπέσταλτό III.14.20, ἐγεγήθει III.19.32, ἐγεγόνει II.22.4, ηὔξητο III.30.11, ἠσχόλητο III.32.1, ἤνωντο III.33.1, 3, ἐγκατείλεξο III.36.14, ἀπεδέδεκτο III.37.8, ἐδεδίει III.40.3, ἤκουστο IV.9.8, ἐτεθρύλητο IV.16.1, ἐδέδοτο IV.16.38, εἴθιστο IV.22.1, διεσέσωστο IV.24.37, προκατεστόρεστο IV.25.6, ἐφεστήκει IV.28.13.

5.6.2) sine augmento: ἀκηκόει I.11.30, λελόγιστο I.23.2, συγκεχώρητο I.25.4, λελόγιστο II.11.14, γεγένηντο II.11.25, λελόγιστο II.14.25, προδέδοτο καὶ … ἀποκέκλειστο II.20.30–31, τετίμητο III.5.9, σέσωστο III.7.3, σέσωστο III.22.20, ἐκσέσωστο IV.23.18, εὐτρέπιστο IV.41.27, σέσωστο IV.44.43.

5.6.3) periphrasticum: a) cum εἰμί et participio aoristi: υἱοθετησάμενος ἦν II.7.8, δεξιωσάμενος <ἦν> II.20.31, ἀνελόντες <ἦσαν> III.1.28, ἦν … ἐξωνησαμένη III.5.11, θεσπίσας ἦν III.10.11, εἴη τις … ὠνομασμένος III.19.20, ἦν δοθεὶς III.19.21, ἦν … παραρρυεῖσα IV.26.13, υἱοθετησάμενος ἦν IV.37.4.

b) cum εἰμί et participio perfecti: μετηλλαχὼς ἦν II.10.19–20, πεπηρωμένος … ἦν II.11.15, εἴη … νενικηκώς II.16.22, ἦν … κεχωρηκυῖα IV.26.13.

c) cum τύγχάνω et participio perfecti: ᾑρημένος ἐτύγχανε II.16.14.

d) cum ἔχω et participio aoristi: εἶχε στραφείς IV.37.14.

5.6.4) iterativum: εἰ ἐγεγόνει I.3.41.

5.7) congruentia temporum

5.7.1) praesens ind. cum aoristo ind. (in coordinatione)**:** κάτεισιν … καὶ … ἐνειργάσατο I.13.21–24, διήμαρτε … ἀλλὰ … μεταλαγχάνει II.12.15, χρῶνται … καὶ … ἐσκέδαστό II.18.39–40, ἐφάνη … ἀλλὰ καὶ … χωροῦσι II.21.36–37, ἀναγράφεται καὶ … ἐγκατέστησε καὶ … προσέταξε III.21.10–11.

5.7.2) praesens ind. cum perfecto ind. (tam in coordinatione quam in subordinatione): ὡς … ἐπανείληφεν … μὲν … ἐγκαταλέγει … δὲ … ἐγκαθιστᾷ I.12.1–6, ἐπεὶ … ἀκήκοεν … ἀπάνεισι … χωρεῖ I.13.11–15, ὡς … ἀκήκοε … προσχωρεῖ … καὶ … γίνεται II.18.7–9, ἀνήρτηνται καὶ … γίνονται II.20.29, ἔρχεται καὶ … τέθεικε III.21.5, ὡς … ἀκήκοε … γίνεται κἀκεῖθεν … παραγίνονται IV.16.14–18.

5.7.3) imperfectum sive plusquamperfectum ind. cum praesenti ind. (tam in coordinatione quam in subordinatione, cf. 9.8 ἄρτι): ἀνακοινοῦται … καὶ … παρεκάλει I.2.4–5, καθ-

υπερτερεῖ μὲν … δὲ … ἔπεμπον I.6.42–44, ὡς … ἤγγιζε καὶ … ἔμελλε … ἀπαμφιέννυται καὶ … ἐπαμπίσχεται I.9.25–32, ἐδόκει … καὶ … φησί I.11.23–24, ἔπραττεν καὶ … λαμβάνει I.15.1, ἀναγορεύει … καὶ … ἠξίου I.17.1–2, ἐπεὶ … ἐξηχεῖτό τε καὶ διεβεβόητο … φησίν I.20.35–38, ἐπεὶ … ἐγεγένητο … καὶ … ἦν καταχειροτονεῖται I.21.24–27, ἐπετέτραπτο … καὶ συγκεχώρητο … καὶ … φησὶν I.25.4–5, ἔχουσιν … καὶ … ἐσπούδαζε II.8.25–26, ἐλαύνει … διισχυρίζετο II.8.27–30, ἐπεὶ … ἦν … γίνεται II.10.8–10, ἐπεὶ … ἀπήτουν … καὶ … εἰσποιεῖται II.10.20–23, ἐπεὶ … διήκουεν … κινεῖ II.11.4–8, ἐπεὶ ἐνειργάσατο κατελέλειπτο δέ … καὶ … ἦν … ἐπιτρέπει II.13.12–16, ἄρτι … ἐδέδεκτο … ὅτε δὴ … ἦν … διαπεραιοῦται II.13.25–28, ἐξῄει … καὶ περιγίνεται … καὶ … ἀναιρεῖ II.16.19–20, ἐπεὶ … ἐδόκει … ἀπαίρει μὲν … δὲ … παρατάσσεται καὶ ἀνταγωνίζεται II.17.19–29, ἐπεὶ … ἤεσαν … ἡττᾶται … καὶ … ποιεῖ μὲν πάσχει δὲ II.18.1–2, ἐπεὶ … ἦν … εὑρίσκουσι καὶ … συνάγονται II.18.2–4, ἐπεὶ … κατεδήδοτο ἄχρι δὲ … ἐχώρει … λαμβάνουσί τε … καὶ προσάγουσι II.19.17–21, ἐπεὶ … ἤγετο … ἀλλάσσεται II.23.1–2, ἐπεὶ … εἶχεν … ἀφαρπάζει … καὶ … ὑπηγάγετο II.27.4–8, ὡς … διεβεβαίου … παρίστησι III.7.34–36, ἔφερεν … καὶ … γίνεται … καὶ … λαμβάνει III.7.37–39, ἐπεὶ … ἐβούλετο … κρίνει III.9.1–4, ἐπεὶ ἀπηγγέλκει ἄπεισι III.9.29–30, ὑποκρίνεται καὶ … ἐζήτει III.14.12, ἐπεὶ … ἐδηλοῦτό τε καὶ ἐγνωρίζετο, προσέτι μὴν καὶ … ἐμαρτύρει … ποιοῦσι … καὶ … σαφηνίζουσιν III.19.24–30: ἐπείπερ … εὕρισκε … ποιεῖ III.19.33–34, ἐπεὶ … ἐλάμβανεν μηνύει III.26.17–19, κατανεύει … καὶ … ἐξέπεμπεν III.26.24–25, ὡς … ἐγίνοντο … ποιεῖται … καὶ … ἐδίδασκεν III.26.25–27, ποιεῖ καὶ … ἠξίου III.32.5–6, ἅμα … εἰσῄει … καὶ … φησι III.36.21–23, ἐπεὶ … ἦν … χωρεῖ III.38.6–8, ἐπεὶ … ἐνεδίδοσαν, … ἐπιχειροῦσιν … καὶ … κατάρχουσι IV.16.20–23, ἐνηυλίζετο, καὶ … περικυκλοῖ IV.24.14–15, ὡς … διήκουον καὶ … χειροῦταί … καὶ … δίδωσι IV.25.78–81, μὲν … λέγεται ἐτελεύτα δὲ IV.25.101–102, ὡς … ἑώρα … φησίν IV.27.35–37, ὡς … ἐδόκει … ποιεῖ IV.31.14–15, ἐλέγετό τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται IV.38.9, ὑπέστρεφε καὶ … υἱοποιεῖται καὶ … ἀξιοῖ IV.43.1–2, ἐπεὶ … ἦν καὶ … ᾐσθάνετο καὶ … διήκουεν … καὶ … ἐπιτίθησι καὶ … ἀναδείκνυσί τε καὶ ἀναγορεύει IV.43.2–8.

5.7.4) imperfecti ind. cum plusquamperfecto ind. (tam in coordinatione quam in subordinatione)**:** ἐβδελύσσετό τε καὶ … λελόγιστο II.11.14, ἐξετέτατο … καὶ … ἐδόκουν II.18.32–33, ἔγνωστο … καὶ … ἐλάμβανεν II.19.8, ἐπεὶ … ἤκουστο … ᾔτουν II.21.1–14, ἐτετελείωτο καὶ … ὑπέλαμπε II.21.31, ὡς ἐμέμνηντο καὶ … ὠλιγώρουν II.21.48–49, ἐπεὶ … ἐχώρει … ἐσφαγίαστο II.23.15–16, ἐπέπειστο … καὶ … ἀπῄτει II.24.12–14, ἐγεγόνει καὶ … ἐτόλμα III.1.13–14, κατεστέφετο καὶ … τετίμητο III.5–8–9, σέσωστο καὶ … ἐρρύετο III.7.3–4, ἐγεγόνει καὶ … ἔδει III.22.4, ηὔξητο καὶ … ἐπήγετο III.30.11, ἐπεὶ … ἐδεδίει … ἔφη III.40.1–6, εἶχε … τε καὶ ἐτεθρύλητο IV.16.1, ὡς … κατεσκήνητο, … ᾔει IV.24.4–6, ὅτε … διεσέσωστο … ἐπανήρχετο IV.24.36–38, ἐσπούδαζέ τε καὶ πεφιλοτίμητο IV.26.16, ἐπεὶ … ἀνέτελλε καὶ … ἐφεστήκει IV.28.12–13.

5.7.5) imperfectum ind. in temporali cum aoristo ind. in principali (cf. 9.8): ὡς … ἐδεῖτο … καὶ … ἔδει … προσήγγισεν … ἐγένετο I.18.1–5, ὡς … ἐνεδίδου … ἐξέβρασσε … ἠπείλησε I.21.17–19, ἐπεὶ … διέπεσεν μᾶλλον μὲν … ἐπλύνετο … ἐγκατέπηξε … καὶ … ἐπῆλθε II.14.34–39, ὡς … ἐφαίνετο … ἀνεθάρρησέ II.14bis.36–39, ὡς … ὑπέλαμπε καὶ … ἐδίδοτο … καὶ … ἔμελλε … ἦλθεν II.15.7–9, ἐπείπερ … ἐδόκει … συνέβαλον II.25.5–8, ἐπεὶ … μὲν … εὕρισκε … δὲ διήκουεν … ἐκέλευσεν II.25.27–29, ἐπεὶ … ἐτόλμα … ἔλεξεν III.1.13–15, ἐπεὶ … ἀνεμάνθανεν … μὲν ἀπέλυσεν … δὲ … ἐναπεκρύβη III.13.15–18, ὡς … ἀνεδιδάσκετο … ἔφησε III.14.22–27, ἐπεὶ … ἔφερε καὶ … ὑπῆν ἐθέσπισεν III.17.1–2, ἐπεὶ … ἐξέλιπον … ἀλλὰ … ἐφέρετο … ἔδοξε III.19.15–21, ἐπείπερ ἐγεγόνει καὶ … ἔδει … ἔφησε III.22.3–5, ἐπεὶ … ἐτελεῖτο, προηγεῖτο δὲ … ἐκέλευσέ III.23.11–14, ὡς … ἡμάρτανεν … διέκοψε III.24.25–26, ὡς … καθωμολόγει … ἔφησεν III.35.14–15, ὡς … προέκυπτεν, … ἔγνω IV.19.22–23, ἐπεὶ … ἡμάρτανεν, … εἵλετο IV.22.33–34, ὡς … ἐγένοντο … καὶ … συνέπιπτε …, ἔγνω IV.24.34–35, ὡς … εὕρισκεν …, ἔγνω IV.25.63–64, ἐπεὶ … ἐδήλου … ἦλθεν IV.35.15–16.

5.7.6) aoristus ind. cum perfecto sive plusquamperfecto ind. (tam in coordinatione quam in subordinatione): ἠνδραγάθησεν καὶ … πεποίηκε I.3.9–10, ὡς … διακήκοεν … ᾠήθη I.13.1–5, εἶξε … καὶ … ἐπακήκοεν II.7.19–20, ἐνειργάσατο κατελέλειπτο δέ II.13.13–14, ἐπεὶ … ὑπέταξε διεπεραιώθη δὲ … ἐξῆπτο … καὶ ἐπεφύσητο II.19.41–45, ἀπέστη … καὶ γεγόνασιν II.28.13–14, ἐπεὶ ἔφθασεν … καὶ … γέγονε III.1.19–20, ἐπεὶ … ἐνενόησεν … διέγνωκεν III.13.1–5, ἀπέσταλτό … καὶ … ἤγαγεν III.14.20–21, ὡς … ἐγέννησεν … καὶ … μετήλλαξεν … τετίμηκεν III.18.22–24, γέγονε … καὶ … ἡρμόσατο III.19.11–12, κατεκρήμνισε καὶ … δέδωκεν III.23.30–31, διέκοψε καὶ … ἐγεγόνει III.24.26, ὡς ἠσχόλητο … διήκουσε III.32.1–3, ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ δέδωκεν IV.15.27, ὡς … ἀκήκοεν ἔγνω IV.25.49–50, ὡς … ἠρτύθη … εὐτρέπιστο IV.41.25–27.

5.7.7) aoristus ind. in temporali cum imperfecto sive praesenti ind. in principali (cf. 9.8 ὡς): ὡς … ἐθεάσατο … παρεκελεύετο I.2.13–15, ὡς … ἔγνωσαν … ἐνειργάζοντο … διεπείραζε I.6.35–38, ὡς … ἔπεισεν … ἐξεβοήθει I.13.6–7, ἐπείπερ … ἐπεμαρτύρησεν … ἦγε I.19.18–19, ὡς … διήκουσαν … συρράπτουσιν I.25.8–9, ὡς εὗρον … ἔσπευδον II.20.27–28, ὡς … ἐφάνη … ἐπεραίνετο II.21.35–38, ὡς … ἔγνωσαν … προσέρχονται II.27.29–30, ὡς … διήκουσεν καὶ … ἦν … λέγεται III.4.11–12, ἐπείπερ … ἔστη … ἠρώτα III.4.15–17, ὡς ἐξανέστη … ἀπῄει … καὶ … διεξῄει III.6.14–16, ἐπεὶ … ἀπέτυχε … ἦγε III.7.4–6, ἐπεὶ … ἤγαγεν … ἡμάρτανεν καὶ … ἀνείλιττεν III.14.20–22, ἐπεί … ἐδεήθη καὶ … ἐγένετο, … ἔλεγε III.18.33–35, ἐπεὶ … ἀνεμάνθανεν … τολμᾷ καὶ … μετατίθεται III.25.5–8, ἐπεὶ … ἐνεποίησε … καὶ … κατέστη … ἐδόκει III.26.1–2, ὡς … ἀπεφοίβασέ … καὶ ἐμαντεύσατο … ἀπέκειρεν III.27.6–10, ἐπείπερ … ἐνέδωκάν τε καὶ ηὔξησαν … ἐδόκει III.29.21–23, ἐπεὶ … ἐπέστη … ἐφαίνετο III.31.1–3, ὡς … ἐγίνετο … ἐπεθύμει III.31.12–13, ὡς … ἐγένοντο … ἐπειρᾶτο III.36.8–10, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω … κελεύει III.38.17–18, ἀράμενοι … ἐδῄουν … καὶ ᾐχμαλώτιζον III.39.1–2, ἐπεὶ … ἔσχεν … τιμᾷ … καθίστησι IV.7.7–8, ὡς … ἐπῄσθετο … ἐδείκνυε IV.10.19–23, ὡς … ὑπεισῆλθε μετακαλεῖται IV.15.4–5, ἐπειδὴ … ἔσχεν … μεταλαγχάνει IV.15.16–18, ἐπεὶ … μετετέθη … , γράφει … καὶ ἀξιοῖ IV.15.22–24, ὡς ᾔσθετο … ἀνέκλαεν καὶ … ἐπλήρου IV.20.3–5, ὡς … ἀφίκετο, … ἀποκείρουσί … καὶ … περιορίζουσιν IV.22.4–7, ὡς … ἐπέβησαν … ἄγονται, καὶ … ἐπεχείρουν IV.23.6–8, ὡς … ἔλαβεν …, ἠρώτα IV.23.26–27, ὡς … ἀπηγόρευσεν … καὶ … ἀπέφησεν, ἠρώτα IV.23.28–29, ἐπεὶ … παρέδραμεν (καὶ … ἤκουε …) ἐξῄει IV.24.1–4, ὡς … ἐπυνθάνετο … φησίν IV.24.23–25, ὅτε … ἐγένοντο … ἠγάπα IV.24.29–31, μόλις … παρῆλθε … καὶ … ἐξεπόρθει τε καὶ κατεδουλαγώγει IV.25.1–3, ὡς … ἤκουσε … προσήδρευεν IV.25.17–20, ἐπεὶ … ἐξήσκησεν … ἐπαίδευεν IV.27.3–9, ὡς … ἐγένετο … ζωγρεῖται καὶ … δίδοται IV.27.14–16, ὡς … ἀνέμαθεν … εἰσκαλεῖται … καὶ … ἐπυνθάνετο IV.27.23–25, ἐπεὶ … ἐποιήσατο … ἔλεγεν IV.27.25–27, ὡς … ἔφθασε (καὶ … ἕστηκεν) … κατηνάγκαζε IV.27.64–66, ἐπεὶ διέγνω … ἐκτίθησιν … καὶ … ἀξιοῖ IV.27.86–90, ἐπεὶ … ἐγένετο εἶχε μὲν … εἶχε δὲ IV.28.1–2, ὡς … εἶδεν … ἐξῆρχέ τε … τε ἔκρουε … καὶ … ἔβαλλε IV.38.19–23, ὡς … ἀφίκοντο καὶ … ἐγένοντο … ἀνεφαίνοντο IV.40.7–8, ὡς … ἐχώρησαν … ὁρῶσιν IV.40.9–10, ὡς … ἐξῄεσαν καὶ … ἐπέβησαν … κατεπήγνυον IV.41.11–13.

5.7.8) aoristus ind. cum imperfecto ind. (in coordinatione): ἐκρέμαντο … καὶ … ἐσάλευον I.2.1–2, ἐπληρώθη … καὶ … ἐξῄει I.2.11–12, εἴχετο … καὶ … ἐπέτρεψεν I.3.30–32, κατεξανίσταντο καὶ … ᾤοντο I.13.20, ἤρτητο καὶ ἐκρέματο I.16.17, ὑπέσαινε καὶ … ἐκαπήλευσε I.20.1–2, ἔθρεψε … καὶ … ἀπῄει I.24.17–18, μὲν … ἀπεώσατο … δὲ … διεσπούδαζεν I.25.24–27, ἔσπευδε … καί παρέστη II.5.2–3, μετετίθετο … καὶ … οὐ διέλιπεν II.7.25–26, μὲν ἀπέδρα … δὲ … εἰσέφρησεν II.10.5–6, διέπεσεν μᾶλλον μὲν … ἐπλύνετο II.14.34–35, ἀνεθάρρησέ … καὶ … ἐχρῆτο II.14bis.39–40, περιεδονήθη μὲν … καὶ … κατεκτυπήθη … δὲ … ἐξώπλιζεν II.17.17–19, ἐσκέδαστό τε καὶ διεφέρετο II.18.40, ἐπεφύσητο καὶ … ἐξέπλει II.19.45, ἀπέστελλε … δὲ … ἐγκατέφλεξε II.21.39–42, ἐπυνθάνοντο καὶ … ἦλθον II.21.44–45, ἐνέκλιναν ἀλλὰ … ἐδείκνυον II.25.10–11, ἀπῄει … καὶ … ἐγένετο II.27.26–28, ἐδέξατο καὶ … κατήκουεν II.27.31, ἐγένετο καὶ … ἐποιοῦντο καὶ … ἔσειον III.9.37–39, ἐξέλιπον … ἀλλὰ καὶ … ἐφέρετο III.19.17–19, ἔφησε … καὶ … ἐβούλετο III.22.5–8, ἀνεχώρησεν … ἐξαπέστελλεν III.22.15–16,

ἴσχυσε … καὶ … κατεπαλαίετο III.25.1–3, ἀπέκειρε καὶ … ἐναπέδειξεν III.27.9–10, ἔμειναν … καὶ … ἐπανέστρεφον III.28.2–3, ἀνήνεγκε … καί … ἐδόκει III.31.15–16, ἐγένοντο … καὶ … συνέπιπτε IV.24.34, ἔγνω … καὶ … ἔσπευδεν IV.25.38–39, ἐπετρόπευεν καὶ … ἠθέλησεν IV.26.8–9, παρίππασεν καὶ … προέκοπτον IV.27.10–11, ἐκέλευσε καὶ … ὑπισχνεῖτο IV.27.62, ηὔξησε … καὶ … διήγειρεν IV.28.17–18, παρῄνει … καὶ … ἐπέδωκεν IV.41.9–10, ἔλαθε … καὶ … ἐνομίζετο IV.44.8–9, ἀφῆκε μὲν … διημάρτανε δέ IV.44.42–43.

5.7.9) perfectum ind. cum imperfecto ind. (tam in coordinatione quam in subordinatione): ἦγε … δὲ … προστέταχεν I.19.19–21, ἐπεί … ᾤετο … κέκρικε II.11.4–7, μὲν … ἐπέτρεπε … δὲ … πεποίηκεν II.14.15–18, ἐπεὶ … διέγνωκεν … ἐξαπέστελλεν III.12.6–8, ἐπεὶ … διακήκοεν … ἐδέετο III.18.17–19, πεποίηκε καὶ … ἐποίει III.37.13–14, ὡς … διακήκοεν … ἀπήντα IV.25.26–27, ἐπεὶ … καθεώρακε … ἐχώρει IV.25.73–76.

5.7.10) perfectum cum plusquamperfecto: προκατεστόρεστο ἀλλ' … κεκώλυκεν IV.25.67.

6: verba: modi

6.1) subiunctivus (cf. 9.6 ἵνα, ὡς)

6.1.1) voluntativus: ἀγάγω I.16.4, προσβῶμεν II.8.44, κατανεύσητε IV.31.26–27.

6.1.2) finalis (etiam cum praeterito in clausula principali): ἵνα … σώζῃ I.9.9, ἵν' … ἐκκρουσθῇ καὶ … ἰαθῇ I.21.3–4, ἵνα μὴ … φιλονεικῶ II.6.3, ἵνα μὴ … νομίζῃ … καὶ … ποιῇ … μήτε … οἰηθῇ II.6.8–11, ἵνα μή … σχῇ II.10.15–16, ἵν' … μὴ … δόξῃ … καὶ … γένηται II.17.25–27, ὡς ἂν … νεανιεύσηται III.1.7, ἵνα μὴ … δόξῃ III.1.20–21, ὡς ἂν … ἀχθῇ III.9.39–40, ἵν' … γένωμαι καὶ … ἐπαναδράμω III.26.28–30, ἵνα μὴ … γένησθε III.35.18, ἵνα μή … ἐναποτεχθῇ III.35.25–26, ἵνα … δώῃ III.36.18–19, ἵνα … δηλώσῃ IV.7.1, ὡς ἂν … γένηται IV.7.28.

6.1.3) eventualis sive timoris sine ἄν: εἰ μόνον … δοθῶσιν I.5.4–5, μὴ … μάθωσιν I.5.19–20, ὅπως … μετάσχῃ I.7.6, εἴ … παράσχῃ I.11.8–9, ὅτε … γένηται I.11.21, εἰ μή … καταστῇ I.21.11–12, μὴ … γένηται I.21.36–37, εἰ μή … γένηται I.25.6, ὅτε μὴ … βούλωνται II.19.48, εἰ … φωραθῇ III.17.4, εἰ … ἐπιθῆται III.42.34–35, εἰ … γένηται IV.27.58.

6.1.4) eventualis cum ἄν passim.

6.2) optativus (cf. 9.6 ἵνα, ὡς)

6.2.1) potentialis: a) sine ἄν in oratione principali: τί … δράσαιμεν I.6.18, καλέσαιμι I.15.5, τις … θαυμάσειεν II.2.11–12, αὐτὸς εἴποιμι II.6.5, ἔχοι III.1.30, ἀποστερήσοι III.10.9–10, καταλάβοις III.14.24, ἐκτελοίη … χωροίη III.36.20–21, ἴδοι τις … ἴδοις μὲν … ἴδοις δὲ III.43.46, 49, 53, ἐπιλίποι IV.32.14, μακρὸν εἴη λέγειν IV.34.14.

b) sine ἄν in protasi cum apodosi in futuro: εἰ γὰρ … νικήσειεν ἕψεται III.31.5–6, εἴ … εἴποι … (εἰ … ἐπιθῆται …) γενήσεται III.42.32–35.

c) sine ἄν in protasi cum apodosi in imperativo: εἰ … ἔχοις … ἀποπήδησον I.2.9–10.

d) cum ἄν passim.

6.2.2) cupitivus: ἐμφραχθείη III.14.9, ἀπονέμοιεν IV.17.10, ἴδοιμι … ἴδοιμι IV.20–11–12, γένοιτο IV.24.25.

6.2.3) obliquus (etiam cum praesenti historico et perfecto in principali, cf. 9.6 ἵνα): ὡς οὐ δέοι I.2.7, εἰ μὴ … προσδέξοιτο I.7.9–10, εἰ … ἐπίθοιτο I.9.18–19, τίς τε εἴη I.11.22, κατευμοιρήσειεν I.11.27, εἴ γε μὴ μέλλοι I.17.3, καταστοχάζοιτο II.6.20, εἴ γε … μὴ … ποιήσοιτο … ἀλλὰ συγχωρήσοι II.11.4–6, ᾗ μέλλοι II.13.18, εἴ … ἀναγκάζοιτο II.14bis.9–10, ὅ τι … πράξειεν II.14bis.11, εἰ μόνον δὴ μετατάξοιντο καὶ μὴ βουληθεῖεν II.15.10–11, ὅτι δὴ καὶ παρακαλοῖντο II.15.13–14, ὡς εἴη … νενικηκώς II.16.22, ὡς … προσβάλλοι II.16.24, εἴ τι γένοιτο II.17.9–10, εἴ … εἶεν … φρονοῦντες II.19.26–27, ὡς εἴη II.21.27, εἰ μὴ … γένοιτο II.24.9–10, ὡς … μὴ παύσαιντο … ἀλλὰ … ἔχοιεν II.24.14–16, εἰ … φωράσοι II.27.9, εἰ … παράσχοι II.27.16–17, εἴη καὶ … φέροι III.4.10, φωραθείη III.4.30, ὡς … εἴη III.5.28–29, ὅπως … χορηγοίη III.7.22, ὡς … εἴη III.7.27, ὡς εἴη III.9.13, ὅπως ἔχοι III.9.26, εἴ που … τύχοιεν III.10.5, εἰ … μετέχοι III.19.16–17, ὡς εἴη III.19.20, ὅτε … δεήσειεν III.22.9, εἰ μὴ … ἀγάγοι III.23.28–29, εἰ μὴ … συνεπακολουθήσειεν III.24.31, ὡς μέλλοι III.25.7, ὡς … ἔχοι III.26.20, τίνες εἶεν ὧν ἡ βασιλεία διαρκέσειεν III.27.5, εἴγε … ἐπακολουθοίη IV.7.14–15, ἡνίκα … κελεύσειεν IV.7.22, εἰ … συμφήσειεν IV.10.5, ἃ βούλοιτο IV.15.8, ὡς βούλοιτο IV.16.4, εἰ … γένοιτο IV.18.9, εἰ … ἔχοι … καὶ … ἔχοι IV.23.27–28, ἥντινα … βούλοιντο IV.27.9, ἔχοι IV.27.32, τίς … εἴη … καὶ ὅτου … ἕνεκεν διαπράττοιτο IV.27.68–69, ὅπως δὴ σωθεῖεν IV.24.24.

6.2.4) iterativus: εἰ … τύχοιεν III.43.20, εἰ … τύχοιεν III.43.24.

6.2.5) finalis: cf. 9.6 ὡς + *ἄν*.

6.3) infinitivum

6.3.1) historicum: φάναι I.18.15, εἰπεῖν I.23.5, διακοῦσαι I.24.3, συγχωρῆσαι III.18.29, τρωθῆναι … καὶ … ἀνακραγεῖν IV.27.93–94.

6.3.2) cum particula modali: *ἂν* … καλὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι I.6.49–50, *ἂν* … ὑπελάμβανε κραταιοῦσθαι II.10.21–22.

6.3.3) finale: cf. πιεῖν I.23.7.

6.3.4) cum articulo: cf. 1.2.

6.4) participium

6.4.1) genitivus absolutus: a) sine subiecto expresso: προμηθουμένων καὶ προδιοικουμένων I.15.21–22, μὴ ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ ἀλλ' ἀπαναινομένου I.16.8–9, προστιθέντων III.4.21, λέγοντος III.4.24, ἀναπολογήτων μενόντων III.4.25, διαβάντος III.6.11, προσπεσόντων ἀλλήλοις III.24.12, φιλούσης IV.20.24, ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ δεδιότων IV.24.18.

b) cum ὡς in valore causali: ὡς ἀδήλου ὄντος τοῦ μέλλοντος I.6.15–16, ὡς … μέλλοντος I.22.11–13, ὡς σφετεριζομένου τοῦ Θεοφόβου III.22.1, ὡς μηδαμοῦ … τῆς ψυχῆς … δυναμένης ἀλλ' … ζητούσης III.40.2–3, ὡς … δύο ὄντων αὐτῶν IV.15.24–25, ὡς … χορηγουμένης τῆς ὠφελείας IV.17.12–13, ὡς μὴ … τολμῶντος … τινός IV.23.13–14, ὡς … αὐτοῦ … ἔχοντος IV.27.22–23.

c) cum καὶ ὡς in valore concesivo: καὶ ὡς σιγώντων II.4.11.

d) cum ὡς in valore completivo sive explicativo: ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ γε προενισχημένου I.17.12, ὡς Λέοντος … παραδίδοσθαι I.22.11–13.

e) cum ἅτε καὶ in valore causali (cf. 9.2 cum participio in nominativo): ἅτε καὶ πολλῶν … ἀποτυγχανόντων καὶ αἰτίων γινομένων II.6.12, ἅτε … τούτου παραδεδομένου II.8, ἅτε δὴ

καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐξαισίου II.14bis.27–28, ἅτε … τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἐλαττουμένου καὶ μὴ … δυναμένου II.16.38–40.

f) cum ἄρτι in valore temporali: ἄρτι Κρούμνου … ὑποκρινομένου καὶ … ζητοῦντος I.5.3–4, ἄρτι … ἐκστρατεύσαντος καὶ συστείλαντος … καὶ … καταναγκάζοντος I.6.8–10, ἄρτι … ἀρχομένης φυλακῆς I.25.10–11, ἄρτι … τούτου ἀναιρεθέντος II.14.11–12, ἄρτι … συγκροτοῦντος καὶ … ἐπαφιέντος τοῦ ἀποστατικοῦ πλοΐμου II.15.20–21, ἄρτι … τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἄρξαντος νεωτερισμοῦ II.21.1, ἄρτι … ἐκβοηθουσῶν τε καὶ πλεουσῶν (τῶν νεῶν) II.21.23–24, ἄρτι … τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπακμάζοντος κἀκείνων … γενομένων II.21.40–41, ἄρτι … τοῦ ἡλίου … ἐφαπλοῦντος II.25.9, νυκτὸς ἄρτι γενομένης III.22.23, ἄρτι … τοῦ ἔαρος ἱσταμένου καὶ … ὁπλίζοντος III.24.1–2, ἄρτι δὲ τῆς χειμερινῆς γειτνιαζούσης III.43.59–60, ἄρτι τελοῦντος αὐτοῦ IV.23.5, ἄρτι … Μεθοδίου μετηλλαχότος IV.30.7.

6.4.2) nominativus pendens: cf. e.g. οἱ μακάριοι … εἰπόντες … καὶ … καταβαλόντες III.14.9–10, ἡ μὲν γὰρ πέμψασά τινας τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας … τοὺς μὲν ξύλῳ ἀνήρτων, τοὺς δὲ ξίφει παρεδίδουν IV.16.5–8, ὁ μὲν Θεόκτιστος νῦν μέν … σφαττόμενος, νῦν δὲ … μὴ κατευοδούμενος IV.39.20–22.

6.4.3) participium ut comparativum (cfr. 3.3): οἷς καὶ πολλάκις … ἐφαίνετο σεμνυνόμενός τε καὶ καλλωπιζόμενος ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ διαδήματι II.3.21–23; στεργομένους αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων διαφερόντως II.8.23–24.

6.5) congruentia modorum

6.5.1) optativus cum futuro ind.: cf. e.g. εἰ … ἀναγορεύσει … καί … παράσχοι II.27.16–17, ἔχοι … ἀλλ᾽ … στήσεται III.1.30–31, ἵνα μὴ … ἔχοι … ἀπορραπίσοι … ποιήσεται IV.18.17–20, μὲν γένοιτο … δὲ μελήσει IV.24.24–25.

6.5.2) optativus cum praesenti ind.: cf. e.g. ἔστι καὶ … ἔχοι IV.27.33–34.

6.5.3) optativus cum subiunctivo: cf. e.g. ἵνα μή … νομίζῃ … καὶ … ποιῇ … μήτε … οἰηθῇ … ἀλλὰ … καταιτιῷτο II.6.8–13, εἰ … εἴποι … εἰ … ἐπιθῆται III.42.32–35, ἵνα μήτέ … ἀπολιμπάνοιτο μήτ᾽ … ποιήσῃ IV.35.20–22.

6.5.4) participium aoristi cum imperfecto sive praesenti ind. aut participium praesentis cum aoristo ind. passim.

7. adverbia

7.1) syntaxis sive usus

7.1.1) ut conjunctiones temporales: cf. ἅμα, ἄρτι, οὔπω in 9.8.

7.1.2) conjunctio ut adverbium: a) ὅτε δὴ καὶ = τότε in initio clausulae: ὅτε δὴ καὶ λέγεται I.18.8, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἀπογνοὺς … ἐδέσμει I.25.31–33, ὅτε δὴ καὶ … ἡγησάμενος … εἰσῄει III.24.14–18, ὅτε δὴ καὶ … γενόμενος … λέγεται IV.19.36–37, ὅτε δὴ καὶ … λέγεται IV.25.4–5, ὅτε δὴ καὶ … σχὼν … ὑπέστρεψεν IV.29.11.

b) ἡνίκα καὶ = τηνικαῦτα: ἡνίκα καὶ … ἀνανεῶν … εἶχε I.4.32–35.

7.1.3) relativum ut demonstrativum: ἔνθα δὴ καὶ: I.1.7, II.18.24, sed cf. I.3.31, II.14.36, III.5.10. **ὅθεν** passim.

7.1.4) ὡς/ὡσεί + numerale: ὡσεὶ χιλιάδων δέκα II.14.19, ὡς τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄχρι χιλιάδων III.23.4–5, ὡς εἰς τρεῖς μυριάδας III.29.22, ὡσεὶ χιλιάδας δέκα III.31.8; ὡσεὶ χιλιάδες ἑβδομήκοντα III.34.6; ὡσεὶ δέκα μυριάδες IV.16.8; ἀργυρίου δὲ ὡσεὶ τριῶν IV.20.22–23.

7.2) enclitica

7.2.1) που, πῃ: cf. e.g ἐκεῖσέ που II.7.18, παιδοτριβεῖσθαί που II.8.36, ὧδέ πῃ III.27.26, ἐνδότερόν που III.42.45, ἀποσκευάσασθαί που IV.7.13.

7.2.2) πως: e.g. γέγονέ πως I.3.7, θρασύτερόν πως I,14.1, II.7.3, ἐκέλευσέ πως III.23.14, ἐπεθείασέ πως IV.20.11.

8. praepositiones

8.1) praepositiones propriae usum classicum sequentes, sed cf. ἀπὸ τὸ ἀρκτῷον IV.25.36–37.

rare dativo utuntur, cf. e.g. **παρὰ** + dat. in solis octo casibus: παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις II.10.15–16, παρὰ Πέρσαις III.20.11, III.38.25, παρὰ θεῷ IV.4.9, IV.6.14, παρὰ φίλοις IV.27.105, παρὰ πᾶσιν IV.27.111, παρὰ πολλοῖς IV.30.3.

ἐπὶ + dat. saepe in libris III–IV sed in I–II in solis septem casibus: ἐπὶ γενναιότητι καὶ … κραταιότητι I.1.8–9, ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλομηλίῳ I.15.1–2, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναρχθεῖσιν I.20.38–39, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ II.3.28, ἐπὶ τούτῳ II.20.13–14, II.27.14, ἐπὶ τῇ … ἀπωλείᾳ II.27.20–21.

ἀμφί omnino deest.

ἐς (ionica forma) pro εἰς: ἐς ὕστερον II.7.27, ἐς βασιλέα II.17.3, ἐς χεῖρας II.1.18, ἐς μάχην II.25.6, ἐς αὔριον III.35.26–27, sed apud libros I et IV deest.

8.2) praepositiones impropriae: ἅμα + dat. passim, cf. 1.2.4.

ἄνευ semel: ἄνευ γυναικὸς II.24.10.

ἐκτός cum genitivo: ἐκτὸς παραπετάσματος II.9.11, ἐκτὸς τοῦ … στρατηγοῦντος II.11.33, τοῦ βίου γενέσθαι ἐκτός III.34.38, ἑτέρων … ἑκτός IV.37.2.

ἔξω (sive ἔξωθεν) cum genitivo et γίγνομαι: τοῦ βίου ἔξω γενόμενος I.1018–19, τοῦ βίου ἤδη γινόμενος ἔξω IV.41.9–10, ἔξω γενομένων τοῦ πάθους II.16.30, τοῦ βίου ἔξωθεν γίνονται II.20.29, ἔξω γέγονε τοῦ καιροῦ III.1.20, τοῦ … θρόνου ἔξω γενοῦ IV.2.28, ἔξω τούτων γενέσθαι IV.24.22–23, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τε καὶ χειρὸς ἔξω γενέσθαι IV.39.8–9, τοῦ βίου ἤδη γινόμενος ἔξω IV.41.9–10 (sed cf. ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἔξω γενέσθαι III.37.11, τῆς εὐτελείας ἐκείνης καὶ πενίας ἔξω παρήγαγε IV.27.82–83).

χωρὶς post genitivum in solis tribus casibus: τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν χωρὶς I.3.4, λόγου καταλελοιπέναι χωρίς II.20.26–27, ὀφθαλμῶν ποιῆσαι χωρίς III.25.7–8.

9. coniunctiones

9.1) adversativae: ἀλλά, δέ, πλήν passim

9.2) causales (cf. 1.2.3): **ἅτε** cum participio (cum gen. absol. cf. 6.4.1.e): ἅτε … ἀγαπῶν … καὶ … ὀνειροπολῶν I.1.13–15, ἅτε … προσφερόμενος I.4.5, ἅτε … δεδιότες I.5.19–20, ἅτε … θέλων I.10.12–13, ἅτε … καὶ συναυξηθεὶς καὶ … γαννύμενος I.21.9–10, ἅτε … λαθόντες I.25.13–14, ἅτε … μετεσχηκὼς II.11.10–11, ἅτε … σχολάζοντα καὶ … ἀμοιροῦντα II.16.3,

ἅτε … ὁρμώμενος II.19.43–44, ἅτε … ἰδὼν III.23.31–32, ἅτε … διαφέρων III.25.11–12, ἅτε … μελετήσας IV.39.26–27.

ἐπεί: passim, cf. 5.7.

ἐφ᾽ οἷς sive **οἷς:** οἷς γὰρ … ἐνήσκησεν I.14.7, οἷς … ἄγει I.21.35, οἷς … διήρχετο II.2.15–17, οὐκ ἐφ᾽ οἷς … ἐξέχεεν … ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς … ἐκχέεται II.2.17–20, οἷς … ἤθελε II.28.7–8, οἷς οὐκ ἔδεισαν III.1.27, οἷς … ἐλάμβανεν III.2.9–10, οἷς … ἔκρινεν III.18.29–30, οἷς … ἦλθεν III.28.21, οἷς … ἐπείθετο III.33.9, οἷς … πορεύομαι III.40.13–14, ἐφ᾽ οἷς αὐτὸν ἐβασίλευσα IV.44.20.

ὡς: ὡς μὴ προδεδωκόσιν II.11.36.

ὅτι passim.

9.3) completivae: ὡς introducens orationes rectas et obliquas in optativo sive in infinitivo passim, sed cf. ὡς οἷα IV.6.5 et ὡς ὅτι IV.25.27.
ὅτι passim.

9.4) conditionales: εἰ passim.
ἀλλὰ ut protasin introducens: κἂν ἔλαβεν … ἀλλ᾽ … διέσωσεν IV.24.15–17, ἔτυχε δ᾽ ἂν … ἀλλὰ … ἠνέγκατο IV.30.3–7, κἂν παρῆλθεν καὶ … ἐξέφυγε … ἀλλὰ … ἐδήλου … καὶ ἀπελέγετο … καὶ … καθώπλιζεν IV.41.34–38, συναπώλετο … ἀλλ᾽ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενε IV.44.34–35.

9.5) consecutivae:
ὡς + inf.: ὡς … ἀνεγεῖραί τε καὶ κατασκευάσαι I.3.14, ὡς … ἐπιζῆσαι I.4.21–22, ὡς … αἰσθέσθαι I.9.35, ὡς … αἱρῆσαι … καὶ … διασωθῆναι I.13.25–26, ὡς … εἶναι I.19.6, ὡς … ἀπορράξαι … καὶ … προελθεῖν I.25.36–38, ὡς … συγχωρεῖν II.8.36, ὡς … δεηθῆναι II.13.35, ὡς … ἐπεκτεῖναι II.14.7–8, ὡς … ἐπαναγκάσαι … καὶ … βουλεύεσθαι II.14bis.40–42, ὡς … ἐγκατοικῆσαι II.23.10, ὡς … ὑποστρέψαι καὶ … διασωθῆναι II.25.25–26, ὡς … ἐπαπειλῆσαι III.4.28–29, ὡς … λέγειν III.6.23, ὡς … ἐνιδεῖν III.27.18–20, ὡς … θεσπίσαι τε καὶ κηρῦξαι III.30.2–3, ὡς μήτε … αὐγάζεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ … γινώσκεσθαί τε … καὶ … ἀπολαύειν … καὶ … διάγειν III.35.5–8, ὡς … ἐκτελεῖν III.43.30–32, ὡς … ἀποτεμεῖν IV.7.23–24, ὡς < … ἐλπίζειν> ἢ … κατεπείγεσθαι IV.28.5–6, ὡς … ἐπαρκέσαι IV.28.13; ὡς + impf. cf. τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ … ἐδόκει I.20.3.

ὅτι + praes. ind. cf. εἰς τοσοῦτον ἧκε θάρρους … ὅτι … συναθροίζεται II.18.9–17.

9.6) finales (cf. 1.2.2.b): **ἵνα:** ἵνα cum subi. cf. 6.1.2. ἵνα cum optativo: ἵν᾽ … σχοίη I.7.2, ἵνα … καταιτιῷτο II.6.8–13, ἵνα μὴ … ἀναφέροι II.6.20–21, ἵνα μήτε … ἔχοι … μήτε … καταναγκάσειε II.8.36–39, ἵνα … ἔχοιμεν II.9.8–9, ἵν᾽ … διδοί<η> II.18.45–46, ἵν᾽ … εἴη II.20bis.6, ἵνα … γίνοιτο III.3.7, ἵνα … νομίζοιτο IV.4.7, ἵνα μὴ … ἔχοι … καὶ … ἀπορραπίσοι IV.18.17–19, ἵνα … ἀπολιμπάνοιτο IV.35.20–21,

ὡς: ὡς + ἄν cum subi. cf. 6.1.2; ὡς cum opt. sine ἄν: ὡς εἴη III.9.13 (cf. 6.2.3); cum opt. + ἄν: ὡς ἂν … διαβιβάζοιντο I.21.12–13, ὡς ἂν εἶεν II.16.31, ὡς ἂν ἔχοιεν … καὶ μὴ … κωλύοιντο III.3.5–6, ὡς ἂν … εὐμοιρήσειαν III.20.19, ὡς ἂν … μετακαλέσοιτο καὶ … ποιήσειεν III.26.2–3, ὡς ἂν … κινδυνεύοι IV.10.19–20. ὡς cum inf. (sed cf. 9.5 ad usum consecutivum) ὡς … συναπορρέειν III.13.8, ὡς … θεῖναι … καὶ … δοῦναι III.18.24–25. ὡς cum part. fut. cf. e.g. ὡς … κατεργασόμενος I.20.45–46; ὡς … ἀντιστησομένους καὶ … ἐκνικήσοντας III.30.15–16; ὡς … περιληψόμενος IV.26.11.

9.7) modales: ὅπως modale *passim.*

ὡς modale cum part. sive indicativo *passim.*

ἅτε cum part. sive adiectivo (sed cf. 9.2 ad usum causalem): ἅτε δὴ καὶ φυγάδες I.1.4, ἅτε … νηπιάζουσα III.5.26.

9.8) temporales (periphraseis cum articulo sive relativo, cf. 1.2.4): ἅμα cum inf. cf. 1.2.4.a; cum part. ἅμα μὲν … ἀποδιδράσκων … ἅμα δὲ … βουλόμενος II.19.4–6, ἅμα λέγων II.23.6, βρέμων ἅμα II.25.4, ἅμα … ἐμβάλλουσα III.5.18–19, ἅμα … ἀνελίττων III.14.15, ἅμα … ζητοῦντες IV.6.12; cum impf. sive praes. simultaneitatem exprimens: ἅμα διεξῄει III.6.16, ἅμα … γίνεται III.7.38–39, ἅμα ἐδίδασκεν III.26.27, ἅμα … ἐγυμνοῦντο III.32.13, ἅμα … εἰσῄει III.36.21–22, ἅμα … ἐδίδοσαν IV.6.14–15; ἅμα διηγεῖτο IV.10.24, ἅμα ἀπέλυε … καὶ ἅμα ἐδίδου IV.23.32–33, ἅμα προσετίθει IV.25.32, ἅμα … ἐκέλευεν IV.25.58–59; ἅμα … διηνοίγετο IV.27.44; ἅμα … ἐδίδου IV.27.74, ἅμα … δίδωσι IV.27.78–79; cum indic. aor. cf. ἅμα … κατέπαυσεν IV.5.1.

ἄρτι cf. cum genitivo 6.4.1.f; cum part. aor.: ἄρτι μὲν … ἄρτι δὲ … ἀπορρυέντες … καὶ … ἀπενεγκάμενοι I.3.18–21, ἄρτι καταλαβὼν III.9.19–20, ἄρτι … προβὰς III.9.25, ἄρτι … ἐγκελευσάμενος III.10.23–24, ἄρτι … ἀναδραμὼν καὶ … πλησθείς III.12.1–2, ἄρτι … γενόμενος … καὶ … φωνήσας III.35.9–12; cum part. perfecti sive praesentis: ἄρτι … ἀνηγορευμένος I.18.1–2, ἄρτι ἐληλυθώς III.9.56, ἄρτι … καταστρατηγῶν IV.24.5–6, ἄρτι ἐξανατέλλουσα IV.25.59, ἄρτι τὸ πέρας κατειληφότα IV.27.12; cum imperfecto indicativo in temporali + καὶ cum tempore imperfectivo: ἄρτι γοῦν … ἐτάττετο καὶ … ἀλλάσσεται I.3.5–7, ἄρτι γοῦν ἀνηγορεύετο … καὶ … ὑφεῖρπον I.7.1–2, ἄρτι γοῦν κατηγγέλλετο … καὶ … ἀπήντα καὶ … ἐδέχετο I.9.21–24, ἄρτι ὑπέλαμπε καὶ … γίνεται I.25.1, ἄρτι … ἐδέδεκτο … καὶ … διαπεραιοῦται II.13.25–28, ἄρτι … ἐπλησίαζε καὶ … κατήγετό τε καὶ προσωρμίζετο II.21.34–35, ἄρτι γὰρ … ἐπλησίαζον, καὶ … ἔφη III.26.31–32, ἄρτι … καθωπλίζετο καὶ … εἰσῄει IV.41.1–3, ἄρτι … ἐξῄει … καὶ ἐδίδου IV.41.27–28.

ἄχρι/ἄχρις: cum praesenti: ἄχρι … εὐμοιροῦμεν III.4.20; cum imperfecto: ἄχρις οὗ … ἐξαπέστελλεν III.9.55–56, ἄχρι … ἔκειτο III.13.14.

ἐπεί sive ἐπείπερ cum impf. et indic. aor. in temporali et principali, passim; cum impf. ind. in temporali et aoristo ind. in principali cf. 5.7.5; cum aor. ind. in temporali et tempore imperfectivo in principali cf. 5.7.7; cum imperfecto sive plusquamperfecto in temporali et praesenti in principali cf. 5.7.3.

ἕως: ἕως … ἐγένετο I.3.44–45, ἕως … ὑπελάμβανε IV.24.9–10.

ἡνίκα cum opt. in uno dumtaxat casu: ἡνίκα τούτοις κελεύσειεν IV.7.22.

μέχρις: + ἄν cum subiunctivo: μέχρις ἂν … γένηται I.17.10–11, μέχρις ἂν … γένηται IV.2.29–30, sed cf. μέχρις ἂν … ἐξεργάσεται … ἐκλήψεται III.9.49–51; + ἄν cum opt.: μέχρις ἂν … ἀποφήναιντο IV.19.30–31; + ὅτου + ind.: μέχρις ὅτου … ἐκηδεύθησάν τε καὶ … ἐτιμήθησαν III.11.18–20.

ὅταν passim.

οὔπω cum imperfecto sive aoristo in temporali + καὶ cum tempore imperfectivo in principali cf. οὔπω … ἐλάμβανε, καὶ … ἦν I.6.52–53, οὔπω … ἔσχον … καὶ … ἐμήνυεν I.9.1–2.

πρίν cum subi. cf. πρὶν ἀλλαχοῦ μεταστῶσιν IV.5.9.

ὡς cum aoristo sive impf. in temporali et principali passim, sed cf. 5.7.7; cum tempore praeterito in temporali et praesenti in principali cf. 5.7.3.

4. Index locorum